

Arabic Series: Number 7
General Editor: Richard S. Harrell
Institute of Languages and Linguistics
Georgetown University

A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic

MARK W. COWELL

THE RICHARD SLADE HARRELL ARABIC SERIES

A SHORT REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF MOROCCAN ARABIC

By Richard S. Harrell

A DICTIONARY OF MOROCCAN ARABIC: MOROCCAN-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-MOROCCAN

Edited by Harvey Sobelman and Richard S. Harrell

A DICTIONARY OF SYRIAN ARABIC: ENGLISH-ARABIC

By Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani

A DICTIONARY OF IRAQI ARABIC: ENGLISH-ARABIC

Edited by B. E. Clarity, Karl Stowasser, and Ronald G. Wolfe

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF SYRIAN ARABIC

By Mark W. Cowell

A DICTIONARY OF IRAQI ARABIC: ARABIC-ENGLISH

A BASIC COURSE IN MOROCCAN ARABIC



ISBN 0-87840-009-5



Arabic Series: Number Seven
General Editor: Richard S. Harrell
Institute of Languages and Linguistics
Georgetown University
Washington, D. C.

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR

OF

SYRIAN ARABIC

(based on the dialect of Damascus)

by

Mark W. Cowell

Georgetown University Press
Washington, D. C.

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

THE ARABIC SERIES
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

As an adjunct to its teaching and research program in the field of modern Arabic studies, Georgetown University's Institute of Languages and Linguistics inaugurated a publication series in Arabic studies in 1962. The present volume represents the seventh of the series. A list of currently available and forthcoming publications is to be found on the back cover of this book.

Inquiries as to prices, details of subscription, etc., should be sent to the Director of Publications, Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., 20007.

THE ARABIC RESEARCH PROGRAM
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

The Arabic Research Program was established in June of 1960 as a contract between Georgetown University and the United States Office of Education under the provisions of the Language Development Program of the National Defense Education Act.

The first two years of the research program, 1960-1962 (Contract number SAE-8706), were devoted to the production of six books, a reference grammar and a conversational English-Arabic dictionary in the cultivated spoken forms of Moroccan, Syrian, and Iraqi Arabic. The second two years of the research program, 1962-1964 (Contract number OE-2-14-029), call for the further production of Arabic-English dictionaries in each of the three varieties of Arabic mentioned above, as well as comprehensive basic courses in the Moroccan and Iraqi varieties.

The eleven books of this series, of which the present volume is one, are designed to serve as practical tools for the increasing number of Americans whose lives bring them into contact with the Arab world. The dictionaries, the reference grammars, and the basic courses are oriented toward the educated American who is a layman in linguistic matters. Although it is hoped that the scientific linguist and the specialist in Arabic dialectology will find these books both of interest and of use, matters of purely scientific and theoretical importance have not been directly treated as such, and specialized scientific terminology has been avoided as much as possible.

As is usual, the authors or editors of the individual books bear final scholarly responsibility for the contents, but there has been a large amount of informal co-operation in our work. Criticism, consultation, and discussion have gone on constantly among the senior professional members of the staff. The contribution of more junior research assistants, both Arab and American, is also not to be underestimated. Their painstaking assembling and ordering of raw data, often in manners requiring considerable creative intelligence, has been the necessary prerequisite for further progress.

In most cases the books prepared by the Arabic Research Program are the first of their kind in English, and in some cases the first in any language. The preparation of them has been a rewarding experience. It is hoped that the public use of them will be equally so. The undersigned, on behalf of the entire staff, would like to ask the same indulgence of the reader as Samuel Johnson requested in his first English dictionary: To remember that although much has been left out, much has been included.

Richard S. Harrell
Professor of Linguistics
Georgetown University

Director,
Arabic Research Program

INTRODUCTION

Syrian Arabic

The language described in this book is Arabic as it is used in everyday conversation by educated city-dwelling Syrians, and most particularly by natives of Damascus.

The spoken Arabic of Damascus is much like that of other cities in the western parts of Syria and in Palestine and Lebanon (for instance Beirut, Jerusalem, Aleppo). From a practical standpoint all the urban dialects of "the Syrian area" or "Greater Syria" — as we shall call this region — may be considered variants of one language which we call "Syrian Arabic". Any one of these dialects, well learned, is an adequate vehicle of spoken communication for the whole area.

There are, of course, a great many local speech variations of all sorts within this area. Some of the more obtrusive or systematic differences will be noted at the relevant points.

No attempt is made, however, to deal with the large variety of rural sedentary dialects of Greater Syria, some of which are quite unlike the urban speech represented in this book. Still farther beyond the range of our description is the speech of Bedouins.

As in all the Arab countries, everyday conversational language (Colloquial Arabic) in Syria differs radically in certain respects from the standard Arabic used in writing and formal speech, which we shall refer to — not quite accurately — as "Classical Arabic".¹

The differences between Colloquial and "Classical" Arabic make it necessary, for present purposes at least, simply to treat them as different languages. The grammatical structure of Syrian Colloquial Arabic is autonomous, and must be described in its own right, without prejudice from Classical frames of reference.²

But while the two kinds of Arabic are indeed *different* languages, it cannot truly be said that they are *separate* languages. For most educated speakers, at least, there is and always has been an intimate association and mutual influence between them, with the influence of Classical upon Colloquial recently creating the more obvious — if not necessarily the deeper — currents of change.

Under modern conditions of mass communications and broadening literacy, it is therefore not surprising to hear many classicisms, pseudo-classicisms, neologisms, and journalese in almost everyone's conversation. By the same token, local or rustic styles of speech are constantly being suppressed or abandoned by some speakers in favor of something that sounds more cosmopolitan. These trends may be expected to continue as long as there is an increase in education and wide-range communication.

¹Arabists generally prefer to limit the application of the term 'Classical' to a certain (medieval) historical period, but we are using it in the loose non-historical sense, somewhat analogously to the term 'classical music' as distinct from 'popular music'.

²"Classical frames of reference" are, of course, perfectly adequate for our purposes to whatever extent Classical and Syrian Colloquial are alike — and to whatever extent these frames of reference are also adequate to their *original* purpose.

Aims and Methods

This reference grammar is intended, first of all, for students who have already acquired – or are in the process of acquiring – an elementary knowledge of Syrian Arabic, and who wish to enhance and confirm that knowledge. Secondly, it is intended to serve as a checklist of grammatical points for teachers; and thirdly, as a source of information about this dialect for Arabists and linguists.¹

Except in some of the footnotes, and in some of the phonetic descriptions in Chapter 1, I have tried always to use ordinary English rather than modern linguistic jargon in the descriptive and explanatory passages. On the other hand, for concise reference to categories, constructions, etc. – many of which have often gone unnamed – I have not hesitated to use traditional Western or Arabistic grammatical terms where they seemed appropriate, or to coin terms where they did not.

About the methods of grammatical description there is little to be said except that they are eclectic. The presentation of most grammatical points was done in whichever way appeared to me the clearest in plain English or in familiar traditional terms. If some particular points are put in what seems a perversely novel or abstruse way, this may be in order to avoid a misleading ambiguity in the easier alternatives, or to highlight an important relationship which the traditional terms obscure.

Sources and Acknowledgments

The examples of Syrian Arabic speech used in illustrating this work come from a variety of native-spoken sources, including several previously published texts, responses to direct elicitation, and tape-recorded conversations (some spontaneous, others composed and read).²

Perhaps more than to any other single body of data, I have had recourse to the work in progress on *A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic*, by Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani (*English-Arabic*, number 5 of this series, and *Arabic-English*, forthcoming). Most examples of usage in these works were produced by the same Syrian speakers whom I also consulted directly.

A particularly valuable unpublished source of material was lent me by Charles A. Ferguson, who, with the assistance of Moukhtar Ani and other speakers from Damascus, worked out some years ago a very thorough and accurate collation of Damascus Arabic verb forms.

¹The coverage of grammatical points is by no means comprehensive. Knowledgeable readers will see at once that some parts of the book are much less detailed or less explicit than others, and that certain large areas of grammar are touched on superficially or not at all. I hope these faults (not to mention outright errors) will be glaring enough to stimulate more adequate treatment in later publications and teaching.

²In the syntactical parts especially, ad-hoc elicitation was kept to a minimum; that is to say, particular grammatical points are illustrated insofar as possible either with previously recorded spontaneous utterances, or else with sentences originally elicited for purposes other than the one at hand.

Of previously published works, Ferguson and Ani's *Damascus Arabic* and Cantineau and Helbaoui's *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale*¹ have been used intensively as sources of illustrative sentences, and Barthélemy's *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (subject to dialectal adaptations) as a source of word bases. A number of other works (see below) were similarly used to a lesser extent. Some examples come from non-Damascene sources, but in most cases these were not chosen to illustrate dialectal diversity; with minor adjustments they represent Damascene usage as well as that of their own locality. In all these examples, of course, the transcription has been altered to match our own.

Sentences taken from these previously published sources are identified as such; for instance the notation [DA-173] after a sentence means that it was taken from Ferguson and Ani's *Damascus Arabic*, page 173. Titles are coded as indicated in the list below. Examples taken from Stowasser and Ani's *Dictionary of Syrian Arabic*, however, are not identified, but remain unmarked like those originally produced for this grammar. (Single words and set phrases, of course, go unmarked in any case.)

My debt to co-workers in the Arabic Research Program at Georgetown University is greater than I can easily express. Special thanks go to Abdul Khalek Jallad and to Mary C. Chapple, both of whom did a great deal of valuable collation from texts and dictionaries.

As native-speaking consultants, Ziad H. Idilby and Abdul Khalek Jallad have given me expert assistance over a long period of time; for shorter but nonetheless fruitful periods I am indebted to Munir Jabban, Nazir Khaddam El-Jamie, and Sadalla Jouejati. The difficult job of typing most of the manuscript was expertly done by Alexandra Selim. I also owe thanks to Mahmoud Bagdash, Ali Bakri, Carolee Powers, Susan Luton, and Marie Rocas.

I am especially grateful to Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani, who have aided and encouraged me far beyond their call of duty as colleagues in the Arabic Research Program. Professor Ani has helped me with profound insight through many difficult problems, provided me with excellent examples, and read parts of the manuscript. Professor Stowasser has read and discussed many parts of the manuscript with me, at great length and with telling effect, and has helped me with innumerable other points as they came up.

Finally, I wish to thank Georgetown University, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the authors of the National Defense Education Act, for providing the opportunity and means to carry out this project.

M.W.C.

Washington, D. C.
September 1964

¹Many of the examples taken from this book are now third hand, having been Mr. Helbaoui's adaptation to his own speech of passages from other sources.

REFERENCES

The only works listed here are those from which examples have been taken. For bibliography, see 'Syrian Arabic Studies', by Charles A. Ferguson, in *Arabic Dialect Studies*, Harvey Sobelman, editor (Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association and The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., 1962).

Reference
Symbol

- AO J. Cantineau and Y. Helbaoui, *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale (parler de Damas)*. Paris, 1953.
- Bart. A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français (Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem)*. Paris, 1935-1954.
- Bauer L. Bauer, *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palästina und im Libanon*. Unter Mitwirkung von Anton Spitaler. 2. Auflage. Wiesbaden, 1957.
- Bg. G. Bergsträsser, *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus*. Hannover, 1921.
- Cr. A.J.M. Craig, *A Conversation Grammar of Colloquial Arabic*. Shemlan (Lebanon), 1956 (mimeographed).
- DA Charles A. Ferguson, with Moukhtar Ani and others, *Damascus Arabic* (Available from the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C.) 1961.
- EA Frank A. Rice and Majed F. Sa'id, *Eastern Arabic: An Introduction to the Spoken Arabic of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon*. Beirut, 1960.
- PAT Hassan El-Hajjé, *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*. Paris, 1954.
- PIPL André d'Alvernys, *Petite introduction au parler libanais*. Bikfaya (Lebanon), 1950.
- PVA E. Lator, *Parlez-vous arabe? Arabe libano-syrien*. Beirut, 1953.
- RN Raphael Nakhla, *Grammaire du dialecte libano-syrien (phonétique, morphologie et syntaxe)*. Two volumes. Beirut, 1937-1938.
- SAL M. Y. Van Wagoner, with Munah F. Dabaghi and Joseph T. Kiamah, *Introduction to Spoken Arabic of Lebanon*. Sidon (Lebanon), 1953. (Reproduced by The Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.)
- SPA Michel Feghali, *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*. Paris, 1928.
- SVSA Haim Blanc, 'Style Variations in Spoken Arabic: A Sample of Inter-dialectal Educated Conversation', in *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, C. A. Ferguson, editor. Cambridge, Mass., 1960.
- Karl Stowasser and Moukhtar Ani, *A Dictionary of Syrian Arabic (Dialect of Damascus): English-Arabic*. Washington, D. C., 1964.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I: PHONOLOGY

	Page
Chapter 1 Sounds	1
Consonants p.2, Velarization 6, Vowels 9, Length 15, Accentuation 17.	
Sound Combinations: Phrasing 21, Vowel positions 22, Single and double consonants 23, Two-consonants clusters 24, Three-consonant clusters 25.	
General Sound Changes: Assimilations 26, Neutralizations 27, Syncope 28, Anaptyxis 29.	

INTRODUCTION TO PARTS II and III

Chapter 2 Morphological Principles	35
Inflectional bases 35, Roots and patterns 36, Pattern alterations 40, Derivation 46.	

PART IIA: BASE FORMS

Chapter 3 Verb Patterns (with Inflectional Paradigms)	53
Simple triradical patterns 55, Augmented triradical patterns 77, Pseudo-quadriradical patterns 109, True quadriradical patterns 117.	
Chapter 4 Adjective Patterns	125
Simple triradical patterns 126, Augmented triradical patterns 128, Participial patterns 131, Quadriradical patterns 136.	
Chapter 5 Noun Patterns	137
The -e/-a suffix 138, Triradical patterns 139, Quadriradical patterns 159, Others 162, Construct forms 162, Numeral construct forms 170.	

PART IIB: INFLECTIONAL FORMS

	Page
Chapter 6 Verb Inflection	173
Expression of the categories 175, Affix alternants 177, Stem alternants: tense 185, person 193, number/gender 195, mode 198.	
Chapter 7 Adjective Inflection	201
Number/gender suffixes 202, Stem modifications 202, Broken plurals 205, Pattern <i>ʔaFcaL</i> 208.	
Chapter 8 Noun Inflection	209
Dual forms 209, Sound plurals 211, Broken plurals 218.	

PART IIIA: DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

Chapter 9 Verb Derivation	233
Passive 234, Causative 240, Ascriptive 243, Estimative 244, Eductive 244, Conative 245, Participative 246, Reciprocativ 248, Simulative 249, Inchoative 250, Descriptive 251, Abstractive 252, Augmentative 253, Applicative 256.	
Chapter 10 Adjective Derivation	257
Participial 258, Dispositional 277, Agentive 278, Characteristic 279, Relative 280.	
Chapter 11 Noun Derivation	283
Abstract and Gerundial 284, Singulative 297, Feminal 304, Occupational 305, Instrumental 306, Locative 308, Hypostatic 309, Diminutive 310, Elative 310, Numeral derivatives 316.	

PART IIIB: INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

	Page
Chapter 12 Tense	319
Uses of the Imperfect: actuality (<i>ʕam-</i>) 320, anticipation (<i>raha-</i>) 322, future assumption 324, annunciatory 325, generalizing 326, dispositional 327. Uses of the Perfect: past time reference 329, conditional clauses 331. Tense subordination 340.	
Chapter 13 Mode	343
Uses of the Subjunctive: independent optative 344, complemental optative 345, complemental assertive 354, indefinite attributive 356, prepositional complemental 357, supplemental 357. Imperative 359.	
Chapter 14 Person, Number, and Gender	363
Person 363. Number: Count nouns: singular 366, dual 367, plural 367; Abstract and mass nouns: plural of abundance or variety 368, plural of quantification or identification 370. Gender of Nouns 372.	

PART IV: SYNTAX

Chapter 15 Syntactical Principles and Constructions	377
Sentences and clauses 377, Parts of a predication 380, Parts of speech 381. Negation: <i>mā</i> 383, <i>mū</i> 386, the negative copula 387, <i>lā</i> 389. Coordination: <i>w-</i> 391, <i>ʔaw</i> 394, <i>yā</i> and <i>yamma</i> 395, <i>walla</i> 397, polysyndetic coordinations 396, <i>fa-</i> 397, <i>lāken</i> and <i>bass</i> 397, asyndetic coordinations 398.	
Chapter 16 Predication and Extraposition	401
Non-verbal predications 402, Verbal predications 407, Quasi-verbal predications 412, Suppression of the subject 418, Inversion 419, Number/gender agreement 420. Extraposition 429.	

Chapter 17 Complementation..... 437

Objects 438, Adverbial noun complements 441, Prepositional complements 444, Predicative complements 446, Complemental clauses 449.

Chapter 18 Annexion and Prepositions..... 455

Substantive annexion: definite and indefinite 456, identificatory and classificatory 458, periphrasis 460, relationships expressed 461, derivative constructs 464; Adjective annexion 466; Partitive annexion 466; (Cardinal) numeral annexion 471; Elative and ordinal annexion 473.

Prepositions: pronoun-suffixing forms 477, *-l-* suffixes 480, free prepositions 485, combinations with *mən* and *la-* 486, other special prepositions 488, Prepositional and annexion clauses 490.

Chapter 19 Attribution..... 493

Agreement in definition 493, Definite attributive clauses 495, Indefinite attributive clauses 497, Prepositional attributes 500, Adjective attributes 501, Appositives 506.

Chapter 20 Supplementation..... 515

Adverbs 515, Adverbial adjectives 520, Adverbial nouns 521, Adverbial prepositional phrases 523, Sentence supplements 526, Adverbial clauses 528, Circumstantial clauses 531.

Chapter 21 Substitution..... 535

Anaphoric substitution 535; Personal pronouns: forms 539, suffix constructions 541, independent form constructions 548; Demonstratives 552; Question words 566.

Index..... 579

CHAPTER 1: SOUNDS

TRANSCRIPTION

The Arabic in this book is printed *italically* in a modified Roman alphabet as follows:

OUR SPELLING	ARABIC LETTER	PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:	OUR SPELLING	ARABIC LETTER	PRONUNCIATION DESCRIBED ON page:
a.....	[fatḥa]	.....11	q.....	ق	.....4
b, (b)...	ب	..... 2, (6)	r, (r)...	ر	.....5, (6)
(č).....		..... 4	s.....	س	.....3
d.....	د	..... 3	š.....	ش	.....3
ḍ.....	ض	..... 6	ṣ.....	ص	.....6
e.....		.....10	t.....	ت	.....3
ə.....		.....10	ṭ.....	ط	.....6
f.....	ف	..... 2	ḍ.....	[ḍamma]	.....9
g.....		..... 4	(v).....		.....2
ġ.....	غ	..... 4	w.....	و	.....9
(ġ).....	ج	..... 3	x.....	خ	.....4
h.....	ه	..... 5	y.....	ي	.....9
ḥ.....	ح	..... 4	z.....	ز	.....3
i.....	[kasra]	..... 9	ž.....	ج	.....3
k.....	ك	..... 4	ḡ.....	ظ	.....6
l, (l)...	ل	..... 5, (6)	ē.....	ع	.....4
m, (m)...	م	..... 5, (6)	ʔ, (ʔ)...	ء	.....5, (6)
n, (n)...	ن	..... 5, (6)	(θ).....	ث	.....3
o.....		.....10	(ḍ).....	ذ	.....3
(p).....		..... 2	(ḡ).....	ظ	.....6

Letters in parentheses represent sounds that are rare, or rarely distinctive, or characteristic of certain local dialects only.

Long vowels are written with a macron (ˉ): ā, ē, ī, ō, ū. Long consonants are indicated by doubling the letter: bb, ss, kk, etc. [p.15].

The small raised letter ʔ is pronounced the same as a [p.30].

Accented syllables are sometimes indicated by an accent mark (ˈ) over vowels. [p.18].

Note to Learners

Since the Arabic in this book is exclusively conversational Arabic, mere familiarity with the way it is transcribed in writing counts for nothing. Familiarity with the live sound of the language is indispensable if practical application is contemplated.

The terminology used in describing some of the sounds may not be completely intelligible to readers without phonetic training. These readers are again reminded that actual exposure to the sounds is prerequisite or co-requisite to the practical use of this book.

Parts of the Arabic sound system are rather difficult for most foreign learners. For speakers of English the most serious difficulties involve the contrast between plain and velarized sounds [p.6], the contrast between long and short sounds [15], the pharyngeal sounds [4] and their contrast with laryngeals [5] on the one hand and with post-velars [4] on the other. Intensive practice on these points is recommended.

LABIAL OBSTRUENTS: b, (p), f, (v).

b, Bilabial Stop. Similar to English b. Fully voiced before vowels and voiced consonants, but tends to devoice — to sound like an unaspirated English p — before voiceless obstruents (f, k, x, h, q, s, š, ʃ, t, ʔ) and sometimes at the end of a phrase. Examples (fully voiced): bāl, byāšī, ʔabū, biḥābbon, brūde, byābda, tābʔa, bbārʔel; (devoiced or partially devoiced): btābki, btāšrab, bšīl.

p, Voiceless Bilabial Stop. Except as a contextual variant of b (see above), p occurs very rarely in Syrian Arabic, in a few words of foreign origin, for example *paṣpōr* (or *baṣbōr*) 'passport', ʔawrūppa (or ʔawrābba) 'Europe', paṣyōn 'boardinghouse'. This sound is written 'b' wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of b; and 'p' only otherwise.

f, Labiodental Spirant. Similar to English f. Generally voiceless, but also sometimes voiced before g, d, or other voiced oral obstruents. Examples (voiceless) fāras, fīl, flāḥa, ftākar, ʔafʔl, -dāftar, xāffef, sfənʒ, ʔalf; (voiced): ʔafdal (pron. ʔāvdal), ḥafʒ (pron. ḥavʒ).

v, Voiced Labiodental Spirant. Besides being a contextual variant of f (see above), this sound occurs in a number of words of foreign origin, for example: *krāve* (or *grāfe*) 'necktie', *nārvaz* (or *nārfaz*) 'to disturb, make nervous', *verānda* 'balcony', *brāvo* (or *brābo*) 'bravo'. This sound

is written 'f' wherever it may be treated as a contextual variant of f; and 'v' only otherwise.

PLAIN DENTAL OBSTRUENTS: d, t, z, s, (ð, θ).

d, Voiced Dental Stop. Differs from English d in the somewhat more forward position of the tongue tip, which generally touches the upper teeth in Arabic but only the alveolar (gum) ridge in most kinds of English. Examples: dār, dirāse, drūs, dšāwwaz, bādal, bōddo, ʔāddi, zdād, wāḥʔdna, bārʔān, baʔdūnes, dxūl, dmūʔa.

t, Voiceless Dental Stop. Differs from English t in the same respect as d from English d; generally somewhat less aspirated than English t in 'take'. Examples: tāxod, ttāfaʔ, ʔatīl, tlāte, ʔāttat, strīḥ, baḥāll, mātʔt, tmāne, tšāwer, btaštrīḥa, šāmāʔtina, smāʔt, t-tnēn, tʔīl, txūt.

z, Voiced Alveolar Sibilant. Somewhat sharper (higher pitched) than most kinds of English z. Examples: zād, zdall, haṣṣēt, ʔanze, zīd, ʔāzzam, haṣz, ʔāzhar, z-zhūr, zrīʔa, ʔazīz, ḥzērān.

s, Voiceless Alveolar Sibilant. Generally sharper and stronger than most kinds of English s as in 'sell', 'hiss'. Examples: sāyyed, siyāse, ʔasās, ʔāssas, ḥass, stāḥsan, sfārʔel, snāwla, šans, šāsmi, s-sādʔs, ʔāslam.

ð, Voiced Interdental Spirant. Like English th in 'this'. Not used in urban Syrian Arabic, but only in certain rural dialects, corresponding to Classical ʔ and urban Syrian d or z: ḥāða 'this' (for ḥāda), ʔīða 'if' (for ʔīza).

θ, Voiceless Interdental Spirant. Like English th in 'think'. Rare in urban Syrian Arabic: θāwra (or sāwra) 'revolution', θīqa (or sīqa) 'trust', θaqāfa (or saqāfe) 'culture', ḥadīθ (or ḥadīs) '(Prophetic) tradition'. Used in classicisms, generally replaceable by s in less elegant style. Certain rural dialects, however, have this sound as a regular thing, corresponding to Classical ʔ and urban Syrian t: θāni 'second' (for tāni), etc.

PALATAL OBSTRUENTS: ʒ, (ǧ), ʃ, (č), g, k.

ʒ, Voiced Slit Spirant. Like the French j, or the English -si- in 'vision', but somewhat sharper and stronger. Examples: ʒāš, ḥāššē, ʒ-šāzar, ḥāšar, ʒāmʔme mšāwwaz, māʔʔʒē, ḥāšš, mašbūr, dšāwwaz, ʒnēne, ʒyūš, ʒdād, lāšʔīn.

ǧ, Voiced Affricate. Like English j and dg in 'judge'. Used in the Aleppo region, and in rural dialects in various parts of Greater Syria, instead of ʒ.

ʃ, Voiceless Slit Spirant. Somewhat sharper and stronger than English sh in 'shine', 'wash'. Examples: šāl, šēx, šārʔš, wašš, dāššer, šrīḥ, šdāgal, šhūr, māšye, mašt, tšūf, š-šāraf, mšīna, ščēl.

č, **Voiceless Affricate.** Like English *ch* in 'church'. Occurs in certain words in the Aleppo region, e.g. čūx 'cloth' (elsewhere žūx) čālbane 'elegance, chic' (elsewhere šālbane); and in certain rural dialects elsewhere, in place of *k* in certain positions: čān 'was' (for kān), čālb 'dog' (for kalb).

g, **Voiced Stop.** Like English *g* in 'give', 'good', its point of articulation varies between mediopalatal and velar, depending on neighboring sounds. This sound occurs mainly in words taken from foreign languages or other Arabic dialects: sigāra 'cigarette', ʔaṅglīzi 'English', gāda 'brave fellow', gdīš 'horse, nag', šāṅgal 'hook', ʔgāl 'cord headband'.

k, **Voiceless Stop.** Like English *k*, its point of articulation varies between mediopalatal and velar, depending on neighboring sounds. It generally has somewhat less aspiration in release than English *k*, and is often unreleased finally. Examples: kīf, káḥʔl, kūʔ, kāmēl, krēk, šákwak, máksab, ḥákme, mʔákked, kfūf, ktāb, rkōd, ḥkāye, byákkšfu, bamsko.

POST-VELAR OBSTRUENTS: *x*, *ǧ*, *q*.

x, **Voiceless Spirant.** Generally involves both uvular trill and velar "scrape". Like German *ch* in 'Bach'. Examples: xōx, dáxxal, máxxara, šáxxne, wáxxex, síx, šaxxīx, xtāraʔ, txāf, šxūne, btáxxel, xnāʔa, dext, xrās.

ǧ, **Voiced Spirant.** Generally a smooth spirant, involving neither trill nor scrape, but stronger than Spanish *g* in 'lago'. Examples: ǧāli, ǧūl, šáǧʔl, šáǧǧal, šáǧǧīl, ǧyāb, tǧīb, baláǧna, máblaǧ, šāǧ, ǧǧīr, ǧráybe, ʔáǧniya.

q, **Voiceless Uvular Stop.** Generally, though not always, unaspirated. In urban speech it occurs mainly in classicisms, and in some words is replaceable by ʔ. Certain rural dialects, however, have *q* generally corresponding to Classical ʔ and urban Syrian ʔ. Examples: ʔastāqlāl (or ʔastāʔlāl), qānšol (or ʔānšol), ḥuqūq (or ḥʔūʔ), qarḍ, qrūd, l-qurʔān.

PHARYNGEAL OBSTRUENTS: *ħ*, ʕ.

ħ, **Voiceless Spirant.** Usually with strong friction but without scrape. (Must not be confused with *x* or with *h*). Examples: ḥāle, ḥīle, ḥōd, ḥazb, bāḥʔr, wāḥed, baḥḥāra, ḥsāb, ḥsēn, ḥkī-lna, ʔāḥla, thēwan, bḥābba, maḥbūb, šāleḥ, rūḥ, šaḥīḥ, sāḥḥeḥu, mālʔḥ, mnāḥ, raḥt, lḥāʔni, zālʔḥfe, ḥzērān.

The use of a subscript dot in transcribing the sound *ħ* does not signify any relationship to the velarized sounds, also transcribed with the dot [p-6].

ʕ, **Voiced Spirant.** A smooth but tense spirant, without the friction noise of *ħ*. (Must not be confused with *ǧ* or with ʔ.) Examples: ʕāl, ʕanīd, ʕōd, ʕīd, ʕēn, baʕīd, bāʕes, šīʕi, bāʕ, bēʕ, šanīʕ, xāraʕ, mamnūʕ, bāʕʕad, bāʕʕd, saʕāde, ʕyāde, ʕtāna, baʕtāʕed, btāʕni, btāʕti, btāʕod, mʕāyade, muʕīn, šāʕʕlo, šʕāʕ.

LARYNGEALS: *h*, ʔ.

h, **Glottal Continuant.** Much the same as English *h*, but generally with the larynx more open and more breath exhaled. Tends to be voiced when short between vowels or before voiced consonants, otherwise voiceless. Examples: ḥōl, ḥāda, ḥazz, dāḥʔr, māḥʔr, mahūl, sāḥhal, fahḥāmni, māḥlak, māḥne, baḥlūl, ḥlakt, mḥamm, muntāzah, mnābbēh, mašbūh, zhūr, ráḥbane, htāret, shūle, ʔāšḥor, dhān.

ʔ, **Glottal Catch.** Like the interruption in the middle of the English interjections 'oh-oh!' and 'unh-unh'. Examples: ʔāl, ʔāḥʔl, ʔīs, raʔīs, láʔa, raʔʔās, ráʔbe, btāʔmor, ʔmōr, ʔrūš, bʔūl, māsʔale, sābaʔ, waʔt, sʔīni, sʔāl, btāʔʔdru, báʔʔa, raʔʔsū, ḥtāraʔ, ʔtōl, sūʔ, ʔtāʕo, šʔāʔ, ḥʔūʔ.

RESONANTS: *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*.

m, **Labial Nasal.** Labiodental before *f*, otherwise bilabial. Like English *m*. Avoid anticipatory denasalization before spirants — i.e. do not allow a 'p' glide to slip in after the *m* in words like ʔams (not ʔamps), ʔamf (not ʔampf). Examples: māl, mūs, ʔamal, ʔamro, mrār, tʔammal, ʕambar, ʔumam, ʔām, ḥammām, mḥāblaš, mhūra, mšāwwaze, mmārrāda, mmāssel, rmādi, lmāsa, mbāla, mfārnaš, ʔammhon.

n, **Non-labial Nasal.** Similar to English *n*. Has the same point of articulation as a following dental or palatal obstruent (including *g*, *k*), otherwise alveolar. Avoid anticipatory denasalization before spirants: bānzel (not ʔbānzel). Examples: nāl, nūn, žāns, bānt, nǧasal, ʔānsān, nšūf, ntāḥa, bānna, ʔānnon, nnām, nʔātal, bānž, nšāš, nhāra, nsāḥa; (pronounced *ng* as in 'ink'): sānge, ʔaṅglīzi, bānkor, ḥkāsar.

l, **Lateral.** Similar to "light" or "bright" English *l* as in 'link', 'let', not like "dark" or "heavy" *l* as in most kinds of English 'ball', 'hulk'. Tends to be nasalized in some positions, especially when long or after a long vowel; English speakers may sometimes mistake it for an *n*. Examples: laff, lāzem, lōn, līfe, zāl, lēl, fūl, ḥāl, ʔalīl, ʔāllel, dāllo, žallād, mʔāllef, l-lūga, llūm, ltāga, ʔālt, ʔātel, ʔāmʔl, tlāte, l-yōm.

r, **Apical Trill.** A single tap when short, a multiple trill when long (*rr*). Tends to devoice before voiceless oral obstruents and sometimes finally; otherwise voiced. Examples: rās, rīše, rāḥle, rūḥ, ʕarab, žaraš, žarād, žarīde, žīrān, žardōn, bārd, brūde, trāb, zriʕa, šrāb, ʔāgrab, sāʕero, nār, nāḥʔr, zūr, dīr, rtāta, bārdʔān, ršāš, rrūḥ, mārāra, barrīd, ḥārāra, dārar.

VELARIZATION¹ (*at-tafxīm*): *ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, (ḡ), ḅ, ṁ, ṇ, ḷ, ṛ, (?)*.

The dot under these letters represents a "heavy" resonance which is the effect of relatively low-pitched concentrations of acoustic energy — in contrast to the "thin" or "light" quality of the sounds transcribed without the dot. (Note that *ḥ* [p.4] is not one of the velarized sounds; its dot is merely to distinguish it from *h*.)

In producing the plain sounds (i.e. those transcribed without the dot), the tongue is usually arched upward and forward into a single hump (in profile), leaving the pharyngeal and velar passages relatively open. For the velarized sounds, on the other hand, the profile of the tongue usually tends to be two-humped and low in the middle; the back hump narrows the velar and pharyngeal passages.

The lips may also play a part in producing the heavy resonance; velarization is sometimes accompanied by protrusion and pursing of the lips, while retraction and spreading of the lips help make the lighter, thinner resonance.

Examples of the contrast between plain and velarized sounds:

Plain	Velarized
<i>tīn</i> 'figs'	<i>ṭīn</i> 'mud' ²
<i>dīm</i> 'perpetuate'	<i>ḍīm</i> 'hurt'
<i>sēf</i> 'sword'	<i>ṣēf</i> 'summer'
<i>būz</i> 'muzzle'	<i>ḅūz</i> 'ice'

¹The term 'velarization' is not altogether satisfactory as a name for this phonological component. Note that the post-velar sounds *x, ǧ, and q* are not inherently "velarized"; they may be either "plain" or "velarized", depending on the neighboring sounds. The term 'pharyngealization', which has sometimes been used instead of 'velarization', is even more misleading, since the pharyngeal spirants *ħ* and *ʕ* have still less in common with the velarized sounds than the post-velars have.

Evidently the air-stream turbulence produced by primary velar or pharyngeal stricture has sound effects quite unrelated — in Arabic, at least — to the effect of so-called secondary stricture in these passages. The secondary stricture does not produce audible turbulence, but serves to modify the resonating chamber.

The traditional term 'emphatic' is also a bad name for the velarized sounds, since it suggests (erroneously, it would seem) that these sounds are more forcefully or tensely articulated than the plain sounds.

²Velarized *ṭ* is usually unaspirated while plain *t* is somewhat aspirated.

Plain	Velarized
<i>bāba</i> 'her door'	<i>ḅāba</i> 'papa'
<i>wālla</i> 'he appointed'	<i>ẉālla</i> 'by God' (mild oath)
<i>māyyet</i> 'dead'	<i>ṃāyy</i> 'water'
<i>nāyem</i> 'asleep'	<i>ṇāy</i> 'shepherd's flute'
<i>šāri</i> 'flowing'	<i>ṣ̌āri</i> 'my neighbor'
<i>ʔāššar</i> 'he signalled'	<i>ʔ̣āššar</i> 'he peeled'

Speakers of English and many other languages are apt to be more sensitive to the effects of velarization on contiguous vowels than to the differences between plain and velarized consonants themselves. Compare *dall* 'to indicate' with *ḍall* 'to remain', *sadd* 'close, block' with *ṣadd* 'repulse, refuse'. [pp.10,11]

Velarization is usually not limited to a single sound in a word, but commonly affects whole syllables and often whole words: *ḍall*, *maḥṣūṭ*, *ḡāḥet*.

The dental obstruents *t/ṭ, d/ḍ, s/ṣ, and z/ẓ* are the only ones of these pairs that differentiate many words independently as illustrated above. With the others, the distinction between plain and velarized is usually a variation conditioned by the neighboring sounds, and is potentially significant only next to the vowel *a* and in the absence of dental obstruents.

Since velarization mainly affects sound sequences that involve dental obstruents, these obstruents are taken as the focal points of velarization wherever possible. Our transcription regularly shows velarization for these sounds, but not for other kinds of sounds affected in their neighborhood. Thus in the word *bāṭlaḥ*, for example, the dot under the 't' implies that the *b*, the *ḥ*, and the *l* are normally also velarized.

This economical use of subscript dots is not unambiguous, since the scope of velarization — the "neighborhood" of a dotted letter — has not been defined, nor is there, apparently, any simple way to define it. In fact the scope of velarization varies considerably from word to word, speaker to speaker, and region to region. Furthermore, the velarization may vary in intensity; some parts of a word may be strongly velarized, other parts weakly.

Examples of velarized sounds:

<u>d</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>z</u>	Others
<i>daww</i>	<i>tāb</i>	<i>šāb</i>	<i>zālem</i>	<i>ʔāḷa</i>
<i>dēf</i>	<i>tēr</i>	<i>šēḍ</i>	<i>zannār</i>	<i>ḥāḷa</i>
<i>dāḍaḍ</i>	<i>tōʔ</i>	<i>šōb</i>	<i>zuhūr</i>	<i>ḥāraḥ</i>
<i>d-ḍuḡūt</i>	<i>tūl</i>	<i>šūra</i>	<i>gār</i>	<i>ʔalḡāni</i>
<i>bīḍ</i>	<i>zāt</i>	<i>šīšān</i>	<i>faḡīḥ</i>	<i>ḥāḡk</i>
<i>māraḍ</i>	<i>mātar</i>	<i>wōsex</i>	<i>ʔaḡānn</i>	<i>verānda</i>
<i>fāḍḍal</i>	<i>ḥāḡīḡm</i>	<i>byōsref</i>	<i>ʔāḡlam</i>	<i>ʔamar</i>
<i>bōḍrob</i>	<i>ḥīn</i>	<i>nāḡer</i>	<i>byōḡhar</i>	
<i>ḥūr</i>	<i>nōḡḡi</i>	<i>ʔaḡḡāḡ</i>	<i>māḡllaḡ</i>	
<i>ḍāḡḡ</i>	<i>mōḡḡ</i>	<i>ḡān</i>	<i>bāwweḡ</i>	

In some parts of Greater Syria, the plain/velarized distinction with certain consonants is suppressed. In Damascus, for instance, there is no contrast between *r* and *ṛ* in the same contexts; *zārī* 'flowing' and *zārī* 'my neighbor' are pronounced alike [p.12]. In other regions the *r/ṛ* distinction — though not obliterated — is often subject to local and individual variations to such an extent that its importance is very slight. Since the Arabic in this book represents the Damascus variety, velarization of *r* is ordinarily not marked.

In a large part of the central area, including Damascus and most of Lebanon, the distinction between *ʔ* and *ʔ* is likewise obliterated, and is likewise subject to much vacillation elsewhere. Velarization of *ʔ* will generally not be shown in this book.

Except for *ʔ/ʔ* and a few other marginal cases¹, the contrast between plain and velarized is limited entirely to front sounds — labials and dentals. While the palatals and back sounds may vary due to velarization, their variation is virtually always conditioned by the neighboring sounds and is not significant.

¹There is a certain amount of regional and stylistic variation between *x* and *ḡ*, *ḡ* and *ḡ*, *q* and *q*.

VOWELS (AND SEMI-VOWELS): *i* (and *y*), *u* (and *w*), *e*, *o*, *a*, *a*.

i, High Front Vowel

Long *ī* is similar to the English *i* in 'machine', but not diphthongized or as lax as it commonly is in English. Examples: *brīd*, *kīf*, *fīʔ*, *šī*, *nīto*, *ḥīd*, *ʔīmān*, *zībī-li*, *nāsī*.

Short *i* is much the same in quality as long *ī*, though sometimes not so high and tense; less high and tense than the French *i* of 'vite', 'ici'. Examples: *binām*, *ʔīza*, *šīfa*, *ḥānito*, *šābi*, *kāli*, *raḡ-ikūn*, *dirāse*.

Next to a velarized consonant, *i* has a retracted sound [i] similar to Russian *и*: *biḡīr*, *dīf*, *bīḍ*, *niḡām*, *šīfa*. (Compare this with the sound of *a* [p.10] in certain contexts: *šīfa* vs. *naḡḡāfa*; the latter is lower, laxer, and more forward. The sound of *a* in the velarized contexts, e.g. *byūḡḡāfa*, is lower and farther back.)

The non-syllabic version of *i* — transcribed 'y' — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic *i*, sometimes slightly shorter. It does not tend to develop palatal friction. Examples (short): *yōm*, *yātīm*, *šāy*, *tāyfe*, *nāyem*, *bayān*, *byāra*, *ḡīyal*, *ḡānye*, *yḡīl*.

Non-syllabic and long (*yy*), it is higher and tenser (but still does not have palatal friction): *sayyāra*, *ḡayyūr*, *tāyyeb*, *ʔiyyām*, *ḡayy*.

u, High Back Rounded Vowel

Long *ū* is rounder and tenser than English *u* in 'rude', and is monophthongal. Examples: *šūf*, *brūde*, *būlād*, *byūḡal*, *mū*, *ḡaḡḡū*.

Short *u* has much the same quality as long *ū*, but is sometimes less high and tense. Less high and tense than French *ou* in 'voulez', 'cou'. Examples: *suʔāl*, *fāruha*, *ʔūmam*, *dūwal*, *lūḡa*, *ḡālu*, *muḡīn*, *mutḡāhed*.

The non-syllabic version of *u* — transcribed 'w' — is substantially the same sound as an unaccented syllabic *u*, though it may be slightly shorter and higher. Examples (short): *wādi*, *wōsel*, *dāwle*, *wlād*, *ḡāwal*, *zādwal*, *law*.

Non-syllabic and long (*ww*), it is somewhat higher and tenser: *ʔāwwal*, *ḡawwāf*, *ḡadāwwi*, *ḡūwwe*, *w-wālado*.

¹In many parts of Greater Syria *i* does not contrast with *a* or with *e*, in which case the syllabic and non-syllabic sounds must be reckoned separate phonemes [p.13, footnote 2].

²In many parts of Greater Syria *u* does not contrast with *a* or with *o*, in which case the syllabic and non-syllabic sounds must be reckoned separate phonemes [p.13, footnote 2].

e, Higher-Mid Front Vowel

Long *e* is quite different from the English *a* in 'date', since it is monophthongal and higher than the first part of the English *a*. It is quite similar to French *é* as in 'zéro', but not as tense. Examples: *bēt*, *zēbaʔ*, *ʔēlūl*, *trēn*, *šēx*, *ʔāšrē*, *žnēnātkon*, *bēbē*.

Short *e* has more or less the same quality as long *e* — between the *i* of English 'sit' and the *é* of French 'été'. Examples: *mālek*, *byālbēs*, *tāyyeb*, *hāle*, *bāke*, *ʔamerkānīyye*. (Short *e* does not ordinarily occur accented [p.28].)

Next to a velarized consonant, *e* has a somewhat retracted sound [ɛ]: *gābet*, *šēd*, *bāwweɣ*, *ṭēr*, *wāšex*.

Before a pharyngeal (*ħ*, *ʕ*), short *e* has a slightly lowered sound: *šāleħ*, *māryeħ*, *bāšeʕ*, *mənʔāṭeʕ*.

o, Higher-Mid Back Rounded Vowel

Long *ō* differs markedly from the English *o* in 'sole', being monophthongal, and higher and rounder than the first part of the English *o*. It is similar to the French *ô* in 'côte', only not so tense. Examples: *kōl*, *xōd*, *ktōb*, *bōrad*, *žōze*, *mōzāt*, *bōrāma*, *māyō*.

Short *o* has about the same quality as long *ō* — between the *oo* of British English 'look' and the *o* of French 'zéro'. Examples: *byāmlok*, *bāʔtol*, *bōto*, *ʔotēl*, *ʔāšhor*, *māšmoš*. (Short *o* does not ordinarily occur accented [p.28].)

ə, Higher-Mid Central Vowel

ə has a wide range of values, varying between the *i* of English 'pit', the *u* of English 'put', and the *u* of (American) English 'putt', depending on the neighboring sounds. (The raised letter *ə* represents exactly the same sound as *a*; see p.19.)

The most forward pronunciation of *ə* — like the *i* in 'sit' (but always clipped short, never drawled or diphthongized) — occurs only next to plain dentals (*t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, *l*) or after *y*, when no back vowel (*o*, *u*) or velarized sound (*ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ḡ*, etc.) is in its neighborhood. Examples: *sətt*, *dālłni*, *tānsa*, *byāskar*, *tašḥābha*, *tālʔt*, *zən-li*, *ləzzēʔa*, *təlmīz*.

The lowest pronunciation of *ə* — between the *e* in 'pet' and the *u* in 'putt' — occurs before pharyngeals (*ħ*, *ʕ*): *btāḥki*, *nāḥna*, *sāʕʔr*, *žāmʔe*, *byāʕtāni*, *bilāḥḥ*. (This is very similar to the sound of *a* in certain contexts — but not in these contexts. The *a* in *rāsme*, for example, is much like the *a* in *rāḥle*, while the *a* before pharyngeals is considerably lower, e.g. *rāḥme*.)

Several different factors tend to make *ə* sound more like the *u* in 'put' and less like the *i* in 'pit', especially when working in combination. These factors are velarization (caused by proximity of *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ḡ*, etc.), backing (caused by contiguity with a back consonant, especially *x* or *g*), rounding (caused by contiguity with labials or *w*). An *o* or *u* in the following syllable causes both backing and rounding. Contiguous *r* may also have a slight backing effect. Examples: *dədd*, *səbb*, *ḥətt*, *btāsal*, *ʔāḍwye*, *ʕadāwwe*, *l-ʔwrāʔ*, *rāda*, *marr*, *ʔəxti*, *šāḡʔl*, *rābʔe*, *bāʔtol*, *ḥālu*, *ʔrāmfol*, *wāššo*, *bənn*, *ʔəmmi*, *ʕādu*, *səbbāt*.¹

Unlike all other sounds in the language, *ə* never occurs long, or at the end of a word.

a, Low Vowel

a has a wide range of values, varying between sounds similar to those of English *e* in 'pet', *a* in 'pat', *u* in 'putt', and *o* in 'pot'.

What may be taken as the "standard" pronunciation of *a* is a slightly raised and retracted [æ], not quite so low and forward as the *a* in English 'bat', but lower than *e* in 'bet' and more to the front than *u* in (American) 'but'.

This standard *a* occurs mainly next to non-velarized front consonants — including *k*, *g*, and *y*, but excluding *r*. Examples (short): *bass*, *laff*, *fazz*, *dall*, *madd*, *sabb*, *takk*, *žadd*, *šakk*, *kam*, *sānad*, *māsalan*, *zālzale*, *mālek*, *mašdalle*, *dāššer*, *bāladi*, *sāžžal*, *ḥīyal*, *kasūl*, *mamnūʕ*, *yasūʕ*, *yatīm*, *ballōr*.

At the end of a word, short *a* tends to be slightly lower and farther back: *sōda*, *bōdda*, *tānsa*, *šānta*, *ʔāša*.

Long *ā* before and after plain front consonants varies regionally. In Damascus it tends to be a little lower and farther back than the "standard" *a*, while in certain coastal regions it is higher and more forward than the standard. Examples: *kān*, *fās*, *zād*, *dāl*, *šāzz*, *š-šām*, *mālo*, *tyāb*, *ktāf*, *kātbe*, *nabāt*, *rəžžāl*, *šəbbāk*, *siyyās*, *žāžāt*.

In the Damascus pronunciation *ā* at the end of a word has more or less the same sound as before a consonant, but in the coastal regions this sound is lower and farther back than the high front preconsonantal *ā*. Examples: *mā*, *yā*, *mubālā*, *xabbā*, *ʕāšā*.

After back consonants and *w* and *r*, the pronunciation of *a* is more or less the same as after front consonants in Damascus and many other regions. In some of the coastal regions, however, long *ā* after a back consonant, especially *ħ* or *ʕ*, may be less high and front than it is after a front consonant.² Examples: *ʕāl*, *ḥāl*, *xāl*, *ḡāl*, *ʔāl*, *rād*; *xadd*,

¹With a maximum of backing and rounding, *ə* tends to alternate with *u*: *ʔebūwwe/ʔubūwwe*, *ʕadāwwe/ʕadūwwe*, *ʔawrābba/ʔawrūbba*, etc. [See p.13.]

²This backing effect may sometimes be due to velarization: *ʔāl* (for *ʔāl*), *ḡāl* (for *xāl*), *rās* (for *rās*), *maqāl* (for *maqāl*). In other instances, however, the backing may be too slight to attribute to velarization.

hazz, ǧanna, ʔábʔl, wálad, radd, staqáll, ḥáda.

Long *ā* after *q* is commonly pronounced farther back:
maqāl, qānūn.¹

Before a pharyngeal (*ḥ*, *ʕ*), *a* has a low sound, generally more to the front than the usual American pronunciation of the *a* in 'father': *bāʕ*, *lāḥ*, *rāʕi*, *yāʕni*, *zāḥle*. In some of the coastal regions long *ā* in open syllables before *ḥ* or *ʕ* is considerably higher, however, especially if there is an *i* or *e* in the following syllable: *sāʕa*, *wāḥed*.

Before *r* (in the Damascus pronunciation) *a* has a somewhat retracted and lowered sound similar to that of Middlewestern American *a* in 'far', 'part' (but without the retroflexion): *fār*, *bārra*, *bārʔad*, *mārto*, *dāra*, *ʔārbaʕa*. In many other parts of Greater Syria, however, plain *r* causes little or no retraction or lowering, while velarized *r* causes considerably more than the Damascus *r* [p.8].

Before back consonants other than pharyngeals, especially in closed syllables, *a* commonly has a retracted and slightly lowered pronunciation: *ʔaxx*, *ʔāḥwe*, *law*, *ʔāwwal*, *ʔāḡla*, *bāʔʔa*, *bāxra*, *dāx*, *manāx*.

When *a* is followed by a single consonant plus *i* or *e* in the next syllable, the backing effect of back consonants or *r* or *w* is counteracted, and the *a* is more or less "standard": *bāred*, *sāwi*, *dāxel*, *saxíf*, *bāʔi*.

a next to front consonants only is also somewhat raised and fronted by a following *i* or *e*, so that the *a* is slightly higher and more forward than standard: *māši*, *bāli*, *māyyet*.

In the vicinity of a velarized consonant, *a* has a back sound between that of *u* in 'putt' and American *o* in 'pot'. (The "hollow" quality of velarization, however, is superimposed on the effect of this articulatory position.) Examples: *baṭṭ*, *faḡīʕ*, *ṣabb*, *ḥāṭab*, *ṣayy*, *ʔālla*, *ḡālem*, *ḥṣāṭ*, *ṣṭāḍ*.

When followed by a pharyngeal, velarized *a* is lower — in the approximate position of American *o* in 'pot': *ṣaḥḥ*, *māʕʔt*, *dāʕ*. (This lowering is minimized, however, if *i* or *e* follows in the next syllable: *dāḡye*, *sāḡhi*.)

¹See Footnote 2, p. 11.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE VOWEL SYSTEM

Short Vowels

Many speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine but also in parts of Syria proper, have no vowel *ə* as a functionally distinct sound¹; for them the front pronunciations corresponding to *ə* may be considered variants of *i*, and the back pronunciations, variants of *u*²; some of the more central *ə*-sounds are replaced by more *i*-like or *u*-like sounds, varying locally. For example:

<i>nāsi</i>	= <i>nīsi</i>	<i>bāḥṣṭṭ</i>	= <i>bithūṭṭ</i>
<i>šāḡʔl</i>	= <i>šūḡʔl</i>	<i>byāktāb-lak</i>	= <i>byiktīb-lak</i> or <i>b(y)uktūb-lak</i>
<i>biḥābb</i>	= <i>biḥībḥ</i>	<i>kāll</i>	= <i>kill</i> or <i>kull</i>

In Lebanon, furthermore, many speakers generally do not differentiate between word-final *e* and *i* or between *o* and *u*. In their pronunciation *wārde* 'a rose' sounds just like *wārḍi* 'rose-colored', and *tārako* 'he left it', like *tāraku* 'they left'.

Before a word-final consonant, the difference between short *e* and *i* and between *o* and *u* is not significant in any case, and is subject to a great deal of regional and individual variation: *māšmoš* = *mūšmuš*, *byāḡmel* = *byihmil*.

The system of six short vowels represented in our transcription, then, is for some speakers reducible to five (eliminating *ə*), and for still others is perhaps reducible to three (eliminating also *e* and *o*). Note, however, that the actual differences in pronunciation implied by these reductions are slight, and — with the exception of word-final *o* vs. *u* and *e* vs. *i* — functionally insignificant.

There is one noteworthy variation in the occurrence (distribution) of the short vowel *a*. In central and northern Lebanon, and to some extent elsewhere, unaccented *a* before a single consonant disappears in many kinds of words: *māʕri* (for *maṣāʕri*), *bārke* or *bārki* (for *bārake*), *māḍʕse* or *māḍʕrsi* (for *madrase*), *l-hawn* (for *la-hōn*), *ʕlayk* (for *ʕalēk*), *tʕāllmet* (for *tʕāllamet*), *zmēn* (for *zamān*).

¹The functional autonomy of *ə* is marginal at best. (Its contrast with *i* can be heard in the phrase *ʔīza ʔāʕa* 'if he comes'.) Some speakers, however, usually pronounce *ʔāʕa* instead of *ʔīza*; for them the difference is (if anything) stylistic, like that between *māmken* and *mūmken* 'possible'. The use of *ə* in these words (for some speakers) is more informal or "folksy", while *i* and *u* are more elegant or Classical-sounding.

²Insofar as *i* and *u* merge with *a*, they cannot be equated with *y* and *w*. This is because the sequences *-yi-* and *-wū-* (corresponding to *-yā-* and *-wā-*) remain distinct from *-ī-* and *-ū-*, respectively. For example *l-wūld* 'the descendants' (= *l-wəld*) is not pronounced *"l-ūld"*. (If *i* = *y* and *u* = *w*, then *yi* = *ī*, *wu* = *ū*.)

When reading from transcription, learners must be specially alert to the indications of length. Since doubled letters in English orthography (and the macron in English orthoepy) have nothing to do with length, English speakers sometimes forget to respond properly to these signs in Arabic transcription.

Contrastive examples:

Consonants:

<u>Short</u>		<u>Long</u>	
<i>kātab</i>	'to write'	<i>kāttab</i>	'to have(s.o.)write'
<i>ḡāni</i>	'rich'	<i>ḡānni</i>	'sing'
<i>māra</i>	'a woman'	<i>mārra</i>	'a time'
<i>nṣābo</i>	'plant it'	<i>nṣābbo</i>	'let's pour it'
<i>saddā^ʔt</i>	'you told the truth'	<i>saddā^ʔt</i>	'I believed (it)'
<i>ḥamām</i>	'pigeons'	<i>ḥammām</i>	'bath'
<i>siyāsi</i>	'political, politician'	<i>siyyāsi</i>	'my grooms'
<i>būsha</i>	'kiss her'	<i>bbūsha</i>	'I kiss her'
<i>b-^ʔḡnēne</i>	'in a garden'	<i>bāḡ-ḡnēne</i>	'in the garden'

Vowels:

<u>Short</u>		<u>Long</u>	
<i>kātab</i>	'to write'	<i>kātab</i>	'to write to(s.o.)'
<i>mālek</i>	'king'	<i>mālek</i>	'owner'
<i>ʿāli</i>	(a name)	<i>ʿāli</i>	'high'
<i>sāʿa</i>	'to endeavor'	<i>sāʿa</i>	'hour', 'clock'
<i>damwāra</i>	'he wound it(f.)'	<i>damwāra</i>	'gadabout(f.)'
<i>sāwa</i>	'together'	<i>sāwa</i>	'to do, make'
<i>wārdāt</i>	'flowers'	<i>wārdāt</i>	'imports'
<i>rīʔa</i>	'lung'	<i>rīʔa</i>	'her saliva'
<i>l-kūra</i>	'the globe, the ball'	<i>l-kūra</i>	(name of a village)

Short vowel + long consonant contrasted with long vowel + short consonant:

<i>kammel</i>	'continue, finish'	<i>kāmel</i>	'whole, complete'
<i>nāyyem</i>	'put(s.o.)to sleep'	<i>nāyem</i>	'asleep'
<i>mdāwara</i>	'round(f.)'	<i>mdāwara</i>	'evasion'
<i>ḡaḥḥakū</i>	'they made him laugh'	<i>ḡaḥakū</i>	'they laughed with him'

On the neutralization of length contrasts in certain positions, see p.27.

An accented long vowel — which is always the last long vowel in a word — is generally pronounced longer than an unaccented (pretonic) long vowel. In *ʔālāf*, for instance, the first *ā* is not as long as the second (but is longer than a short *a*).

Short vowels, on the other hand, are apt to be longer after the accent than they are when accented. In *sābab*, for instance, the second *a* is usually longer than the first if it comes at the end of a phrase, since the end of a phrase is often signalled by drawing out what comes after the accent, while an accented short vowel itself cannot be drawled.

With certain kinds of intonation — in questions, for instance — the phrase-end drawl is often exaggerated so that a post-tonic short vowel is as long as or longer than a true long vowel in other positions. In the question *kīf ḡālak?* 'How are you?', the last *a* may actually be longer than the *ā* in the preceding syllable.

The vowel *ə*, however, is not only never long in the formal sense, but is also relatively insusceptible to phrase-end drawling. While the *ə* in *fāḡmet?* 'Did she understand?' is drawled, the *ə* in *fāḡm^ʔt?* 'Did you understand?' is not — at least not as much as other short vowels are.

ACCENTUATION

In words of two or more syllables, one of the syllables — the **ACCENTED** syllable — usually sounds more stressed¹ or prominent than the others. With certain kinds of exceptions, the accentuation of a transcribed word may be deduced from its boundaries and its syllable structure.

¹The term 'stress' is perhaps better avoided, since it is too suggestive of force, loudness, and emphasis. Not only is Arabic word-accent less "forceful" and "stressful" than that of English, but it also seems that accentual systems in general are more a matter of pitch and tempo modulation than of variations in loudness or "volume".

A syllable is considered LONG if its vowel is long or followed by a long consonant or by a group of more than one consonant.¹

The general rule of accentuation is this: The last long syllable in a word is accented; if there is no long syllable, then the first syllable is accented. [But see also p.20, (4).]

Examples:

Final Syllable Long	Penult Long	Antepenult or None Long
<i>darastú</i>	<i>darastúha</i>	<i>dárasu</i>
<i>darást</i>	<i>darástu</i>	<i>dáraso</i>
<i>barríd</i>	<i>baráde</i>	<i>bórado</i>
<i>byasmaÉuk</i>	<i>byasmáEkon</i>	<i>byásmaEu</i>
<i>mawádd</i>	<i>madāres</i>	<i>mádrase</i>
<i>ftāh</i>	<i>fdthet</i>	<i>fátahu</i>
<i>betʔúl</i>	<i>betʔál-lha</i>	<i>bádalo</i>
<i>tÉallámt</i>	<i>tÉállam</i>	<i>tÉállamet</i>
<i>ʔamsāl</i>	<i>mással</i>	<i>másalan</i>

When accent marks are omitted, it will be understood that the word is accented according to this general rule. (In certain parts of this book, however, accent marks are used, redundantly, even when the general rule is followed.)

Proclitics

In this transcription certain particles are attached to the following word by a hyphen. These particles — PROCLITICS — are never accented; the accentuation of the word is reckoned as if the proclitic were not there: *hal-wálad* (not *hál-walad*, which the general rule would yield if the hyphen were ignored), *ka-wási*, *lál-Éáša*, *raha-téšal*, *w-la-has-sábab*.

Proclitics include the article *l-* [p.493], the demonstrative particle *hal-* [556]; the conjunctions *w-*, *fa-* [391], *n-* [335], *la-* [358]; the prepositions *b-*, *ka-*, *la-*, *Éa-* (apocopation of *Éala*) [476]; the particle of antici-

¹ Every vowel marks the peak of a syllable. It is not necessary for present purposes to define syllable boundaries.

pation *raha-* and of actuality *Éam-* [320].¹ (Certain combinations of particles are written as a single element: *laš-sábi*, *bál-Éáks*, *Éal-bálad*, *wan-šáfto*. See pp.476, 391.)

The hyphenated suffixes *-l-* plus pronoun [480], unlike the proclitics, count as part of the word (in respect to accentuation, at least), and may themselves be accented in some cases: *ʔalt-állo*, *fatáh-lak*, *haká-li*, *ʔahsdl-lo*.

Length and Accent in Final Vowels

If a final vowel is accented, it is necessarily long, but if it is unaccented, it varies between long and short depending on the phrasing and intonation [pp.21,17]. Thus the *i* in *xadí* is accented (i.e. *xadí*), while the *i* in *xadi* is unaccented (i.e. *xádi*) but is sometimes actually long.

In the case of one-syllable words ending in a vowel, therefore, the macron may be used to distinguish accented words from unaccented words²: *mā* 'not' [383] vs. *ma* (subordinating conjunction [490]); *fī* 'in it, there is' [415] vs. *fi* 'in'; *šū* 'what' [568] vs. *šu* 'well, why ...'. In all these words the vowel is usually pronounced long.

If, on the other hand, a word such as these has a vowel that is unaccented, short, and in close phrasing [21] with the following word, then it is written as a proclitic: *fi-bēti*, *ma-ʔātyabo*.

The Helping Vowel ʔ

The vowel written 'ʔ' (which does not differ from *a* in pronunciation, but only in its morphological status [p.29]), is never accented, and is to be ignored in reckoning the accentuation of a word. Thus *darasʔt* is accented on the second syllable (i.e. *darásət*), just as if the ʔ were not there, as in *darást*; and *byakʔtbu* is accented on the first syllable (i.e. *byáktbu*), just as in *byáktbu*.

¹ Some proclitics are written as separate words: the prepositions *mən*, *Éan*, *Éand*, and *Éala*; the subordinating conjunction *ma* [490]. The policy has been to hyphenate all proclitics which consist in a single consonant or a consonant plus an actually short vowel, and all others except those which are traditionally written separate in literary Arabic.

² This is actually a makeshift device, used in the absence of markings for phrase-accent and intonation. A completely unambiguous transcription would have to show length, accentuation, and intonation separately; but since we do not mark phrase-accent (or junctures), the markings for length (and word-accent) can be stretched a little beyond their proper function to hint at the larger-scale prosodic features.

Further examples:

<i>tatʔrki</i> (i.e. <i>tátar̥ki</i>)	<i>ʔabʔanna</i> (i.e. <i>ʔábanna</i>)
<i>mašʔmše</i> (i.e. <i>mášəmše</i>)	<i>fataḥ-ʔlkon</i> (i.e. <i>fataḥ-alkon</i>)
<i>baʔʔdkon</i> (i.e. <i>báʔʔdkon</i>)	<i>tʔallamʔt</i> (i.e. <i>tʔallámət</i>)
<i>ʔarʔwto</i> (i.e. <i>ʔárawto</i>)	<i>māwarʔd</i> (i.e. <i>māwárad</i>)

Exceptions to the General Rule of Accentuation

(1) A short syllable (as well as a long one) is accented before the pronoun suffixes *-a* 'her, it, its' and *-on* 'their, them' [p.541]: *darába* 'he hit her' (cf. *dárabo* 'he hit him'), *šāfáton* 'she saw them', *sakkára* 'close it', *ḥāláton* 'their condition', *ʔabúwa* 'her father'.

These suffixes may also be pronounced *-ha*, *-hon*, which makes the accentuation regular: *darábha*, *šāfáthon*, *sakkárha*, *ḥāláthon*, *ʔabúha*.

(2) With certain kinds of verb stem, the verbal subject-affix *-et* 'she, it' is accented (taking the form *-ət-*) before all the pronoun suffixes, including *-o* 'him, it', *-ak* 'you(m.)', and *-ek* 'you(f.)': *fahhamátak* 'she explained to you(m.)', *šāwaráték* 'she consulted you(f.)', *snāwaláto* 'she caught it(m.)'. See p.181 for details.

(3) Words having certain base forms are accented on their short middle syllable instead of the first syllable: *byāštágel* 'he works', *bāftáker* 'I think', *byānháka* 'it is told', *māxtálef* 'different', *muttáhed* 'united', *muʔtámar* 'conference', *mānʔári* '(having been)read'.

These words are sound and defective verbs of Patterns VII [p.91] and VIII [95] in the imperfect without suffixes, and adjectives and nouns of the corresponding participial forms [135].

Generally in Lebanon and Palestine, however, many words of this kind are accented regularly, on the first syllable (and generally without any middle vowel *ə*): *byāštágel*, *bāftker*, *māxtlef*. (With suffixes of any kind, however, the accentuation of these words with vowels *a* and *e* is regular in any case: *byāštáglu*, *māftákro*, *māxtálfe* [p.31, bottom].)

(4) There are a few classicisms of four or more syllables whose last three syllables are all short. The accent, however, is not in any case farther front than third from the end (the antepenult): *muttáhide* 'united (f.)' (cf. the pure colloquial form *mattáhide*).

The general rule of accentuation could be broadened to cover cases like this simply by adding a stipulation that no words are to be accented farther forward than the antepenult. Ordinary Syrian Arabic words have a syllabic

structure that makes this stipulation unnecessary: when both of the last two syllables are short and unaccented, the antepenult is either the first syllable or a long syllable (or both).

These four kinds of exception to the general rule will always be transcribed with an accent mark. The other exceptions — indicated by hyphenization or by the raised letter *ʔ* — will not usually carry an accent mark, which for them is redundant.

SOUND COMBINATIONS

Phrasing

In CLOSE PHRASING, words are "run together", i.e. the last sound of one word flows into the first sound of the next word as if they were in the same word: *bāddna.nzūro* 'We intend to visit him', *laḥm.ʔl-baʔar* 'beef' (lit. 'meat of cattle'), *la-wēn.bāddak.ʔtrūḥ?* 'Where do you want to go?' [DA-143].

In OPEN PHRASING, words are slightly "separated" — not by any actual pause, but by subtle modifications in the sounds at the word boundary. The last part of the first word is often reduced in volume, while the onset of the next word is relatively loud. The end of the first word is sometimes drawled [p.17]. The last sound is never assimilated to the first sound of the next word [24], nor are they ever linked by the helping vowel [30]. For example: *bənn|baʔʔrfo* 'I think I know him', *tfaḍdal|striḥ* 'Please have a seat', *raḥa-nəbʔa|šīkam.yōm* [DA-93] 'We're going to stay a few days'.

Within any close phrase, one word is somewhat more strongly accented than the others. In phrases, then, there are three degrees of accentuation, including the unaccented syllables. (The main accent of a phrase may be marked ', the subordinate accents, `): *bāddna.nzūro|báʔʔd.bākra* 'We're going to see him the day after tomorrow'; *ʔiza.mā.māḥḥābbō|mnāxod.ǵéro* 'If we don't like it we'll get another' [DA-143].

In general, words are individually discriminable even in close phrasing, since each word (excepting certain particles) has one — and only one — accent (main or subordinate).¹ Word boundaries, too, may sometimes be "heard", even in close phrasing, because there are some sound combinations which occur at word boundaries but not within words, and vice versa.

Phrasing is closely related to intonation, but not wholly determined by intonation. Neither phrasing nor intonation has been thoroughly or surely enough analyzed

¹In actual running speech there are many stretches in which the accentuation — hence also the phonological autonomy of words — is indeterminate. The statement really applies only in certain (ideal) conditions.

for further treatment here. Nor are they ordinarily shown in our transcription, except when clearly essential in exemplifying certain grammatical constructions.

In the following sections of this chapter the term 'word' designates a sequence of sounds with only one accent (main or subordinate) and with no open phrasing between them. The term 'phrase' designates a sequence of words in close phrasing.

Vowel Positions

Vowels in general come only after consonants. That is to say, phrases do not begin with a vowel, but they may end with a vowel; and one vowel does not ordinarily come right after another.

Certain kinds of words, on the other hand, begin with a vowel when they follow certain words that end in a consonant: *tlatt, iyyām* 'three days', *xamst, əšhor* 'five months' [p.171], *wlād, axū* 'his brother's children'.

Exceptions.— Commonly in Lebanese pronunciation, and to some extent elsewhere, a short vowel *a*, *o*, or *u* (in the suffixes *-a* 'her, it', and *-on* or *-un* 'them, their' [p.541]) may follow a long accented vowel: *btəʔrāon* (or *btəʔrāun*) 'she reads them' (for *btəʔrāhon*), *ʕalēa* (or *ʕalāya*) 'on it' (for *ʕalēha*).

In the case of *ū* and *ī*, we write *-uw-* and *-iy-*, respectively, before a vowel: *ʔabūwa* 'her father' (for *ʔabūha*), *nsiyan* 'forget(f.)them' (for *nsīhon*). This is merely a transcriptional convention, however; one might just as well write *ʔabūa*, *nsion*.

By the same token we write *w* and *y* (the consonantal guise of the semivowels) at the beginning of a phrase before a consonant, or at the end of a phrase after a vowel; *wlādi mūhōn* 'My children are not here', *šrāb, ʔš-šāy* 'Drink the tea' — when in some instances the semivowels in these positions could just as well be considered syllabic: *ulādi, šāi*.

Particular Limitations. In the system of six short vowels, only *a* occurs in all types of vowel position.

- 1) *a* does not occur at the end of a word.
- 2) *e* and *o* almost never occur accented, and rarely in open syllables except word-finally.
- 3) *i* and *u* (insofar as they are distinguished from *e* and *o* [p.13]) do not occur before a word-final consonant.

With regard to frequencies, it may be noted that *i*, *e*, *u*, and *o* are rare within a word before two or more consonants (*a* generally replacing all of them [pp.28,13]). Classicisms, however, often have *u* before two consonants: *bukra* 'tomorrow' (for *bakra*), *mumken* 'possible' (for *mamken*), *mulhaq* 'attaché'. (These considerations do not apply to varieties of Arabic that have no distinctive vowel *a* [p.13].) Sometimes a long vowel before two consonants is shortened: *ʔittēn* 'two hands' (for *ʔīdtēn*), *ʔamerkāniyye* 'American(f.)' (for *ʔamērkāniyye*).

The long vowels have no special positional limitations except those implied in the general rule of accentuation: that a (distinctively) long vowel does not occur post-tonically, since the last long syllable in a word is accented.

Single and Double Consonants

Any single (i.e. short) consonant may occur initially, medially, or finally, before or after any vowel.

This statement does not apply to the semivowels (*y*, *w*), however; *y* and *w* almost never occur finally after *e* or *o*, and *y* almost never occurs after *a*.¹ The sequences *iy* and *uw* are not distinguishable from the long vowels *ī* and *ū*, respectively.

Any double (i.e. long) consonant may occur medially, between vowels. Examples: *rabbī, ḥatta, baddo, barrīd, šāsse, rəššāl, ḥaḡḡo, səllom, ʕammi, ʔūtṭēn, səkkīr, baʔʔa, faʕʕāl, fahhem, baḥḥāra, ʔaxxēn, šaḡḡīl, ʔayyeb, wiyyāk, ʕaliyyi, ḥayyo, nawnawmo, xawwīf, huwwē*.

In initial position, double consonants are limited to those formed by the combination of a prefix or proclitic with the first stem consonant², and since there happen to be no prefixes or proclitics that take the form of the consonants *f*, *g*, *ḡ*, *h*, *ḥ*, *k*, *q*, *x*, *ʕ*, or *ʔ* before another consonant, these do not occur doubled initially. Examples: *bbaxšeš, ttafaʔna, ddahraž, mmall, nnām, ṭṭalaʕ, l-lōn, r-rabīʕ, ʕ-ʕābeṭ, š-šifāt, s-suʔāl, ɖ-darb, w-walado*.

In final position, any double consonant may occur after an accented vowel. At the end of a phrase, however, long consonants (like long vowels) do not actually contrast with short ones; writing them double simply serves to show the position of the accent and their potential

¹Exceptions are *ḥayi* 'to be revived' and *ʕayi* 'to weaken, get sick'. Certain local dialects are more tolerant of combinations like *ay*. The dialect of Zaḥle, for instance, has phrase-final forms like *nəsəy* 'to forget' (instead of *nəsi*).

²Very few Arabic roots [p.37] have first and second consonants alike, and the few that do, do not occur in base patterns [36] that juxtapose them.

significant length before vowels [p.27], Examples: *ʔaḥabb*, *xaff*, *mawādd*, *bihazz*, *sažall*, *qšaḫarr*, *haʔʔ*.

In many parts of Greater Syria (including Damascus) long consonants seldom occur before another consonant, except in sequences involving the article [p.493] or demonstrative [556] proclitics or the person suffix -t [175]: *s-zbūn* 'the customer', *har-ržāl* 'these men', *baḫattna* 'you sent us'.

Our transcription, however, shows other double consonants in this position, which are commonly pronounced short but which correspond to long consonants in other forms of the same word, before a vowel [p.28]: *waʔʔfi* 'stop(f.)', commonly pronounced *waʔfi*; cf. the masculine *waʔʔef* 'stop'. In some parts of Greater Syria these double consonants are pronounced long, optionally at least, in all positions. Examples: *bḫarrfak*, *fahhmūni*, *ṭawwlo*, *mḥayyratni*, *ʔal-lha*, *rabbkon*, *ṭaʔʔḥanak*, *tlatt marrāt*.

Two-Consonant Clusters

Across word boundaries, any sequence of two contiguous consonants may occur (though in close phrasing there is a tendency to eliminate certain "awkward" clusters by assimilation: *rāḫḫal-balad* for *rāḫḫal-balad* 'he went to town').

Within a word, almost any sequence of two consonants may occur, with the following exceptions:

(1) The back consonants *x*, *g*, *h*, and *ʕ* do not ordinarily come next to one another, nor does *h* precede these sound, though it may follow them; and *k* and *g* do not precede *x* or *g*, though *k* may follow them.

(2) In a sequence of two dental obstruents (*d*, *ḏ*, *t*, *ṭ*, *s*, *ṣ*, *z*, *ḏ*), it is usually the case that both are velarized or both plain, and very seldom that one is velarized while the other is plain [p.26]. Examples (plain): *staxaff*, *bətsəbb*, *zād*, *ʔaxadto*; (velarized): *ṣṭād*, *bəṭṣəbb*, *məṭṭarr*, *ḥafəṣto*.

(3) A voiced consonant does not occur at the end of a phrase immediately after a voiceless one. (Note that in a sequence like *ḥəfə*, the *f* is voiced: *ḥəfə*.)

(4) The resonants (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*) and the consonantal versions of the semivowels (*w*, *y*) are almost never heard immediately after another consonant at the end of a phrase, except that *m* and *n* sometimes occur after *l* or *r*: *ʕalm*, *fərn* (or *ʕal^m*, *fərnⁿ*).

In final position, many other two-consonant clusters are less common than they are initially or medially, since potential clusters tend to be prevented by the "helping vowel" ². See p.32.

Two-consonant final clusters are considerably more common in Palestine than farther north. In Syria and Lebanon one hears, for instance, either *bənt* or *bən^t* 'girl', while in most parts of Palestine the latter is seldom or never heard.

Three-Consonant Clusters

Sequences of three contiguous consonants virtually never occur finally. Initially, they are mainly limited to a few beginning with *st-*: *striḥ*, *stfiḏ*, *stmanna*.

Otherwise three-consonant clusters are fairly common. The first two consonants may be any two than can occur together finally. The third — if it begins a new word in the phrase — may be any consonant at all: *bənt ḫəlwe*, *ʕand tāžer*, *baḥḫāli*, *darb ʔawi*, *sfənž ḡāli*, *kətf ʕarīḏ*, *ʔamḫ ʔarādīhon*. (But more usually *kətf*, *ʔamḫ*, in Syria proper and Lebanon.)

Within a word, the third consonant of a cluster has to be compatible with the second as in a two-consonant cluster (e.g. *x* would not follow *h*, etc.).

Many words with three-consonant clusters have optional variants with a helping vowel between the first two: *fatḥto* (or more usually *fatḥto*), *byəktbu* (or more usually *byəkt^ubu*), *təmski* (less usually *təmski*). Certain clusters, however, cannot be broken in this way. [See p.33.]

Examples of three-consonant clusters within words: *ʔrəmfle*, *ʕandkon*, *ʔənglīzi*, *məstwiyye*, *bənd^uiyye*, *bərd^uān*, *bəntkon*, *ṣānəḫtna*, *byəstriḥ*, *məṣkle*, *byəṣṭḡel* (Leb., Pal.), *byənkser* (Leb., Pal.), *ʔarbḫa*.

Three-consonant internal clusters are most common with a resonant or sibilant as the first consonant, and/or a dental stop as the second.

When a word or proclitic ending in one consonant is followed in close phrasing by a word beginning with two consonants, a helping vowel almost always keeps them apart, so that three-consonant clusters are not generally formed in this way. There are a few exceptions, however, e.g. *ḫal-blād* 'this country' (more usually *ḫal-blād*).

There are no clusters of four or more consonants.¹

¹All these statements, of course, apply only within a close phrase [p.21]. Sequences of consonants formed by words in open phrasing do not count as clusters; thus open phrases such as *tfaḏḏal|striḥ* 'Please have a seat', *w-ʔalt|xrās* 'And I said, "Be quiet!"' can have four or more consonants in a row, but the sequence is interrupted by a phrase boundary.

GENERAL SOUND CHANGES

The diverse concatenations of stem and affix, and of words within a phrase, require certain adaptive changes in form, in accordance with the allowable sound combinations of the language [p.21].

Besides obligatory changes, there are also similar changes which are optional, whereby allowable but sometimes awkward combinations may be avoided.

Velarization

A plain dental obstruent (*t*, *d*, *s*, *z*), when brought into the neighborhood of a velarized dental obstruent in the same word, generally becomes velarized too (*ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, *ẓ*). Thus the second-person affixes *t-* and *-t* [p.175] become *ṭ-* and *-ṭ*, as in *baṭṣabb* 'you pour' (cf. *baṭsabb* 'you curse'), *baṭḍrob* 'you hit' (cf. *baṭdros* 'you study'), *ṣarṭ* 'you became' (cf. *sarṭ* 'you visited'). Similarly the connective *t* [p.163], as in *ʔaḍṭo* 'his room' (cf. *ʔaḍto* 'his habit'). The root consonant *d* of *ṣayyād* 'hunter' is changed to *ḍ* when it is closer to the initial *ṣ*, as in *ṣeḍ* 'hunting, game'.¹

Since the scope of velarization tends to be rather vague [p.7], a dental that is relatively far removed from the focus of velarization may not be affected, or may be very slightly affected. Thus *ṣaret* 'she became', with a plain *t*, or with the *t* slightly velarized; *ṭfaḍḍal* 'please' (invitational), with a plain *t*, or with velarization: *ṭfaḍḍal*.

As noted on p.7, sounds other than dental obstruents are also velarized in assimilation to *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, or *ẓ*, but this assimilation is not indicated in our transcription.

Devoicing

A single dental or palatal voiced obstruent tends to be devoiced (*d* → *t*, *ḍ* → *ṭ*, *z* → *s*, *ẓ* → *ṣ*, *ḡ* → *ṣ*) before voiceless obstruents. Devoicing is not obligatory, however; its incidence increases as speech becomes faster or more casually enunciated, and is more common in certain words and phrases than in others. It is less common in medial clusters than in final or initial clusters. Examples: *ṣṭamaḥu* (for *ṣṭamaḥu*) 'they gathered' (intrans.), *ʔuṭṭ ʔn-nōm* (for *ʔuḍṭ ʔn-nōm*) 'the bedroom', *ʔaxatto* (for

¹Most roots [p.37] which theoretically contain both plain and velarized dentals (judging from Classical spelling or from historical or comparative data), in fact usually have only velarized dentals in Syrian pronunciation: *b-s-ṭ* (as in *baṣṭ* 'minor, simple'), which is theoretically *b-s-t*; *ḍ-d-d* (as in *daḍḍ* 'against'), theoretically *ḍ-d-d*; *ḡ-t-s* (as in *ḡaṭṣ* 'to sneeze'), theoretically *ḡ-t-s*. Note, however, the form *ḡaṭṣe* 'a sneeze', alongside the expected form *ḡaṭṣa* [p.138], which suggests that a plain *s* has sometimes been maintained after *ṭ*.

ʔaxadto) 'I took it', *l-ʔaṭs* (for *l-ʔaḍs*) 'Jerusalem'.

Assimilation of *n*

The sound *n* often becomes *m* before labials: *ʔambar* 'storehouse' (cf. the plural *ʔanāber* 'storehouses'), *mammūt* (or *mānmūt*) 'we die', *ʔamf* (or *ʔanf*) 'nose', *mām bērūt* (or *mām bērūt*) 'from Beirut'.

n also commonly assimilates to the other resonants, *l* and *r*: *ʔaḥsal-lak* (or *ʔaḥsan-lak*) 'better for you', *r-rāḥ* (or *n-rāḥ*) 'if he goes'.

Neutralization of Length

A vowel that is long within a word or when accented loses its distinctive length when unaccented at the end of a word:

Non-Final	Final Accented	Final Unaccented
<i>naṣīha</i> 'he forgot her'	<i>naṣī</i> 'he forgot him' ...	<i>naṣi</i> 'he forgot'
<i>warāk</i> 'behind you(m.)' ...	<i>warā</i> 'behind him'	<i>wara</i> 'behind'
<i>ʔaṣāhon</i> 'their dinner'	<i>ʔaṣā</i> 'his dinner'	<i>ʔaṣa</i> 'dinner'
<i>ṣāfūni</i> 'they saw me'	<i>ṣāfū</i> 'they saw him'	<i>ṣāfu</i> 'they saw'
<i>ḥkī-li</i> 'tell me'	<i>ḥkī</i> 'tell it'	<i>ʔaḥkī</i> 'tell, speak'
<i>ʔawiyye</i> ¹ 'strong(f.)'		<i>ʔawi</i> 'strong(m.)'

This kind of vowel alternation occurs mainly in connection with pronoun suffixes [p.539], and the number and gender suffixes of nouns and adjectives [203, 211].

A consonant that is long before a vowel tends to lose its distinctive length before another consonant or at the end of a phrase. [See p.24 for qualifications.] This loss of length is not shown in our transcription.

Long	Short (or Indistinctively Long)
<i>biḥabbō</i> 'he likes it'	<i>biḥabbna</i> 'he likes us'
<i>baṭḥabb ʔṣ-ṣāy?</i> 'Do you like tea?'	<i>baṭḥabb taṣrab ṣāy?</i> 'Would you like to have some tea?'
<i>maṭʔassef</i> 'sorry(m.)'	<i>maṭʔassfe</i> 'sorry(f.)'
<i>naṭṭ ʔṣ-ṣabi</i> 'the boy jumped'	<i>ṣ-ṣabi naṭṭ</i> (same translation)

¹The spelling *-iy-* is equivalent to *-ī-*.

Neutralization of Vowel Quality

Short *e* and *o* coming after the accented syllable before a word-final single consonant both become *a* when accented. [p.22]

Unaccented		Accented
<i>tēallamet</i> 'she learned'	<i>tēallamāto</i>	'she learned it'
<i>byalbes</i> 'he wears'	<i>byalbāsa</i>	'he wears it(f.)'
<i>byaḡrob</i> 'he hits'	<i>byaḡrābon</i>	'he hits them'
<i>ēamel</i> 'he did'	<i>ēmālt</i>	'you(or I) did'
<i>ʔanṣol</i> 'consul'	<i>ʔanṣālna</i>	'our consul'
<i>sameē</i> 'he heard'	<i>samāēkon</i>	'he heard you(pl.)'
<i>btaktob</i> 'you(m.)write'	<i>btaktāb-ʔlna</i>	'you write to us'

In those varieties of Syrian Arabic which have no distinctive vowel *a* [p.13], neutralization of the front and back vowels may nevertheless take place. For example (in a dialect of north central Lebanon): *btiktub* 'you write', but *btiktība* 'you write it(f.)', with post-tonic *u* becoming tonic *i*. Other varieties, however, maintain the distinction under the accent. For example (in a Palestinian dialect): *btuktub* 'you write', and *btuktūbha* 'you write it' vs. *btimsik* 'you hold' and *btimsīkha* 'you hold it'.

Loss of *e* and *o*

Short *e* and *o* do not ordinarily occur before a single consonant + vowel within a word.¹ With a few exceptions, all words that have *e* or *o* before a final consonant lose this vowel when any suffix beginning with a vowel (except *-a* 'her', *-on* 'them' [p.541]) is added:

<i>mēallem</i> 'teacher'	+ <i>-īn</i> (pl.)	→ <i>mēallmīn</i> 'teachers'
<i>xānom</i> 'lady'	+ <i>-āt</i> (pl.)	→ <i>xānmāt</i> 'ladies'
<i>bāred</i> 'cold(m.)'	+ <i>-e</i> (fem.)	→ <i>bārde</i> 'cold(f.)'
<i>ṭaleē</i> 'he came out'	+ <i>-u</i> (pl.)	→ <i>ṭalēu</i> 'they came out'
<i>btaskon</i> 'you(m.)dwell'	+ <i>-i</i> (fem.)	→ <i>btaskni</i> 'you(f.)dwell'
<i>šāyef</i> 'seeing'	+ <i>-o</i> 'it(m.)'	→ <i>šāyfo</i> 'seeing it'

¹Certain foreign loan-words break this rule, e.g. *ʔotēl* 'hotel'.

<i>šāfet</i> 'she saw'	+ <i>-ek</i> 'you(f.)'	→ <i>šāftek</i> 'she saw you(f.)'
<i>bāxod</i> 'I'll take'	+ <i>-ak</i> 'you(m.)'	→ <i>bāxdak</i> 'I'll take you(m.)'
<i>sāēet</i> 'watch of...'	+ <i>-i</i> 'me'	→ <i>sāēti</i> 'my watch'

This rule does not apply to words in which the *e* or *o* comes between like consonants the first of which is double. In these cases *e* or *o* is changed to *a*: *bisabbē* 'it causes' + *-u* (pl.) → *bisabbabu* 'they cause'; *taxaṣṣoṣ* 'specialization' + *-ak* 'you' → *taxaṣṣaṣak* 'your specialization'.

Any combination of dental stops (*t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*) also counts as "like consonants": *faddēṭ* 'silver of...' + *-ek* 'your(f.)' → *faddaṭek* 'your silver'.

This rule also does not apply to certain nouns and adjectives — mainly classicisms — in which the *e* or *o* is usually changed to *i* or *u* (respectively): *muttāhed* 'united (m.)' + *-e* (fem.) → *muttāhide*, *malek* 'king' + *-e* (fem.) → *malike* 'queen', *ṭaṣarrof* 'behavior' + *-āt* (pl.) → *ṭaṣarrufāt* (but note *ṭaṣarrfo* 'his behavior').

Anaptyxis

When there is a confrontation of consonants which cannot form a cluster, an ANAPTYCTIC or HELPING VOWEL *a* is used as a transition between them.

To avoid a cluster of three or four consonants, the helping vowel is inserted before the last two:

<i>l-</i> 'the'	+ <i>ktāb</i> 'book'	→ <i>l-ʔktāb</i> 'the book'
<i>bant</i> 'girl'	+ <i>ḡḡīre</i> 'little'	→ <i>bant-ʔḡḡīre</i> 'a little girl'
<i>laḥm</i> 'meat'	+ <i>baʔar</i> 'cattle'	→ <i>laḥm-baʔar</i> 'beef'
<i>baktob</i> 'I'll write'	+ <i>-lkon</i> 'to you(pl.)'	→ <i>baktāb-ʔlkon</i> 'I'll write to you'
<i>bāḥmel</i> 'I'll carry'	+ <i>-o</i> 'it' (with loss of <i>e</i>)	→ <i>bāḥmlo</i> 'I'll carry it'

At the end of a phrase, a two-consonant cluster is often avoided by inserting the helping vowel between them:

<i>šū</i> 'what'	+ <i>hal-</i> 'this'	+ <i>ʔakl</i> 'food'	→ <i>šū hal-ʔakl</i> 'What is this food?'
<i>ʔakl</i> 'eating'	+ <i>l-</i> 'the'	+ <i>laḥm</i> 'meat'	→ <i>ʔakl-l-laḥm</i> 'eating the meat' (or 'the eating of meat')

In our transcription *ə* is printed smaller and raised above the line (^ə) when it occurs as a helping vowel, to distinguish it from the kind of *ə* that is an integral part of the word. The pronunciation, however, is identical.

When *ə* occurs between words, or between hyphenated parts of a word, our convention is to write it always after the space or hyphen.

Note that the helping vowel is never accented. Cf. the affix-supporting vowel [p.31 (bottom), p.167].

Detailed rules for the use of the helping vowel:

(1) The Helping Vowel Between Words

Whenever a word ending in a consonant is followed in close phrasing by a word beginning with two consonants (or a long consonant), a helping vowel comes between them:

<i>rəāl əkbār</i> 'big men'	<i>sətt əlām</i> 'six pencils'
<i>šāṭer əktīr</i> 'very clever'	<i>ʔəbn ət-tāžer</i> 'the merchant's son'
<i>rās əž-žabal</i> 'the top of the mountain'	<i>kənt əbbarṭel</i> 'I would bribe'
<i>mart əl-ʔāḍi</i> 'the judge's wife'	<i>ʔām əmmassel</i> 'an actor got up'

(2) The Helping Vowel with Proclitics

With certain exceptions, the helping vowel is used between a proclitic [p.18] ending in a consonant and the rest of the word beginning with two consonants (or a double consonant):

<i>l-əblād</i> 'the country'	<i>hal-əbqāʕa</i> 'this merchandise'
<i>l-əʔyās</i> 'the measurement'	<i>ʕam-ənʕallem</i> 'we are teaching'
<i>b-əžbəl</i> 'in Jubayl'	<i>ʕam-əttaržem</i> 'she is translating'
<i>n-əštarā</i> 'if he buys it'	<i>bəl-əmhəṭṭa</i> 'in the station'
<i>ləl-əwlād</i> 'to the children'	<i>raḥ-ətkūn</i> 'you're going to be'

A helping vowel is not used after the article [p.493] or the demonstrative [556] if the following consonant is one of those to which the *l* of these proclitics is assimilated (*t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, *ḡ*, *ḫ*, *l*, *n*, *r*):

<i>z-zbūn</i> 'the customer'	<i>haž-žsūra</i> 'these bridges'
<i>r-ršāša</i> 'the bullet'	<i>ləz-žgīr</i> 'to the little one'
<i>l-lḫāf</i> 'the blanket'	<i>ʕan-nsūra</i> 'about the vultures' ¹
<i>hat-trēn</i> 'this train'	<i>bəz-zmarrod</i> 'with the emeralds'

A helping vowel is also not used between the proclitic *ʕam-* [p.320] and a following *b-* [176]: *ʕam-bʔūl* 'I am saying', *ʕam-byəʔder* 'he is able', *ʕam-btəlʕab* 'you are playing'. (The *b-* in these forms is commonly elided: *ʕam-ʔūl*, *ʕam-yəʔder*, *ʕam-təlʕab*.) [See also p.33]

(3) The Helping Vowel within Word Stems

If the stem vowel *e* or *o* that is dropped when a suffix is added [p.28] is preceded by two (different) consonants, then its loss may cause a three-consonant cluster: *byəmsek* + *-u* → *byəmsku*, *bəndoʔ* + *-a* → *bəndʔa*.

More often, however, the three-consonant cluster is avoided by inserting a helping vowel before the last two consonants:

<i>ʔatlet</i> 'she killed'	+ <i>-o</i> 'him'	→ <i>ʔatəlto</i> 'she killed him'
<i>raʔbe(t)</i> 'neck(of)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'him'	→ <i>raʔəbto</i> 'his neck'
<i>bədrob</i> 'I'll hit'	+ <i>-ak</i> 'you'	→ <i>bəḍərbak</i> 'I'll hit you'
<i>ğalṭet</i> 'mistake of'	+ <i>-i</i> 'me'	→ <i>ğaləṭṭi</i> 'my mistake'
<i>btəḥmel</i> 'you carry'	+ <i>-u</i> (pl.)	→ <i>btəḥəmlu</i> 'you(pl.)carry'
<i>kəlme(t)</i> 'word'	+ <i>-ən</i> (dual)	→ <i>kələmtən</i> 'two words'
<i>məsləm</i> 'Moslem'	+ <i>-īn</i> (pl.)	→ <i>məsəlmīn</i> 'Moslems'
<i>məšmoš</i> 'apricots'	+ <i>-e</i> (unit)	→ <i>məšəməše</i> 'an apricot'

In the examples above, the vowel that is dropped from the stem is preceded by a short vowel + two consonants.

If, on the other hand, the dropped vowel is preceded by a short vowel + three consonants, or by a long vowel + two consonants, then the potential cluster is broken by the vowel *ə*, but this is an accented vowel (unless the suffix itself is accented):

<i>sənsle(t)</i> 'chain(of)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'him'	→ <i>sənsəlto</i> 'his chain'
<i>səmbel(t)</i> 'sprig'	+ <i>-ən</i> (dual)	→ <i>səmbəltən</i> 'two sprigs'
<i>mtaržme(t)</i> 'translator (f.)(of)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'it'	→ <i>mtaržəmtə</i> 'its translator(f.)'

¹This is *ʕala* + *n-nsūra*, not *ʕan* + *n-nsūra*. The latter gives *ʕanən-nsūra*. Both might be translated 'about the vultures'. [Seep.476]

mɛallmɛ(t) 'teacher(f.) (of)' + *-i* 'me' → *mɛallɛmti* 'my teacher(f.)'
ʒāmɛt 'university of' + *-ak* 'you' → *ʒāmɛtak* 'your university'

The intrusive *ə* in this type of word formation is not treated as a 'helping vowel' strictly speaking, since it takes the accent, in accordance with the general rule of accentuation [p.18].

On the use of "connective *t*", which is involved in many of these changes, see p.163.

Many words end in two consonants when followed in close phrasing by a word that begins with two consonants, since a helping vowel comes between the words: *bənt ʔg̃g̃ire* 'little girl', *ɛaʃr ʔrūʃ* 'ten piastres'. But at the end of a phrase, or before a word beginning with one consonant, a helping vowel often breaks the word-final cluster: *mīn hal-bənʔt* 'Who is that girl?', *ɛaʃr lērāt* 'ten pounds'. Further examples:

Before <i>ə</i> + two consonants	Finally or before one consonant
<i>ʃ-sahr ʔl-mādi</i> 'last month'	<i>haʃ-ʃahʔr</i> 'this month'
<i>ʃəft ʔl-bāxraʔ</i> 'Did you see the ship?'	<i>ʃəfʔt bāxraʔ</i> 'Did you see a ship?'
<i>hasb ʔt-takalīf</i> 'calculating the expenditures'	<i>hasʔb takalīfna</i> 'calculating our expenditures'
<i>ʔabl ʔhrūb ʔs-ʃalībiyye</i> 'before the Crusaders' wars'	<i>ʔabʔl hal-ʔhrūb</i> 'before those wars'

Many such two-consonant clusters at the end of a word are tolerated, however, especially if the first is a resonant, or if the second is *t*: *ʔalf lēra* 'a thousand pounds', *bənt hālwe* 'a pretty girl', *taht ʔīdo* 'available to him' (lit. 'under his hand'), *ʃəft bāxraʔ* 'Did you see a ship?' [See p.25]

Especially before a suffix beginning with one consonant, these clusters are generally maintained and no helping vowel is used: *ʃəftkon* 'I saw you(pl.)', *bəntna* 'our daughter', *ʃarraftna* 'you have honored us', *baʃaʃt̃ni* 'you have gladdened me', *ʒənshon* 'their kind'.

The helping vowel is virtually always used, on the other hand, finally or before a consonant, if the second of a word-final or stem-final cluster is a resonant, or if the second is voiced and the first voiceless:

ʔəbn 'son' + *-kon* 'you(pl.)' → *ʔəbʔnkon* 'your son'
həbr 'ink' + *ʔaswad* 'black' → *həbʔr ʔaswad* 'black ink'
ʔaʃl 'origin' + *hal-ʔasm* 'this name' → *ʔaʃʔl hal-ʔasm* 'the origin of this name'

hasb 'calculating' + *-ha* 'it' → *hasʔbha* 'calculating it'
ʔaxd 'taking' + *-ni* 'me' → *ʔaxʔdni* 'taking me'

There are two kinds of consonant clusters within words which are strictly immune to being split by the helping vowel:

(1) If the second consonant is the infix *-t-* [p.95], it must always adhere to the preceding consonant; or if the first two are a prefix *st-* [102], they must always cohere: *məʃtiyye* 'embarrassed(f.)' (never *-sʔth-*), *məʃtīd* 'benefitting' (never *-sʔtf-*), *byəʃt̃g̃el* (or *byəʃt̃āg̃el*) 'he works' (never *-ʃʔtg̃-*).

(2) If the first is *m* and the second *b* or *f*: *ʒəmbna* 'beside us, our side', *səmbə* 'sprig, ear', *ʔəmf* 'nose', *byəmbʃet* (or *byəmbʃəʃet*) 'he has a good time'.

Most clusters of *b* with *m* or *f* are the result of assimilation of *n* to a following labial [p.27]. If the *n* remains unassimilated, a helping vowel may split the cluster: *ʔənʔf* (or *ʔənf*) 'nose'.

A combination of *n* with *k* or *g* (the *n* being pronounced in the velar position, as "ng") is generally also unsplittable: *bank* 'bank' (never *-nʔk*), *ʔənglīzi* 'English' (never *-nʔgl-*).

CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES¹

In this chapter some basic terms and concepts used in dealing with Arabic word formation are explained for the novice and sharpened (it is hoped) for the initiate.

INFLECTIONAL BASES

Syrian Arabic has three kinds of inflected words²:

Nouns are inflected for Number (Singular, Dual, Plural).

Adjectives are inflected for Number/Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Plural).

Verbs are inflected for:

- 1) Person (First, Second, Third)
- 2) Number/Gender (Masculine, Feminine, Plural)
- 3) Tense (Perfect, Imperfect)
- 4) Mode (Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative)

The inflectional categories are treated in detail in Chapters 12, 13, and 14.

The inflections of an Arabic word are distinguished either by affixes or by internal changes in form³. The plural of the adjective *taġbān* 'tired', for instance, is produced by suffixing *-īn*: *taġbānīn*, while the plural of *ʔaṣīr* 'short' is formed by changing it internally to *ʔṣār*. (The plural of the noun *raṣṣḥ* 'a cold' is formed by internal change plus a suffix: *rṣūḥāt* 'colds'.)

Inflectional forms are treated in detail in Chapters

For each type of inflected Arabic word there is at least one inflection — the **BASE INFLECTION** — which is never formed with an affix. The base inflection of nouns is the singular; of adjectives, the masculine/singular; the base inflection of verbs is the third-person masculine/singular perfect.⁴

¹The term 'morphological' is used here in a broad sense, including both grammatical and morphophonemic considerations.

²These statements are not to be construed as definitions. The parts of speech are established syntactically.

³The term 'form', as used in this book, generally means 'phonological expression', not 'grammatical structure'.

⁴Another base inflection in verbs is the masculine/singular imperative. The third-person perfect, however, is the traditional citation form and the one used in this book.

The base inflection is used as the CITATION FORM, i.e. its form is the one used for mentioning an inflected word as a whole rather than some particular inflection of it. The masculine/singular *taʿbān*, then, is used in referring to the adjective whose other inflections are *taʿbāne* (f.) and *taʿbānīn* (pl.). Likewise, the verbal citation form *katab* 'to write' sub-tends all twenty-seven inflections; *katab* as a particular inflection actually means 'he wrote', not 'to write'. (Arabic verbs have no infinitive, which is the usual citation form for verbs in modern European languages.)

A word conceived in abstraction from all its inflections is sometimes called a WORD BASE, or simply a BASE.

What follows in this chapter is exclusively concerned with word bases. As for their inflection, the terms and concepts dealing with it are familiar and easy enough not to require special treatment here.

ROOTS AND PATTERNS

Patterns (*aṣ-ṣiġa*, *al-waṣn*)

Most Arabic word bases fit one or another significant PATTERN. That is to say, the form of a base usually implies something about its grammatical function, and perhaps also something about its meaning. Note, for instance, the pattern shared by these words:

<i>ṣabne</i> 'cheese'	<i>rakbe</i> 'knee'
<i>ḥalbe</i> 'box'	<i>naṣbe</i> 'relationship'
<i>xatbe</i> 'marriage proposal'	<i>ʔabre</i> 'needle'
<i>saḥfe</i> 'sister-in-law'	<i>ḍanye</i> 'world'
<i>xadme</i> 'service'	<i>ḍarke</i> 'pool'

The pattern manifested in all these words consists in a sequence 'consonant + *ə* + two consonants + *e*'. This is one of the patterns characteristic of feminine nouns. This pattern, however, implies nothing about the words' meanings.

Note the pattern shared by these words:

<i>ṭabbāx</i> 'cook'	<i>ḥallāʔ</i> 'barber'
<i>xayyāt</i> 'tailor'	<i>fannān</i> 'artist'

<i>ṣarrāḥ</i> 'surgeon'	<i>xaddām</i> 'servant'
<i>dahhān</i> 'painter'	<i>sammān</i> 'grocer'
<i>naššāl</i> 'pickpocket'	<i>ḥattāl</i> 'porter'

This pattern, 'consonant + *a* + double consonant + *ā* + consonant', is characteristic of masculine nouns which also have an element of meaning in common: they show the occupation or profession of the person referred to.

Another masculine noun pattern is shared by these words:

<i>maṭbax</i> 'kitchen'	<i>maṭhaf</i> 'museum'
<i>masbaḥ</i> 'swimming pool'	<i>maxzan</i> 'store'
<i>malʿab</i> 'playground'	<i>markaz</i> 'center'
<i>maṭʿam</i> 'restaurant'	<i>maktab</i> 'office'
<i>maṣnaʿ</i> 'factory'	<i>maṭraḥ</i> 'place'

This pattern, '*ma* + two consonants + *a* + consonant', commonly occurs in words designating kinds of places.

There are numerous exceptions to the pattern implications, however. Note that *xazzān* 'reservoir' and *ṣabbāt* 'shoes' do not indicate people's occupations, nor does *maksab* 'profit' designate a kind of place. Some of the same patterns, too, are used in different parts of speech: *baṭṭāl* 'bad' and *ḥassās* 'sensitive', for instance, are not nouns, but adjectives.

Roots (*al-ʔaṣl*, *al-ġidr*)

If the pattern is analyzed out of a word, then the part left over — the part which differentiates that word from others of the same pattern — most typically consists of three particular consonants in a particular order. This set of consonants is called the ROOT of the word, and each separate consonant is called a RADICAL (*ḥarf ʔaṣlī*). Thus the root of *ṣabne* 'cheese' is *ṣ-b-n*, the root of *ṭabbāx* 'cook' is *ṭ-b-x*, and the root of *maṭbax* 'kitchen' is also *ṭ-b-x*.

Words with the same root commonly have related meanings:

<i>ṭabbāx</i> 'cook'	<i>maṭbax</i> 'kitchen'	(Root <i>ṭ-b-x</i>)
<i>xaddām</i> 'servant'	<i>xadme</i> 'service'	(Root <i>x-d-m</i>)
<i>xatbe</i> 'marriage proposal'	<i>xatīb</i> 'fiacé'	(Root <i>x-ṭ-b</i>)
<i>maṣnaʿ</i> 'factory'	<i>ṣināʿa</i> 'industry'	(Root <i>ṣ-n-ʿ</i>)

There are countless exceptions, however. For instance:

<i>rakbe</i> 'knee'	but	<i>markab</i> 'ship' (Root <i>r-k-b</i>)
<i>barke</i> 'pool'	but	<i>barake</i> 'blessing' (Root <i>b-r-k</i>)
<i>hallāʔ</i> 'barber'	but	<i>halaʔa</i> 'link' (Root <i>h-l-ʔ</i>)

Words having the same root and related meanings are **PARONYMS**; a set of paronyms constitutes a **WORD FAMILY**.

It should be noted that the term 'root' is used in somewhat varied ways in various Arabic grammars and dictionaries. While in this book it designates a mere combination of radicals without regard to meaning, elsewhere it sometimes refers to a meaningful element — its meaning being that shared by all members of a word family. Quite often the concept of 'root' is used ambiguously, requiring interpretation now in one way, now in the other.

In Arabic dictionaries, for instance, which are alphabetized by roots — not by bases as Western dictionaries are — "homonymous roots" are sometime entered separately, i.e. the mixing of different word-families in one main entry is sometimes avoided. This policy has never been consistently carried out, however; the more usual type of entry is the purely "formal" root, whose sub-entries may include words of various word-families, arranged without regard to meaning.

It is often difficult, if not impossible, to decide without arbitrariness whether two words with the same (formal) root have "related meanings" or not. The use of etymology to resolve some of these difficulties only makes the concept of 'root' still more ambiguous.

Root and Pattern Symbols

Roots, though unpronounceable in abstraction from words, may easily be represented by writing the radical letters in order, separated by hyphens; and orally, by simply naming the letters in quick succession.

Handy reference to patterns, on the other hand, is a bit more difficult. In this book the traditional Arab technique is used: the pattern is applied to the sample root *f-ʔ-l*. Here we are not concerned with *f-ʔ-l* as a root of actual words (e.g. *faʔal* 'to do, to act'), but only as a device for making abstract patterns pronounceable. (The *f* and the *l* of these pattern symbols will be capitalized.) Thus *FaʔLe* is our formula for the pattern of *ʔabne*, *ʔalbe*, *xəʔbe*, etc.; *Faʔʔāl* represents the pattern of *ʔabbāx*, *xayyāt*, *ʔarrāḥ*; and *maFʔaL* represents the pattern of *maʔbax*, *masbah*, and *malʔab*.

Number of Radicals

Most Arabic roots are **TRILITERAL** (*θulāṭī*): they have three radicals. There are, however, many four-radical or **QUADRILITERAL** (*rubāʔī*) roots, as in the following words:

(1) <i>ʔadwal</i> 'schedule'	(2) <i>saxraf</i> 'to embellish'	(3) <i>ʔaʃfūr</i> 'bird'
<i>daftar</i> 'notebook'	<i>tarʔam</i> 'to translate'	<i>sandūʔ</i> 'box'
<i>xanʔar</i> 'dagger'	<i>baxʔaʃ</i> 'to tip'	<i>ʔarbūʃ</i> 'fez'
(4) <i>tarʔame</i> 'translation'	(5) <i>mfarnaʔ</i> 'westernized'	
<i>handase</i> 'engineering'	<i>mlaxbaʔ</i> 'mixed up'	
<i>falsafe</i> 'philosophy'	<i>mʔarʔaʔ</i> 'ragged'	

Patterns for quadriliteral roots are symbolized on a dummy root *F-ʔ-L-L*; it is to be understood that the third and fourth radicals are usually different, though they are both represented by *L* in the formulas.

The pattern of the words in group 1 above (masculine nouns) is *FaʔLaL*; group 2 (verbs) also *FaʔLaL*; group 3 (masculine nouns) *FaʔLūL*; group 4 (abstract feminine nouns) *FaʔLaLe*; group 5 (passive participles) *mFaʔLaL*.

Roots of five or more radicals are found only in nouns (plus whatever adjectives may be derived from these nouns by suffixation): *banafsaʔ* 'violet(s)', *ʔambaraʔōr* 'emperor', *ʔrāblos* 'Tripoli', *ʔrābʔls* 'Tripolitanian'.

It is not worth while to symbolize these multiliteral roots or their patterns,¹ because the roots normally occur with one pattern only (plus or minus certain suffixes), and in many cases the pattern itself (if abstractable at all) occurs with only one root.

There are hardly any biliteral roots and no uniliteral roots in Syrian Arabic except in certain particles (e.g. *mən* 'from', *n-* 'if') and in the names of certain letters of the alphabet (e.g. *bē*, name of the letter ب).

A small handful of miscellaneous simple nouns and derivative adjectives, however, also have biliteral roots:

<i>riʔa</i> 'lung'	(Root <i>r-ʔ</i> , Pattern <i>Fiʔa</i>)
<i>fiʔa²</i> 'class, bracket, rate'	(Root <i>f-ʔ</i> , Pattern <i>Fiʔa</i>)
<i>səne</i> 'year'	(Root <i>s-n</i> , Pattern <i>Fəʔe</i>)

¹In Arabic dictionaries, however, it is necessary to extract these "roots" in order to alphabetize the words containing them.

²Also pronounced *fīʔa*, implying a root *f-y-ʔ* with Pattern *FəʔLe*.

mara 'woman' (Root *m-r*, Pattern *Faʕa*)

yadawi 'manual, hand-' (Root *y-d*, Pattern *Faʕawi*)

damawi 'blood-, bloody' (Root *d-m*, Pattern *Faʕawi*)

Note that the Classical words *yad* 'hand' and *dam* 'blood', from which *yadawi* and *damawi* are derived, correspond to three-radical words in Colloquial: *ʔid* 'hand' (Root *ʔ-y-d*, Pattern *FaʕL* [p.142]); *damm* 'blood' (Root *d-m-m*, Pattern *FaʕL*). A similar case is that of the dialectal form *riyye* 'lung' (Root *r-y-y*, Pattern *FaʕLe* [143]), which has been generally supplanted in educated urban speech by the classicism *riʔa*.

In the case of *mara* 'woman', the two-radical colloquial word corresponds to a three-radical word in Classical: *marʔa*. (The latter form is also sometimes used in Colloquial, however, when bookish or officialese style is called for.)

The terms 'biliteral', 'triliteral', 'quadriliteral', etc. in this book will only be applied to roots. To designate words whose roots have a certain number of radicals, or patterns applicable to roots of a certain number of radicals, the terms BIRADICAL, TRIRADICAL, QUADRIRADICAL, etc. will be used.

Compound words in Arabic (i.e. word bases including more than one root) are very rare. Note *raʔsmāliyye* 'capitalism', which includes the roots *r-ʔ-s* and *m-w-l* [p.44]. The colloquial form of the word underlying this one, however, is pronounced *rasmāl* ('capital'), which sounds like a simple word with four radicals (*r-s-m-l*) formed on Pattern *FaʕLāL*, rather than a compound of *rās* 'head' and *māl* 'property'.

Numerals from eleven to nineteen are compounds, consisting of a simple numeral plus 'ten' (*ʕ-ʕ-r*). [See p.170]

PATTERN ALTERATIONS

Root Types

Many patterns vary according to the type of root they are applied to. The verb pattern *FaʕaL*, for instance, when applied to a root like *ʔ-r-y*, does not yield a form *ʔaray*. What happens is that the final radical semivowel disappears in this pattern: *ʔara* 'to read'.

This same verb pattern (*FaʕaL*), applied to a root whose last two radicals are alike, such as *d-l-l*, loses its second vowel *a*, and the two like radicals cohere as a double consonant: *dalal* 'to indicate' (not **dalal*).

Roots like *ʔ-r-y* and *d-l-l* are UNSTABLE: they have at least one radical that in certain patterns is subject to change, disappearance, or fusion. STABLE roots, on the other hand, keep all their radicals intact¹ and distinct in all patterns.

Unstable roots include GEMINATING roots (like *d-l-l*), whose last two radicals are alike and are sometimes fused together, and FLUCTUATING roots (like *ʔ-r-y*), which contain a radical that is sometimes changed, lost, or fused with some part of the pattern.

In fluctuating roots the unstable radicals are usually semivowels (*w* or *y*)², in some cases *ʔ*.

Some examples of radical fluctuation:

1) Change to another sound:

Pattern *FāʕeL* applied to Root *x-w-f* gives *xāwef* 'afraid' (not **xāwef*). (Rule: Medial radical *w* is changed to *y* in Pattern *FāʕeL*.)³

Pattern *FtaʕaL* applied to Root *w-f-ʔ* gives *ttafaʔ* 'to agree' (not **ttafaʔ*). (Rule: Initial radical *w* is changed to *t* in Pattern *FtaʕaL*.)

Pattern *FuʕāL* applied to Root *d-ʕ-w* gives *duʕāʔ* 'supplication' (not **duʕāw*). (Rule: Final radical *w* is changed to *ʔ* in Pattern *FuʕāL*.)

Pattern *FaʕLe* applied to Root *ʔ-w-y* gives *ʔawwe* 'power' (not **ʔawye*). (Rule: Final radical *y* is changed to *w* in Pattern *FaʕLe* after medial radical *w*.⁴ Also: *a* is changed to *u* in Pattern *FaʕLe* before medial radical *w*.)

¹ Intact, not counting the kinds of assimilation described as automatic sound changes [p.26]. Thus the root *ʕ-m-ʕ* is considered stable, even though the *ʕ* may be devoiced in Pattern *FtaʕaL*: *ʕtamaʕ* 'to meet, get together'.

² The mere alternation of *w* with *u* and *y* with *i*, however, is automatic (sub-phonemic, in fact), and is not to be counted as radical fluctuation. Thus the radical *w* shows no fluctuation as between *gasu* 'raiding' (Pattern *FaʕL*) and *gaswe* 'a raid' (Pattern *FaʕLe*), but does show fluctuation in the verb *gaza* 'to raid' (Pattern *FaʕaL*), where its disappearance is not a consequence of automatic sound changes.

³ Except when the final radical is also a semivowel, in which case the medial *w* remains: *nāwi* 'intending' (Root *n-w-y*).

⁴ Unless the medial *w* itself fluctuates, changing to *y*. See *niyye* 'intention', [p.45]

2) Fusion with a part of the pattern:

Pattern *FaEL* applied to Root *s-w-ʔ* gives *sūʔ* 'market' (not "*sawʔ*").
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + medial radical *w* → *ū*.)

Pattern *FaEL* applied to Root *x-w-f* gives *xōf* 'fear' (not *xawf*¹).
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + medial radical *w* → *ō*.)

Pattern *FaEL* applied to Root *x-y-ṭ* gives *xēt* 'thread' (not *xayṭ*¹).
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + medial radical *y* → *ē*.)

Pattern *staFēaL* applied to Root *ʔ-h-l* gives *stāhal* 'to deserve' (not "*staʔhal*").
(Rule: Pattern vowel *a* + initial radical *ʔ* sometimes → *ā*.)

3) Loss without a trace:

Pattern *FaELaL* applied to Root *x-f-y* gives *xaffa* 'to hide' (not "*xaffay*").
(Rule: Final radical semivowels generally disappear from word-final position after *a*.)

Pattern *FaELaL* applied to Root *x-w-f* gives *xāf* 'to fear' (not "*xawaf*").
(Rule: Medial radical semivowels generally disappear in Pattern *FaELaL*. *xa-* + *-af* = *xāf*.)

Pattern *staFēaL* applied to Root *h-y-y* gives *staḥa* 'to be embarrassed' (not "*staḥyay*").
(Rule: Medial radical *y* disappears in Pattern *staFēaL* if the final radical is also *y*.² The latter also disappears since it is in word-final position after *a*.)

Pattern *FaELān* applied to Root *m-l-ʔ* gives *malān* 'full' (not "*malʔān*").³
(Rule: Final radical *ʔ* sometimes disappears in Pattern *FaELān*.)²

Word Types

A word in which the radicals are all intact and distinct is called **SOUND** (*sālim*).

A word in which two like radicals are fused together is called **DOUBLED** or **GEMINATE** (*muḍāʿaf*): *šadde* 'intensity' (cf. sound *šadīd* 'intense'); *ḍarr* 'to damage' (cf. sound *ḍarar* 'damage'); *ḥazz* 'luck' (cf. sound *maḥgūḥ* 'lucky').

¹Forms like *xawf* and *xayṭ* generally occur in Lebanon, however. For the typical Lebanese dialects, the fusion of *a* with *w* and *y* does not take place.

²This "rule" is not important since there are no other instances in which it applies.

³Compare, however, the more common doublet of this root: *m-l-y*, whose final radical does not disappear in Pattern *FaELān*: *malyān* 'full'.

Many patterns accommodate the fusion of like radicals without alteration. The double consonant occupies the same position in the pattern as two contiguous but distinct consonants: *ḥazz* (Pattern *FaEL*); *šadde* (Pattern *FaELe*).

Some patterns, however, undergo a special alteration when applied to geminating roots, so that the like radicals are brought together while unlike radicals are kept apart by a vowel:

Pattern *staFēaL* with Root *h-ʔ-ʔ* gives geminate *stahāʔʔ* 'to deserve' (not "*stāhʔʔ*", which would be the sound form).

Pattern *maFēaL* with Root *h-l-l* gives geminate *maḥāll* 'place' (not "*māḥlāl*", which would be the sound form).

Pattern *ʔaFēaL* with Root *x-s-s* gives geminate *ʔaxāšš* 'most special' (not "*ʔāxšaš*", which would be the sound form).

A word is called **WEAK** (*muʿtall*) if in any of its forms a radical is changed, lost, or fused with some part of the pattern.

While a stable root (by definition) produces only sound words, a fluctuating root may produce both sound and weak words. Thus the fluctuating root *š-w-f* with Pattern *FaELaL* produces a weak verb *šāf* 'to see', but with Pattern *FaELaL* it produces a sound verb *šawwaf* 'to show'.

The root *z-w-r* with Pattern *FaELaL* produces both a weak verb *zār* 'to visit' and a sound verb *zawar* 'to give (someone) a significant look'.

The root *ʔ-k-l* with Pattern *FaELaL* produces a base form in which all radicals are intact: *ʔakal* 'to eat'; but the initial radical *ʔ* is lost or fused in other inflections (*byākol* 'he eats', *kōl* 'eat!'), so the verb *ʔakal* is classified as weak.

In **FINAL-WEAK** or **DEFECTIVE** (*nāqīṣ*) words, it is the last radical that is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

ʔara 'to read' (Root *ʔ-r-y*, Pattern *FaELaL*)

In the base form the final radical *y* is lost, while in certain other forms it is fused with parts of the pattern to give *ā* or *ē*: *ʔarāḥa* 'he read it', *ʔarēt* 'I(have)read'.

farša 'to brush' (Root *f-r-š-y*, Pattern *FaELaL*)

In other forms the radical *y* is not lost but fused: *faršēt* 'I brushed', *bfaršī* 'I brush it'.

ʔawi 'strong' (Root *ʔ-w-y*, Pattern *FaELiL*)

The final *i* does not represent the radical *y*, but only the apocopated pattern vowel *ī*.

ʔuwwe 'strength' (Root *ʔ-w-y*, Pattern *FəʔLe*)

The final radical *y* is changed to *w* in this word.

naʕi 'to forget' (Root *n-s-y*, Pattern *FəʔeL*)

The final radical is fused with the pattern vowel (*e + y* → *ī* → final unaccented *i*) and is lost in the imperfect inflections: *byaʕsa* 'he forgets'.

muddāʕi 'claimant' (Root *d-ʕ-w*, Pattern *muFtaʕeL*)

The final radical is, strictly speaking, fused with the pattern (*e + w* → *ī* → final unaccented *i*) rather than lost.¹

ʕaza or *ʕazāʔ* 'punishment' (Root *ʕ-z-y*, Pattern *FaʕāL*)

The form *ʕaza* shows total loss of the final radical *y* (with the pattern vowel shortened because it is unaccented finally), while in *ʕazāʔ* the radical is not lost but is changed to *ʔ*.

In MIDDLE-WEAK or HOLLOW (*ʔaʕwaf*) words, a middle radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

xāf 'to fear' (Root *x-w-f*, Pattern *FaʕaL*)

The radical *w* is totally lost in the perfect, while in the imperfect, strictly speaking, it fuses with the pattern vowel *a* to produce *ā*: *bixāf* 'he fears' (Pattern *byaFʕaL*: *w + a* → *ā*).

stafād 'to benefit' (Root *f-y-d*, Pattern *staFʕaL*)

The radical *y* fuses with the pattern vowel *a* to produce *ā*, while in the imperfect *byastfīd* (Pattern *byastaFʕeL*) it fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to produce *ī*.

ʕēṭān 'devil' (Root *ʕ-y-ṭ-n*, Pattern *FaʕLāL*)

The pattern vowel *a* fuses with the radical *y* to produce *ē*. The radical remains intact in the plural: *ʕayaṭīn*.

¹ If it were lost, strictly speaking, the pattern vowel *e* would not be altered to *i*.

niyye 'intention' (Root *n-w-y*, Pattern *FəʔLe*)

The medial radical *w* is changed to *y*.¹

šāyef 'looking at' (Root *š-w-f*, Pattern *FāʕeL*)

The medial radical *w* is changed to *y*.

mōt 'death' (Root *m-w-t*, Pattern *FaʕL*)

The pattern vowel *a* fuses with the medial radical to produce *ō*.

In INITIAL-WEAK words, the first radical is changed, lost, or fused. Examples:

ʔāman 'to believe' (Root *ʔ-m-n*, Pattern *ʔaFʕaL*)

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with *ʔ* to produce *ā* in the perfect tense, but the initial radical remains intact in the imperfect: *byaʔmen* 'he believes'.²

ṭṭašal 'to get in touch' (Root *w-ṣ-l*, Pattern *FtaʕaL*)

The initial radical *w* is changed to *ṭ*, assimilated to the *-ṭ-* infix of the pattern.

yābes 'to dry out' (Root *y-b-s*, Pattern *FəʔeL*)

The radical *y* is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: *btābas* 'it(f.)dries out'. (Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: *btības*. *ī* = *iy* ← *a + y*.)

wāled 'to be born' (Root *w-l-d*, Pattern *FəʔeL*)

The radical *w* is intact in the base form, but may be lost in the imperfect tense: *byālad* 'he is born'. (Alternatively, however, it may be fused with the prefix vowel: *byūlad*. *ū* = *uw* ← *a + w*.)

¹ The word *niyye* could just as well be spelled *nīye* [p.22], in the light of which one could say that the medial *w* is fused with the pattern, rather than simply changed.

² *ʔāman* may also be construed as having Pattern *FāʕaL* rather *ʔaFʕaL*, in view of the imperfect *biʔāmen* 'he believes' in addition to *byaʔmen*. As a Pattern *FāʕaL* verb, it is sound, since the initial *ʔ* is then the radical rather than a pattern formative.

šifa 'attribute' (Root *w-š-f*, Pattern *ʕiLa*)

The initial radical is lost completely. (Pattern *ʕiLa* occurs only in initial-weak words, which is why it is shown without any *F*.)

mūheš 'desolate' (Root *w-h-š*, Pattern *məʔʕeL*)

The Pattern vowel *a* fuses with *w* to produce *ū*.

DERIVATION (*al-ištiqāq*)

Simple and Augmented Bases

An affix or a change of pattern that is used in forming a larger word base from a smaller one is called a **BASE FORMATIVE**. The prefix *m-* in *mʕallem* 'teacher', for instance, is a base formative (cf. *ʕallam* 'to teach'); likewise the suffix *-an* in *dāyman* 'always' (cf. *dāyem* 'lasting, permanent'), the infix *-t-* in *štamaʕ* 'to meet, get together' (cf. *šamaʕ* 'to bring together'), and the lengthening of the consonant and vowel in *ṭabbāx* 'cook' (cf. *ṭabax* 'to cook, prepare food').

Word bases that contain formatives (*ziyāda*) are called **AUGMENTED** (*mazīd fihi*); those without formatives are **SIMPLE** (*muḡarrad*). *šamaʕ* and *ṭabax* are simple, while *štamaʕ* and *ṭabbāx* are singly augmented — they each contain one formative. *ʕallam* 'to teach' and *dāyem* 'lasting' are also singly augmented (cf. the simple words *ʕalm* 'organized knowledge' and *dām* 'to last'). *mʕallem*, then, is doubly augmented — it contains both the *m-* and the lengthened *l*; *dāyman*, too, is doubly augmented — by the suffix *-an* and the active participial formative (consisting in a change from Pattern *FaʕaL* to Pattern *FāʕeL*)¹.

Patterns, as well as word bases, may be spoken of as simple or augmented, since a word's formative are part of its pattern, not part of its root. Thus the pattern *FaʕL* (as in *ʕalm*) is a simple pattern, as also the verb pattern *FaʕaL* (as in *šamaʕ*, *ṭabax*, and the hollow verb *dām*). Singly augmented patterns include *FtaʕaL* (as in *štamaʕ*), *FaʕʕaL* (as in *ʕallam*), *FaʕʕāL* (as in *ṭabbāx*), and *FāʕeL* (as in *dāyem*), while the patterns *mFaʕʕeL* (as in *mʕallem*) and *FāʕʕLan* (as in *dāyman*) are doubly augmented.

¹The form *dāyman* is analyzed as *dāyem* + *-an*; the loss of *e* is not a change of pattern but merely an alteration in the pattern entailed by the addition of the suffix.

The Function of Base Formatives

Every formative has one or more regular functions. That is to say, there are certain regular differences in grammar or in meaning between words that contain a particular formative and words that lack it. A regular function of the formative *-t-*, for instance, is to convert active verbs like *šamaʕ* 'to bring together' into mediopassive verbs like *štamaʕ* 'to get together, to meet'.

If the only difference in structure between two paronyms is that one contains a base formative which the other lacks — and if the difference in their grammar or meanings can be accounted for as a regular function of that formative — then the word with the formative is said to be **DERIVED** (*muštaqq*) from the word without it. Thus *štamaʕ* is derived from *šamaʕ*, and *mʕallem* 'teacher' is derived from *ʕallam* 'to teach', and *dāyman* 'always' from *dāyem* 'lasting, permanent' — which, in its turn, is derived from the simple verb *dām* 'to last'.¹

Not all derivatives are augmented. Any change in pattern may serve to distinguish a derivative from the word underlying it, provided that the same function is in some other cases regularly served by augmentation. For example the noun *šarb* 'drinking' — even though it lacks a formative — is considered a derivative of the verb *šreb* 'to drink', since for .. countless other verbs this same kind of noun derivation (the gerund or *mašdar* [284]) is regularly expressed with formatives: *ʔara* 'to read' → *ʔrāye* 'reading', *kātab* 'to write to' → *mkātabe* 'writing, correspondence',

¹It is quite usual in Arabic grammar to go on from here to say that *dām* is derived from the root *d-w-m*, and *šamaʕ* from *š-m-ʕ*, and *ʕallam* from *ʕ-l-m*. To take this step implies that all patterns are formatives and all words derivatives.

But the relationship between a word base and its root (sometimes called 'primary derivation') should not be confused with the very different kind of relationship that holds between two paronymous word bases. It is gratuitous to say that *šamaʕ* is "derived from" *š-m-ʕ*, when the same thing may be expressed simply by saying that the root of *šamaʕ* is *š-m-ʕ*.

A more serious objection to saying that a base is "derived from" a certain root is this: Arabic roots (as usually conceived, and as presented in this book) enter into construction with augmented patterns as well as with simple patterns. Thus Root *š-m-ʕ* + Pattern *FtaʕaL* → *štamaʕ*. No matter how convenient this kind of analysis may be in describing the forms (morphophonemics) of words, it is incompatible with the analysis of augmented word bases into underlying bases plus formatives: *šamaʕ* + *-t-* → *štamaʕ*. Therefore if we want to describe the hierarchical interrelationships of word bases, we cannot validly treat roots and patterns as grammatical entities at all.

The derivational system, then, is the system of interrelationships among members of a word family. A root, as conceived here, is neither parental nor ancestral to those members, but is merely their family resemblance.

ʿallam 'to teach' → *taʿlīm* 'teaching, instruction'.¹

Derivational Categories

There are approximately thirty regular ways in which Syrian Arabic words are produced by derivational formatives, including about fifteen kinds of verb derivation, ten kinds of noun derivation, four or five kinds of adjective derivation, and one kind of adverb derivation.

Notwithstanding the fact that derivation is based on the regular correlation of formatives with functions, these correlations are in general not very neat. Some categories, e.g. abstract nouns [p 284], are expressed by a wide variety of formatives and other pattern changes, while many formatives, e.g. the *-e/-a* suffix [138], or the verb pattern *FaʿʿaL* [79],² serve regularly in a number of different functions.

The derivational categories are treated in detail in Chapters

Unlike inflectional categories, the categories that are purely derivational have no unique syntactic or semantic properties. That is to say, there are always some simple underived words that have the same syntactic and semantic characteristics as the derivatives. Take for example causative verbs [p. 240] derived from simple transitive verbs: *fahham* 'to explain(to)', from *fahem* 'to understand'. These causatives are doubly transitive and mean 'to cause(someone)to do(something)', thus *fahham* 'to cause(someone)to understand(something)'. But compare this with a simple verb like *ʿaṭa* 'to give', which is likewise doubly transitive and might likewise be analyzed semantically as 'to cause(someone)to receive(something)'. The only relevant difference is that *ʿaṭa* has no paronym meaning 'to receive'.

Or take for example occupational derivatives like *ṭabbāx* 'cook' (from *ṭabax* 'to cook, prepare food'), *fannān* 'artist' (from *fann* 'art'), *mʿallam* 'teacher' (from *ʿallam* 'to teach'), *ʿāḍi* 'judge' (from *ʿaḍa* 'to pass judgement'). These derivatives are paralleled by simple words that likewise indicate occupations: *xūri* 'priest', *doktōr* 'doctor', *ʿastāz* 'professor', *ʿarṣa* 'pimp'.

¹ Since so many gerunds of simple verbs are formed on simple noun patterns, some scholars seem to have doubts about "which came first", the verb or the noun [284]. As a pseudo-historical question, this is perhaps an insoluble problem, but as a question of mere linguistic description it is no real problem at all. In actual practice everyone treats the gerund as a derivative of the verb — even those who would in theory maintain that the reverse is equally reasonable.

² Strictly speaking, patterns as such are not formatives; to call Pattern *FaʿʿaL* a formative means that the change from some other (usually simple) pattern to Pattern *FaʿʿaL* is a formative.

There are, however, several categories that are not purely derivational but rather QUASI-INFLECTIONAL, straddling the line between derivation and inflection. Active participles [p. 265], elatives [313], true passive verbs [236], and transitive gerunds [440] have certain syntactic and/or semantic peculiarities that set them apart from any non-derivative words.¹

Derivational Irregularities

While inflectional systems tend to be functionally regular and perfectly productive, derivational systems are normally riddled with gaps and irregularities.

First of all, no derivational categories (not even the quasi-inflectional ones) are as PRODUCTIVE as the inflectional categories. While the inflections of most words may be freely improvised as needed, derivational formatives on the other hand are not used so liberally. To improvise with a derivational formative is to produce a nonce word or to coin a word.

The derivational categories vary greatly in the extent to which they are exemplified in ready-made word bases, and in the precision with which a derivative's grammar or meaning may be deduced from that of the underlying word. These factors, in turn, have an effect on the frequency with which a given derivational formative is used in coinages or nonce formations.

The most common and productive derivational categories include causative, augmentative, applicative and (especially) passive verbs; participial and relative adjectives and nouns; and abstract, singulative, feminal, and elative nouns.

At the other end of the scale certain categories are so uncommon or so shot through with irregularities of one sort or another that their status as "regular" derivational functions is only marginal. This is the case, for instance, with descriptive verbs and diminutive nouns.

Beyond such marginal categories there lies an assortment of anomalous derivatives which do not fit any recognizable category at all.

Some words fit into a particular derivational category in form and meaning but have no underlying word. For example the instrumental noun *maṣṣal* 'sickle' implies an underlying verb such as *"naṣṣal"* (meaning, perhaps, 'to cut, mow'), but in fact no such verb exists. Similarly the reciprocative verb *qāḍarab(u)* 'to fight(one another)' theoretically should be derived from a participative verb *qāḍarab* 'to fight with' (which would be derived in turn from the simple verb *qāḍarab* 'to hit'); in fact, however, no such verb as *qāḍarab* is used in Syrian Arabic.

¹ The special features of these categories are dealt with, for convenience' sake, along with their more properly derivational functions, though strictly speaking those features belong in the chapters on inflectional categories.

Many augmented words seem to be derived from certain other words insofar as their form is concerned, but their meanings are wrong (i.e. cannot be accounted for as a regular function of the formative). Thus *štarr* 'to chew a cud, ruminate' is not to be counted as a derivative of *šarr* 'to pull, drag'.¹

Many words are IDIOMATICALLY derived. That is to say, the uses of two paronyms may differ in such a way that the formative in one of them accounts for some but not all of the semantic and syntactic difference between them. The occupational noun *šarrāḥ* 'surgeon', for instance, is mildly idiomatic with respect to its underlying verb *šaraḥ* 'to wound, to cut or break (living flesh)', since there is nothing in the verb's meaning to hint that its occupational derivative would designate a kind of therapist.

The verb *šarraḥ* 'to present, introduce' is an idiomatic causative of *šaraḥ* 'to know, get to know'. It is idiomatic mainly in its syntax: instead of being doubly transitive — which is the normal thing for causatives of transitive verbs — it takes only one object and a prepositional complement: *šarraḥ (ḥada) šaraḥ (ḥada)* 'to introduce (someone) to (someone)'.

A more severe case of idiomatic derivation can be seen in the relationship between *ḥtaram* 'to respect' and *ḥaram* 'to deprive (someone) of (something)'. The regular mediopassive function of the *-t-* would theoretically produce a derivative meaning 'to deprive one's self of, to hold aloof from'. The actual meaning, however, is considerably altered, first by specialization in the sense 'to observe a taboo with respect to', thence by generalization: 'to respect'.²

Strictly speaking, it is not words as wholes that are derived from other words, but words as they are used in particular senses. The verb *ḥtaram* means not only 'to respect', but also 'to miss, to be deprived of'; in this sense it is a fairly straightforward passive or *ḥaram*.

¹Not a functional derivative, though it may be a historical derivative. When in the course of history one or both paronyms undergo such drastic changes in meaning that the connection between them is no longer apparent, then the derivation has ceased to be functional.

²The derivation of *ḥtaram* from *ḥaram* is already well on the way to being non-functional. While some native speakers may perceive the semantic connection between the two words intuitively, others would have to "work it out" or have it pointed out to them. Though the distinction between functional and non-functional derivations is a real and useful one, it is neither possible (by present criteria) nor desirable (for present purposes) to draw a sharp line between them.

The verb *štaḡal* 'to work', for instance, is the mediopassive of *šaḡal* 'to occupy, make...busy', but this derivation applies only insofar as the subject-referent of *štaḡal* is animate. When it is inanimate (say, a machine), then *štaḡal* is not the mediopassive of *šaḡal*, but rather of *šaḡḡal* 'to operate, put into operation'.¹

¹Or better, perhaps, *šaḡḡal* may be considered the causative of *štaḡal*. Causative and mediopassive are the converse of each other [p.238], and since both words are singly augmented, there is no basis for deciding which is derivative and which underlying.

Some scholars would object to calling either word a derivative of the other, on the grounds that both analyses imply etymologies that are very likely false. But it goes without saying, of any strictly synchronic method of analysis, that no etymologies — at least no particular etymologies — are implied, even though the analysis of the system as a whole may be so designed as to suggest good etymologies in most cases.

The present method does not imply that any given derivative necessarily "came from" (or "comes from") its underlying word, nor that it is necessarily more closely associated with its underlying word than with other paronyms. It merely implies that the category to which the derivative belongs is — on the whole — best described in terms of its underlying word's category.

The description of Arabic derivation in this book departs from more traditional descriptions, in that all derivational categories (except color and defect adjectives [p.130]) are defined in terms of underlying word bases; none is treated as a primary category, i.e. none is defined in terms of roots.

One reason for stopping derivational analysis short of the root has been given in the footnote on p.47. Another reason (or another aspect of the fundamental reason) has to do with the "meanings of roots".

The purported meaning of the root *k-t-b*, for instance, is sometimes formulated in English in the phrase 'having to do with writing'. Thus the locative noun *maktab* 'office' can be analyzed derivationally as meaning 'a place having to do with writing', and the occupational noun *kāteb* 'writer', 'clerk', as 'a person whose occupation has to do with writing'. (Note, however, that this type of analysis fails to reflect the more specific relationships such as that between *kāteb* 'clerk' and *maktab* 'office', or that between *ktāb* 'book' and the locative *maktabe* 'library'.)

But since the verb pattern *FaʿaL* cannot be associated with any specific kind of meaning, the simple verb *katab* 'to write' can only be analyzed as meaning 'to do something having to do with writing'. The tautology is obvious; the formula 'to write' and the formula 'having to do with writing' differ only in that the latter is worded to sound vague and dissociated from any particular part of speech. The purported meaning of the root *k-t-b*, then, is seen to be merely the blurred and deverbalized meaning of the verb *katab*.

So the functional head of this word family turns out after all to be a simple word base, while the root — in this light — appears as a sort

CHAPTER 3: VERB PATTERNS (ʔawzān l-fiʔl) WITH INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS

Most of the Arabic verb patterns (commonly called "stems", "forms", or "measures") are traditionally designated in Western grammars and dictionaries by numerical labels. For instance 'Pattern II' ("the second stem") is Pattern *FaʔʔaL*, 'Pattern III' is *FāʔaL*, etc. The several simple patterns are designated collectively as "Pattern I".

The base inflection (3rd person masc./sing. perfect) is not sufficient as a citation form to differentiate the simple triradical patterns one from another, so these patterns (and the verbs instantiating them) are often cited with two "principle parts", the second of which is the 3rd p. masc./sing. imperfect indicative. Thus the verb *ḥamal*, *byaḥmel* 'to carry' is an example of Pattern *FaʔʔaL*, *byaʔʔeL*. (Augmented verbs also are sometimes cited in this way, though their imperfect can be deduced from the perfect.) Pattern *FaʔʔaL*, *byaʔʔeL* may also be cited as Pattern I(a-e) — with the first letter in the parenthesis showing the stem vowel of the perfect and the second letter showing the stem vowel of the imperfect.

Each pattern — and each alteration of it — is illustrated with at least one paradigm showing the complete inflection¹ of a verb. These inflectional paradigms constitute a sort of distributed appendix, serving not only this chapter, but also Chapter 6, in which the inflectional affixes and stem modifications are described.

It should not be supposed that each of the many paradigms in this chapter illustrates a different "conjugation" that has to be learned separately. The inflectional affixes are much the same for all patterns; the few variations they incur with different types of stem have relatively little to do with base patterns as such. Inflectional stem modifications, likewise, apply to verb classes each of which subsumes — or intersects — a number of different base patterns.

Index of Patterns

SIMPLE TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern I(a-o):	<i>FaʔʔaL</i> , <i>byaʔʔoL</i>	p.55
Pattern I(a-e):	<i>FaʔʔaL</i> , <i>byaʔʔeL</i>	p.57
Pattern I(a-o/e) and (a-ə) (Geminate) ...		p.63
Pattern I(a-a):	<i>FaʔʔaL</i> , <i>byaʔʔaL</i>	p.65
Pattern I(e-e):	<i>FaʔʔeL</i> , <i>byaʔʔeL</i>	p.69

¹Inflection does not include pronoun object suffixes. See Ch. 21.

¹(footnote continued from page 51)
of family emblem or icon which has no intrinsic meaning but which is invested with, and reflects, the meaning of the "head" word base.

A common objection to the foregoing argument is that there are many word families in which certain derivatives have no underlying words, and therefore if these orphan derivatives are to be analyzed at all, they must be analyzed in terms of their roots and patterns.

This objection defeats itself, however. To observe that certain derivatives have no underlying words is to point out missing members of their word families; and to point out the missing members — to interpolate hypothetical underlying bases — validates and confirms the base-hierarchy type of analysis while showing exactly how the root-pattern analysis may be dispensed with.

Arabic roots could be utilized as derivational primes if the term 'root' were used to denote elements that enter into construction only with primary patterns, i.e. patterns which specify no meanings but only fix the parts of speech. In that case, however, the gaps left between orphan derivatives and their roots would still have to be bridged by hypothetical underlying bases.

For practical purposes it seems preferable to treat primary bases (actual or hypothetical) as derivational primes, and not to tamper with the traditional Arabistic concept of root, which is probably more useful, generally speaking, as it stands.

Pattern I(e-a): *FəʕeL*, *byəFəʕaL* ... p.71

Anomalous: *ʔəʒa*, *byəʒi* 'to come' ... p.76

AUGMENTED TRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Pattern II: *FaʕʕaL*, *biFaʕʕeL* ... p.77

Pattern III: *FāʕaL*, *biFāʕeL* ... p.80

Pattern IV: *ʔaFəʕaL*, *byəFəʕeL* ... p.82

Pattern V: *tFaʕʕaL*, *byəʔFaʕʕaL* ... p.86

Pattern VI: *tFāʕaL*, *byəʔFāʕaL* ... p.88

Pattern VII: *nFaʕaL*, *byənFāʕeL* ... p.91

Pattern VIII: *FtaʕaL*, *byəʔFtāʕeL* ... p.95

Pattern IX: *FəʕaLL*, *byəFəʕaLL* ... p.101

Pattern X: *staFəʕaL*, *byəstaFəʕeL* ... p.102

Anomalous Forms ... p.107

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Reduplicative: *FaʕFaL*, *biFaʕFeL* and *tFaʕFaL*, *byəʔFaʕFaL* ... p.110

Post-medial *w*: *FaʕwaL*, *biFaʕweL* and *tFaʕwaL*, *byəʔFaʕwaL* ... p.113

Pre-medial *ō*: *FōʕaL*, *biFōʕeL* and *tFōʕaL*, *byəʔFōʕaL* ... p.113

Pre-medial *r*: *FarʕaL*, *biFarʕeL* and *tFarʕaL*, *byəʔFarʕaL* ... p.114

Suffix *n*: *FaʕLan*, *biFaʕLen* and *tFaʕLan*, *byəʔFaʕLan* ... p.115

Prefix *ʔ*: *ʔaFəʕaL*, *biʔaFəʕeL* ... p.116

TRUE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS:

Simple Pattern (I): *FaʕLaL*, *biFaʕLeL* ... p.117

Prefix *t* (II): *tFaʕLaL*, *byəʔFaʕLaL* ... p.121

Pattern *FəʕaLaLL* (IV): *FəʕaLaLL*, *byəFəʕaLaLL* ... p.123

PATTERN I(a-o): *FaʕaL*, *byəFəʕoL*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

ʔamar, *byəʔmor* 'to command' *xalaʕ*, *byəxloʕ* 'to finish'
daras, *byədros* 'to study' *katab*, *byəktob* 'to write'
ʔabax, *byəʔbox* 'to cook' *barad*, *byəbrod* 'to get cold'

INFLECTION OF *katab* 'to write'

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Impf. Indic.</u>	<u>Impf. Subjn.</u>	<u>Impv.</u>	
3m	<i>kátab</i>	<i>byáktob</i>	<i>yáktob</i>		'he'
f	<i>kátbet</i>	<i>btáktob</i>	<i>táktob</i>		'she'
pl	<i>kátabu</i>	<i>byák^atbu</i>	<i>yák^atbu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>katáb(^a)t</i>	<i>btáktob</i>	<i>táktob</i>	<i>ktōb</i>	'you'
f	<i>katábtī</i>	<i>bták^atbi</i>	<i>ták^atbi</i>	<i>ktābi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>katābtu</i>	<i>bták^atbu</i>	<i>ták^atbu</i>	<i>ktābu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>katáb(^a)t</i>	<i>báktob</i>	<i>ʔáktob</i>		'I'
pl	<i>katābna</i>	<i>mnáktob</i>	<i>náktob</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *kāteb*, Pass. *maktūb* (Gerunds: *ktābe*, *katāb*)

Initial-Weak Verbs: *ʔakal*, *byākol* 'to eat'; *ʔaxad*, *byāxod* 'to take'

The initial radical *ʔ* of these two verbs fuses with the prefix vowel of the imperfect to produce *ā*, and disappears entirely in the imperative. (In all other verbs on this pattern the initial radical *ʔ* is stable, e.g. *ʔamar*, *byəʔmor*.)

INFLECTION OF ʔaxad 'to take, get'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	ʔáxad	byāxod	yāxod		'he'
f	ʔáxdet	btāxod	tāxod		'she'
pl	ʔáxadu	byāxdu	yāxdu		'they'
2m	ʔaxád(ʔ)t ¹	btāxod	tāxod	xōd	'you'
f	ʔaxátti	btāxdi	tāxdi	xédi	'you'
pl	ʔaxáttu	btāxdu	tāxdu	xédu	'you'
1sg	ʔaxád(ʔ)t ¹	bāxod	ʔāxod		'I'
pl	ʔaxádna	mnāxod	nāxod		'we'

Participles: Act. ʔāxed, Pass. maʔxūd (Gerund: ʔaxʔd)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

ʔāl, biʔūl 'to say'	kān, bikūn 'to be'
zār, bizūr 'to visit'	sāʔ, bisūʔ 'to drive'
māt, bimūt 'to die'	lām, bilūm 'to blame'

All these verbs have *w* as their middle radical. In the perfect the *w* disappears entirely, while in the imperfect it fuses with the pattern vowel *o* to produce *ū*.

¹Or with assimilation of *d* to *t* [p.26]: ʔaxátt.

INFLECTION OF sāʔ 'to drive'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sāʔ	bisūʔ	ysūʔ		'he'
f	sāʔet	bətsūʔ	tsūʔ		'she'
pl	sāʔu	bisūʔu	ysūʔu		'they'
2m	sāʔ(ʔ)t	bətsūʔ	tsūʔ	sūʔ	'you'
f	sāʔti	bətsūʔi	tsūʔi	sūʔi	'you'
pl	sāʔtu	bətsūʔu	tsūʔu	sūʔu	'you'
1sg	sāʔ(ʔ)t	bsūʔ	sūʔ		'I'
pl	sāʔna	mənsūʔ	nsūʔ		'we'

Participle: Act. sāyeʔ (Gerund: syāʔa.)

There are no defective verbs [p.43] with Pattern I(a-o) in Syrian Arabic (other than in classicisms such as ʔaržūk 'I beg of you'). All simple defective verbs have Pattern I(a-e) or (e-a).

In many parts of Greater Syria (including Damascus) geminate verbs [p.42] have only *ə* as imperfect stem vowel, thus neutralizing the difference between Patterns I(a-o) and I(a-e). [See p.13.] All simple geminates are classed here with Pattern I(a-o/e), p.63.

PATTERN I(a-e): FaʔaL, byəʔeL

Sound Verbs. Examples:

ʔasam, byəʔsem 'to divide'	ǧasal, byəǧsel 'to wash'
ḥamal, byəḥmel 'to carry'	ʔažab, byəžəb 'to please'
kamaš, byəkmeš 'to grasp'	ʔawaž, byəwež 'to bend'

INFLECTION OF *ḥamal* 'to carry'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ḥāmal</i>	<i>byāḥmel</i>	<i>yāḥmel</i>		'he'
f	<i>ḥāmlēt</i>	<i>btāḥmel</i>	<i>tāḥmel</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ḥāmalu</i>	<i>byāḥ^əmlu</i>	<i>yāḥ^əmlu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ḥamāl(ə)t</i>	<i>btāḥmel</i>	<i>tāḥmel</i>	<i>ḥmēl</i>	'you'
f	<i>ḥamālti</i>	<i>btāḥ^əmli</i>	<i>tāḥ^əmli</i>	<i>ḥmāli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ḥamāltu</i>	<i>btāḥ^əmlu</i>	<i>tāḥ^əmlu</i>	<i>ḥmālu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ḥamāl(ə)t</i>	<i>bāḥmel</i>	<i>ʔāḥmel</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ḥamāl^{na}</i>	<i>mnāḥmel</i>	<i>nāḥmel</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ḥāmel*, Pass. *maḥmūl* (Gerund: *ḥamāl*)

There are a number of sound verbs on this pattern that have medial radical *w*. Most of them are correlative to defect-adjectives [p.130]: *ʕawar* 'to put out an eye' (cf. *ʔaʕwar* 'one-eyed'), *ʕawaš* 'to bend' (cf. *ʔaʕwaš* 'bent'), *ḥawal* 'to make cross-eyed' (cf. *ʔaḥwal* 'cross-eyed'). Also *ṣawar* 'to frown at, give a significant look'.

Otherwise, I(a-e) verbs with medial radical *w* (and stable final radical) are hollow [p.59].

INFLECTION OF *ʕawaš* 'to bend'

3m	<i>ʕāwaš</i>	<i>byāʕweš</i>	<i>yāʕweš</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʕāwšet</i>	<i>btāʕweš</i>	<i>tāʕweš</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʕāwašu</i>	<i>byāʕ^əwšu</i>	<i>yāʕ^əwšu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʕawāš(ə)t</i>	<i>btāʕweš</i>	<i>tāʕweš</i>	<i>ʕwēš</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʕawāšti</i>	<i>btāʕ^əwši</i>	<i>tāʕ^əwši</i>	<i>ʕwāši</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʕawāštu</i>	<i>btāʕ^əwšu</i>	<i>tāʕ^əwšu</i>	<i>ʕwāšu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʕawāš(ə)t</i>	<i>bāʕweš</i>	<i>ʔāʕweš</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʕawāš^{na}</i>	<i>mnāʕweš</i>	<i>nāʕweš</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ʕāweš*, Pass. *maʕwūš* (Gerund: *ʕawše*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

<i>waʕad</i> , <i>byūʕed</i> 'to promise'	<i>wašaf</i> , <i>byūšef</i> 'to describe'
<i>wazan</i> , <i>byūzen</i> 'to weigh'	<i>wažad</i> , <i>byūžed</i> 'to find'

The prefix vowel *a* merges with the initial radical *w* to produce *ū* in the imperfect.

INFLECTION OF *wašaf* 'to describe'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>wašaf</i>	<i>byūšef</i>	<i>yūšef</i>		'he'
f	<i>wāšfet</i>	<i>btūšef</i>	<i>tūšef</i>		'she'
pl	<i>wāšafu</i>	<i>byūš^əfu</i>	<i>yūš^əfu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>wašáf(ə)t</i>	<i>btūšef</i>	<i>tūšef</i>	<i>wšēf</i>	'you'
f	<i>wašāfti</i>	<i>btūš^əfi</i>	<i>tūš^əfi</i>	<i>wšāfi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>wašāftu</i>	<i>btūš^əfu</i>	<i>tūš^əfu</i>	<i>wšāfu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>wašáf(ə)t</i>	<i>būšef</i>	<i>ʔūšef</i>		'I'
pl	<i>wašáf^{na}</i>	<i>mnūšef</i>	<i>nūšef</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *wāšef*, Pass. *mawšūf* (Gerund: *wašāf*)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<i>ʔām</i> , <i>biʔīm</i> 'to remove'	<i>ḡāb</i> , <i>biḡīb</i> 'to be absent'
<i>zād</i> , <i>bizīd</i> 'to increase'	<i>ʕāš</i> , <i>biʕīš</i> 'to live'
<i>bāʕ</i> , <i>bibīʕ</i> 'to sell'	<i>ṭār</i> , <i>biṭīr</i> 'to fly'

In the perfect the medial radical *w* or *y* disappears entirely. In the imperfect, the semivowel fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to produce *ī*. (n.b.: *w + e → ī*, as well as *y + e → ī*.)

INFLECTION OF *faʔ* 'to wake up' (intrans.)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>fāʔ</i>	<i>bifīʔ</i>	<i>yfiʔ</i>		'he'
f	<i>fāʔet</i>	<i>bətfīʔ</i>	<i>tfīʔ</i>		'she'
pl	<i>fāʔu</i>	<i>bifīʔu</i>	<i>yfiʔu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>fāʔ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətfīʔ</i>	<i>tfīʔ</i>	<i>fīʔ</i>	'you'
f	<i>fāʔti</i>	<i>bətfīʔi</i>	<i>tfīʔi</i>	<i>fīʔi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>fāʔtu</i>	<i>bətfīʔu</i>	<i>tfīʔu</i>	<i>fīʔu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>fāʔ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bfiʔ</i>	<i>fīʔ</i>		'I'
pl	<i>fāʔna</i>	<i>mənfiʔ</i>	<i>nfiʔ</i>		'we'

Participle: *fāyeʔ* (Gerund: *fēʔa*)

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>haka</i> , <i>byəhki</i> 'to speak'	<i>ṭafa</i> , <i>byəṭfi</i> 'to extinguish'
<i>bana</i> , <i>byəbni</i> 'to build'	<i>tawa</i> , <i>byəṭwi</i> 'to fold'
<i>haya</i> , <i>byəhyi</i> 'to enliven'	<i>daʕa</i> , <i>byəḍʕi</i> 'to envoke'

In the base form (3rd p. pf.) the final radical *w* or *y* disappears; in the imperfect it fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to form *i*. (Note that *e* + *w* in these circumstances produces *i* just as *e* + *y* does: Root *d-ʕ-w* with Pattern I (*a-e*) gives *daʕa*, *byəḍʕi*. (There are no defective verbs in Pattern I (*a-o*)).

INFLECTION OF *bana* 'to build'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>bána</i>	<i>byəbni</i>	<i>yəbni</i>		'he'
f	<i>bánet</i>	<i>bṭəbni</i>	<i>ṭəbni</i>		'she'
pl	<i>bánu</i>	<i>byəbnu</i>	<i>yəbnu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>banēt</i>	<i>bṭəbni</i>	<i>ṭəbni</i>	<i>bnī</i> , <i>ʔəbni</i>	'you'
f	<i>banēti</i>	<i>bṭəbni</i>	<i>ṭəbni</i>	<i>bnī</i> , <i>ʔəbni</i>	'you'
pl	<i>banētu</i>	<i>bṭəbnu</i>	<i>ṭəbnu</i>	<i>bnū</i> , <i>ʔəbnu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>banēt</i>	<i>bəbni</i>	<i>ʔəbni</i>		'I'
pl	<i>banēna</i>	<i>məbni</i>	<i>nəbni</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *bāni*, Pass. *məbni* (Gerund: *bināʔ*)

The verb *ʕaṭa* 'to give' has prefix-supporting vowel *a* in the imperfect:

3m	<i>ʕáṭa</i>	<i>byáṭti</i>	<i>yáṭti</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʕáṭet</i>	<i>bṭáṭti</i>	<i>ṭáṭti</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʕáṭu</i>	<i>byáṭtu</i>	<i>yáṭtu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʕaṭēt</i>	<i>bṭáṭti</i>	<i>ṭáṭti</i>	<i>ʕáṭi</i> ¹	'you'
f	<i>ʕaṭēti</i>	<i>bṭáṭti</i>	<i>ṭáṭti</i>	<i>ʕáṭi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʕaṭētu</i>	<i>bṭáṭtu</i>	<i>ṭaṭtu</i>	<i>ʕáṭu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʕaṭēt</i>	<i>báṭti</i>	<i>ʔáṭti</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʕaṭēna</i>	<i>mnáṭti</i>	<i>náṭti</i>		'we'

Participle: Act. *ʕāṭi* (Gerund: *ʕaṭāʔ*, *ʕaṭa*)

A medial radical *w* or *y* remains intact in defective verbs:

¹Note the irregular imperative stem (instead of *ʔaṭti*).

INFLECTION OF *ṭawa* 'to fold'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ṭāwa</i>	<i>byāṭwi</i>	<i>yāṭwi</i>		'he'
f	<i>ṭāwet</i>	<i>bṭāṭwi</i>	<i>ṭāṭwi</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ṭāwu</i>	<i>byāṭwu</i>	<i>yāṭwu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ṭawēt</i>	<i>bṭāṭwi</i>	<i>ṭāṭwi</i>	<i>ṭwī</i> , <i>ʔāṭwi</i>	'you'
f	<i>ṭawēti</i>	<i>bṭāṭwi</i>	<i>ṭāṭwi</i>	<i>ṭwī</i> , <i>ʔāṭwi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ṭawētu</i>	<i>bṭāṭwu</i>	<i>ṭāṭwu</i>	<i>ṭwū</i> , <i>ʔāṭwu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ṭawēt</i>	<i>bāṭwi</i>	<i>ʔāṭwi</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ṭawēna</i>	<i>mnāṭwi</i>	<i>nāṭwi</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ṭāwi*, Pass. *māṭwi* (Gerund: *ṭawye*)

Defective verbs with initial radical *w* are also initial-weak [see p.187]:

INFLECTION OF *wafa* 'to fulfill'

3m	<i>wāfa</i>	<i>byūfi</i>	<i>yūfi</i>		'he'
f	<i>wāfet</i>	<i>btūfi</i>	<i>tūfi</i>		'she'
pl	<i>wāfu</i>	<i>byūfu</i>	<i>yūfu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>wafēt</i>	<i>btūfi</i>	<i>tūfi</i>	<i>wfī</i> , <i>ʔūfi</i>	'you'
f	<i>wafēti</i>	<i>btūfi</i>	<i>tūfi</i>	<i>wfī</i> , <i>ʔūfi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>wafētu</i>	<i>btūfu</i>	<i>tūfu</i>	<i>wfū</i> , <i>ʔūfu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>wafēt</i>	<i>būfi</i>	<i>ʔūfi</i>		'I'
pl	<i>wafēna</i>	<i>mnūfi</i>	<i>nūfi</i>		'we'

Participle: Act. *wāfi* (Gerund: *wafi*)

Grammatical Characteristics of Pattern I(a-e). A large majority of the sound and defective verbs are transitive. Of the hollow verbs, however, there is no significant predominance of one syntactic type over others. A few of the hollow verbs of this pattern¹ are derived as causatives [p.240] from I (*a-o*) verbs:

dām, *bidīm* 'to make...last' (← *dām*, *bidūm* 'to last')
ʔām, *biʔīm* 'to pick...up' (← *ʔām*, *biʔūm* 'to get up')

MERGED PATTERNS I (*a-o*) and I (*a-e*)

The distinction between Pattern I (*a-o*) and Pattern I (*a-e*) is functional for hollow verbs only (*ʔām*, *biʔūm* 'to get up' v.s. *ʔām*, *biʔīm* 'to pick up, to remove').

No defective verbs have Pattern I (*a-o*); as for sound verbs, some conform to one pattern and some to the other, but apparently no two verbs with the same root are distinguished only by the one's having imperfect vowel *o* while the other as *e*.

Many sound verbs belong to both patterns, the choice of imperfect vowel *o* or *e* being optional (or subject to unsystematic variation among individuals or regions):

ʔatal, *byāʔtol/byāʔtel* 'to kill' *šaraf*, *byāšrof/byāšref* 'to spend'
našar, *byānšor/byānšer* 'to saw' *lafat*, *byālfot/byālfet* 'to turn'
xabaz, *byāxboz/byāxbez* 'to bake' *tarak*, *byātrok/byātrek* 'to leave'

Note, furthermore, that when any kind of suffix is added to the imperfect stem of a Pattern I (*a-o*) or I (*a-e*) verb, the *e/o* distinction is obliterated [pp.28,197].

byāṭlob 'he asks for': *byāṭlbu* 'they ask for'

byāḥmel 'he carries': *byāḥmlu* 'they carry'

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

madd, *bimədd* 'to extend' *ḥall*, *biḥəll* 'to solve'
ʔann, *biʔənn* 'to groan' *daʔʔ*, *bidəʔʔ* 'to knock'
šabb, *bišəbb* 'to pour' *ḥass*, *biḥəss* 'to feel'

¹Corresponding to Classical Pattern IV: *ʔadāma*, *yudīmu*; *ʔaqāma*, *yuqīmu*.

All these verbs have middle and final radicals alike. (Note, however, that if the like radicals are semivowels — as in the root *h-y-y* — the verb will be defective, not geminate: *ḥaya*, *byaḥyi* 'to revive'.)

The pattern vowel (perfect *a*, imperfect *o* or *e*) does not appear between the two like radicals, which are fused together as a double consonant in all inflections. Between the first and middle radicals, the *a* of the perfect remains, while *ə* is used in the imperfect.

Thus in many parts of the Syrian area (including the Damascus standard used in this book) the distinction between Patterns I (*a-o*) and I (*a-e*) is completely obliterated in geminate verbs, since neither *o* nor *e* normally occurs before two consonants — both being neutralized as *ə* [p.23]. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, on the other hand, one will hear for example *ḥaṭṭ*, *biḥuṭṭ* 'to put' (with imperfect vowel *u*) in contrast to *ḥass*, *biḥiss* 'to feel' (with imperfect vowel *i*). (Note, however, that *ə* before *t* sounds very much like *u*, and *ə* before *s* sounds very much like *i* [p.13].)

INFLECTION OF *ḥass* 'to feel'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ḥāss</i>	<i>biḥāss</i>	<i>yḥāss</i>		'he'
f	<i>ḥāssēt</i>	<i>baḥāss</i>	<i>tḥāss</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ḥāssu</i>	<i>biḥāssu</i>	<i>yḥāssu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ḥassēt</i>	<i>baḥāss</i>	<i>tḥāss</i>	<i>ḥāss</i>	'you'
f	<i>ḥassēti</i>	<i>baḥāssi</i>	<i>tḥāssi</i>	<i>ḥāssi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ḥassētu</i>	<i>baḥāssu</i>	<i>tḥāssu</i>	<i>ḥāssu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ḥassēt</i>	<i>bḥāss</i>	<i>ḥāss</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ḥassēna</i>	<i>məḥāss</i>	<i>nḥāss</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ḥāses*, Pass. *maḥsūs* (Gerund: *ḥæss*)

PATTERN I (a-a): *FaʿaL*, *byəFʿaL*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>saʿal</i> , <i>byəsʿal</i>	'to ask'	<i>ḡahar</i> , <i>byəḡhar</i>	'to appear'
<i>fataḥ</i> , <i>byəftaḥ</i>	'to open'	<i>baʿat</i> , <i>byəbʿat</i>	'to send'
<i>ḡamaʿ</i> , <i>byəḡmaʿ</i>	'to bring together'	<i>ḥafaḡ</i> , <i>byəḥfaḡ</i>	'to keep'

The vast majority of these verbs have a back consonant (*x*, *ḡ*, *q*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *h*, or *ʔ*) either as middle or last radical.

INFLECTION OF *saʿal* 'to ask'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>sāʿal</i>	<i>byāsʿal</i>	<i>yāsʿal</i>		'he'
f	<i>sāʿlet</i>	<i>btāsʿal</i>	<i>tāsʿal</i>		'she'
pl	<i>sāʿalu</i>	<i>byāsʿalu</i>	<i>yāsʿalu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>saʿāl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btāsʿal</i>	<i>tāsʿal</i>	<i>sʿāl</i>	'you'
f	<i>saʿālti</i>	<i>btāsʿali</i>	<i>tāsʿali</i>	<i>sʿāli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>saʿāltu</i>	<i>btāsʿalu</i>	<i>tāsʿalu</i>	<i>sʿālu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>saʿāl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bāsʿal</i>	<i>ʿāsʿal</i>		'I'
pl	<i>saʿālna</i>	<i>mnāsʿal</i>	<i>nāsʿal</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *sāʿel* Pass. *masʿūl*.¹

¹Most commonly used idiomatically in the sense 'responsible, in charge'.

Initial-Weak Verbs: *waḏaʿ* *byūḏaʿ* 'to place'; *wadaʿ*, *byūdaʿ* 'to entrust, deposit'.

These two verbs, like those of Pattern I (a-e), have imperfect stems beginning with -ū, from the fusion of the prefix vowel with the initial radical *w*.

INFLECTION OF *waḏaʿ* 'to put, place'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>wāḏaʿ</i>	<i>byūḏaʿ</i>	<i>yūḏaʿ</i>		'he'
f	<i>wāḏaʿet</i>	<i>bṭūḏaʿ</i>	<i>tūḏaʿ</i>		'she'
pl	<i>wāḏaʿu</i>	<i>byūḏaʿu</i>	<i>yūḏaʿu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>waḏāʿ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bṭūḏaʿ</i>	<i>tūḏaʿ</i>	<i>wḏāʿ</i>	'you'
f	<i>waḏāʿti</i>	<i>bṭūḏaʿi</i>	<i>tūḏaʿi</i>	<i>wḏāʿi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>waḏāʿtu</i>	<i>bṭūḏaʿu</i>	<i>tūḏaʿu</i>	<i>wḏāʿu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>waḏāʿ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>būḏaʿ</i>	<i>ʔūḏaʿ</i>		'I'
	<i>waḏāʿna</i>	<i>mnūḏaʿ</i>	<i>nūḏaʿ</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *wāḏeʿ*, Pass. *mawḏūʿ* (Gerund: *wāḏʔeʿ*)

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<i>bān</i> , <i>bibān</i>	'to appear'	<i>bāt</i> , <i>bibāt</i>	'to spend the night'
<i>nāl</i> , <i>bināl</i>	'to obtain'	<i>xāf</i> , <i>bixāf</i>	'to fear'
<i>nām</i> , <i>binām</i>	'to sleep'	<i>ġār</i> , <i>biġār</i>	'to be jealous'
<i>hāb</i> , <i>bihāb</i>	'to be awed'	<i>sāʿ</i> , <i>bisāʿ</i>	'to contain'

Hollow verbs of this pattern are rare; the above examples are the only ones found. The middle radical *w* or *y* disappears in the base form (3p. perf.) and the two *a*'s of the pattern run together as *ā*; in the imperfect, the radical semivowel fuses with the pattern vowel *a* to produce *ā*.

INFLECTION OF *nām* 'to sleep'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>nām</i>	<i>binām</i>	<i>ynām</i>		'he'
f	<i>nāmet</i>	<i>bətnām</i>	<i>tnām</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nāmu</i>	<i>bināmu</i>	<i>ynāmu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nām(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətnām</i>	<i>tnām</i>	<i>nām</i>	'you'
f	<i>nāmti</i>	<i>bətnāmi</i>	<i>tnāmi</i>	<i>nāmi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nāmtu</i>	<i>bətnāmu</i>	<i>tnāmu</i>	<i>nāmu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nām(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bnām</i>	<i>nām</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nāmna</i>	<i>mənnām</i>	<i>nnām</i>		'we'

Participle: *nāyem* (Gerund: *nōm*)

Defective Verbs. Only two defective verbs have Pattern I (a-a) consistently over the whole Syrian area:

<i>ʔara</i> , <i>byəʔra</i>	'to read'
<i>raʿa</i> , <i>byəraʿa</i>	'to herd, tend'

Also commonly used are:

<i>bada</i> (or <i>bədi</i>), 'to begin'	<i>saʿa</i> (or <i>səʿi</i>), 'to make efforts'
<i>byəbda</i>	<i>byəsʿa</i>
<i>nama</i> (or <i>nəmi</i>), 'to grow'	<i>ḥawa</i> (or <i>ḥəwi</i>), 'to contain'
<i>byənma</i>	<i>byəḥwa</i>
<i>ʿaša</i> (or <i>ʿəši</i>), 'to disobey'	
<i>byəʿša</i>	

All these verbs have a final radical *w* or *y*, which is lost or fused in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF *ʔara* 'to read'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔára</i>	<i>byáʔra</i>	<i>yáʔra</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔáret</i>	<i>btáʔra</i>	<i>táʔra</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔáru</i>	<i>byáʔru</i>	<i>yáʔru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʔarēt</i>	<i>btáʔra</i>	<i>táʔra</i>	<i>ʔrā, ʔáʔra</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʔarēti</i>	<i>btáʔri</i>	<i>táʔri</i>	<i>ʔrī, ʔáʔri</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʔarētu</i>	<i>btáʔru</i>	<i>táʔru</i>	<i>ʔrū, ʔáʔru</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʔarēt</i>	<i>báʔra</i>	<i>ʔáʔra</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʔarēna</i>	<i>mnáʔra</i>	<i>náʔra</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ʔāri*, Pass. *məʔri* (Gerund: *ʔrāye*)

Geminate Verbs. Only two geminate verbs have Pattern I (a-a) consistently over the whole Syrian area:

daḷḷ, biḍaḷḷ 'to remain'

tamm, bitamm 'to remain'

Also commonly used is *ṣaḍḍ, biṣaḍḍ* 'to bite' (but Palestinian also *biṣaḍḍ*); Palestinian *ṣaḥḥ, biṣaḥḥ* 'to be all right' (but elsewhere usually *biṣaḥḥ*).

INFLECTION OF *tamm* 'to remain'

3m	<i>támm</i>	<i>bitámm</i>	<i>ytámm</i>		'he'
f	<i>támmet</i>	<i>bəttámm</i>	<i>ttámm</i>		'she'
pl	<i>támmu</i>	<i>bitámmu</i>	<i>ytámmu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tammēt</i>	<i>bəttámm</i>	<i>ttámm</i>	<i>támm</i>	'you'
f	<i>tammēti</i>	<i>bəttámmi</i>	<i>ttámmi</i>	<i>támmi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tammētu</i>	<i>bəttámmu</i>	<i>ttámmu</i>	<i>támmu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>tammēt</i>	<i>btámm</i>	<i>támm</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tammēna</i>	<i>məntámm</i>	<i>ntámm</i>		'we'

Participle: *tāmem*

PATTERN I (e-e): *Fəʕel, byəFəʕel*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>masek, byəmsek</i>	'to hold'	<i>nəzel, byənzəl</i>	'to descend'
<i>laḅes, byəḷḅes</i>	'to dress'	<i>ṣəmel, byəṣmel</i>	'to make'
<i>ḥasen, byəḥsen</i>	'to be able'	<i>ʔader, byəʔder</i>	'to be able'

This pattern is rare; the above examples are the only ones generally used. *ṣəref, byəṣref* 'to know' conforms to this pattern except for the supporting vowel *a* with the subject prefixes [177] — also commonly used in *ṣəmel, byəṣmel*. (*ḡader, byəḡder* 'to be able' is a variant of *ʔader, byəʔder*.) Regional variants include *byəʔdar* (Pal.), *byənzal* (Leb.), *byəṣmal* (Pal.), which put these verbs in Pattern I (e-a), and *masak*, which puts this verb in Pattern I (a-e).

INFLECTION OF *nəzel* 'to descend'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>nəzel</i>	<i>byánzel</i>	<i>yánzel</i>		'he'
f	<i>nəzlet</i>	<i>btánzel</i>	<i>tánzel</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nəzlu</i>	<i>byánzlu</i>	<i>yánzlu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nəzəl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btánzel</i>	<i>tánzel</i>	<i>nəzəl</i>	'you'
f	<i>nəzalti</i>	<i>btánzli</i>	<i>tánzli</i>	<i>nəzəli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nəzeltu</i>	<i>btánzlu</i>	<i>tánzlu</i>	<i>nəzəlu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nəzəl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bánzel</i>	<i>ʔánzel</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nəzəlna</i>	<i>mnánzel</i>	<i>nánzel</i>		'we'

Participle: Act. *nəzel* (Gerund: *nəzəl*)

The verb *ʕaref* 'to know' (as usually also *ʕamel* 'to do') has *a* as prefix-supporting vowel in the imperfect:

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʕāref</i>	<i>byāʕref</i>	<i>yāʕref</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʕārfet</i>	<i>btāʕref</i>	<i>tāʕref</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʕārfu</i>	<i>byāʕrfu</i>	<i>yāʕrfu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʕārf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btāʕref</i>	<i>tāʕref</i>	<i>ʕrēf</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʕārfiti</i>	<i>btāʕrfi</i>	<i>tāʕrfi</i>	<i>ʕārfi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʕārfitu</i>	<i>btāʕrfu</i>	<i>tāʕrfu</i>	<i>ʕārfu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʕārf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bāʕref</i>	<i>ʔāʕref</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʕārfna</i>	<i>mnāʕref</i>	<i>nāʕref</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ʕāref*, *ʕarfān*, Pass. *maʕrūf* (Gerund: *ʕarafān*¹)

Defective Verbs. Only two verbs have this pattern consistently over the whole Syrian area:

<i>baki</i> , <i>byabki</i>	'to cry'
<i>maši</i> , <i>byamši</i>	'to walk'

Commonly heard in Lebanon is *ħaki* (for *ħaka*), *byəħki* 'to speak'.

INFLECTION OF *maši* 'to walk'

3m	<i>māši</i>	<i>byāmši</i>	<i>yāmši</i>		'he'
f	<i>māšyet</i>	<i>btāmši</i>	<i>tāmši</i>		'she'
pl	<i>māšyu</i>	<i>byāmšu</i>	<i>yāmšu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>māšit</i>	<i>btāmši</i>	<i>tāmši</i>	<i>māši</i> , <i>ʔāmši</i>	'you'
f	<i>māšiti</i>	<i>btāmši</i>	<i>tāmši</i>	<i>māši</i> , <i>ʔāmši</i>	'you'
pl	<i>māšitu</i>	<i>btāmšu</i>	<i>tāmšu</i>	<i>māšu</i> , <i>ʔāmšu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>māšit</i>	<i>bāmši</i>	<i>ʔāmši</i>		'I'
pl	<i>māšina</i>	<i>mnāmši</i>	<i>nāmši</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *māši*, Pass. *māmši* (*ʕalē*) (Gerund: *maši*)

¹In the sense 'acquaintance (with)', familiarity (with)', the hypostatic noun [p.309] *maʕʔrfe* is used.

PATTERN I (e-a): *ʔaʕel*, *byaʔʕal*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>ʔabel</i> , <i>byaʔbal</i>	'to accept'	<i>laʕeb</i> , <i>byaʕab</i>	'to play'
<i>ʔahem</i> , <i>byaʔham</i>	'to understand'	<i>kaʕber</i> , <i>byaʕkbar</i>	'to grow up'
<i>ʔatel</i> , <i>byaʔtal</i>	'to be killed'	<i>ʔuwel</i> , <i>byaʔwal</i>	'to grow tall'

The verb *ʔuwel* (or *ʔawel*), with medial radical *w*, is an exception to the general rule that verbs with a semivocalic middle radical — and consonantal final radical — are hollow. (Cf. medial *w* sound verbs of Pattern I (a-e) [p.58].) (There is a hollow (a-o) verb with the same root: *ʔāl*, *biʔul* 'to be a long time'.)

INFLECTION OF *ʔabel* 'to accept'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔābel</i>	<i>byāʔbal</i>	<i>yāʔbal</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔāblet</i>	<i>btāʔbal</i>	<i>tāʔbal</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔāblu</i>	<i>byāʔbalu</i>	<i>yāʔbalu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʔābl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btāʔbal</i>	<i>tāʔbal</i>	<i>ʔbāl</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʔāblii</i>	<i>btāʔbali</i>	<i>tāʔbali</i>	<i>ʔbāli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʔābltu</i>	<i>btāʔbalu</i>	<i>tāʔbalu</i>	<i>ʔbālu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʔābl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bāʔbal</i>	<i>ʔāʔbal</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʔāblna</i>	<i>mnāʔbal</i>	<i>nāʔbal</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *ʔābel*, Pass. *maʔbūl* (Gerund: *ʔāblān*)

INFLECTION OF *tawel* or *tuwel* 'to grow tall'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>táwel</i> (<i>túwel</i>)	<i>byáštwal</i>	<i>yáštwal</i>		'he'
f	<i>táwleṭ</i> (<i>tūleṭ</i>)	<i>bṭáštwal</i>	<i>táštwal</i>		'she'
pl	<i>táwlu</i> (<i>tūlu</i>)	<i>byáštwalu</i>	<i>yáštwalu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ṭwál</i> (^o) <i>t</i>	<i>bṭáštwal</i>	<i>táštwal</i>	<i>ṭwāl</i>	'you'
f	<i>ṭwálṭi</i>	<i>bṭáštwali</i>	<i>táštwali</i>	<i>ṭwáli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ṭwálṭu</i>	<i>bṭáštwalu</i>	<i>táštwalu</i>	<i>ṭwálu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ṭwál</i> (^o) <i>t</i>	<i>báštwal</i>	<i>ʔáštwal</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ṭwálna</i>	<i>mnáštwal</i>	<i>náštwal</i>		'we'

Participle: *ṭawlān* (Gerund: *ṭawalān*)

Defective Verbs: Examples:

<i>bəʔi</i> , <i>byəbʔa</i> 'to stay'	<i>nəsi</i> , <i>byənsa</i> 'to forget'
<i>ṣəʃi</i> , <i>byəṣṣa</i> 'to get stuck'	<i>ṣəfi</i> , <i>byəṣṣa</i> 'to get well'
<i>wəṭi</i> , <i>byūṭa</i> 'to be low'	<i>ḥəyi</i> , <i>byəḥya</i> 'to be revived'

These verbs have a final radical *w* or *y* which fuses with the perfect vowel *e* to form *i*, and which disappears after the imperfect vowel *a*.

INFLECTION OF *bəʔi* 'to stay'

3m	<i>báʔi</i>	<i>byábʔa</i>	<i>yábʔa</i>		'he'
f	<i>báʔyet</i>	<i>bṭábʔa</i>	<i>tábʔa</i>		'she'
pl	<i>báʔyu</i>	<i>byábʔu</i>	<i>yábʔu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>bʔīt</i>	<i>bṭábʔa</i>	<i>tábʔa</i>	<i>bʔā</i> , <i>ʔábʔa</i>	'you'
f	<i>bʔīti</i>	<i>bṭábʔi</i>	<i>tábʔi</i>	<i>bʔī</i> , <i>ʔábʔi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>bʔītu</i>	<i>bṭábʔu</i>	<i>tábʔu</i>	<i>bʔū</i> , <i>ʔábʔu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>bʔīt</i>	<i>bábʔa</i>	<i>ʔábʔa</i>		'I'
pl	<i>bʔīna</i>	<i>mnábʔa</i>	<i>nábʔa</i>		'we'

Participle: *bāʔi*, *baʔyān* (Gerund: *baʔi*)

Medial radical semivowels remain intact in defective verbs:

INFLECTION OF *ʔəwi* 'to become strong'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔáwi</i>	<i>byáʔwa</i>	<i>yáʔwa</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔáwyet</i>	<i>bṭáʔwa</i>	<i>táʔwa</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔáwyu</i>	<i>byáʔwu</i>	<i>yáʔwu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʔwīt</i>	<i>bṭáʔwa</i>	<i>táʔwa</i>	<i>ʔwā</i> , <i>ʔáʔwa</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʔwīti</i>	<i>bṭáʔwi</i>	<i>táʔwi</i>	<i>ʔwī</i> , <i>ʔáʔwi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʔwītu</i>	<i>bṭáʔwu</i>	<i>táʔwu</i>	<i>ʔwū</i> , <i>ʔáʔwu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʔwīt</i>	<i>báʔwa</i>	<i>ʔáʔwa</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʔwīna</i>	<i>mnáʔwa</i>	<i>náʔwa</i>		'we'

Participle: *ʔāwi*INFLECTION OF *ḥəyi* 'to be revived'

3m	<i>ḥáyi</i>	<i>byáḥya</i>	<i>yáḥya</i>		'he'
f	<i>ḥáyyet</i>	<i>bṭáḥya</i>	<i>táḥya</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ḥáyyu</i>	<i>byáḥyu</i>	<i>yáḥyu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ḥyīt</i>	<i>bṭáḥya</i>	<i>táḥya</i>		'you'
f	<i>ḥyīti</i>	<i>bṭáḥyi</i>	<i>táḥyi</i>		'you'
pl	<i>ḥyītu</i>	<i>bṭáḥyu</i>	<i>táḥyu</i>		'you'
1sg	<i>ḥyīt</i>	<i>báḥya</i>	<i>ʔáḥya</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ḥyīna</i>	<i>mnáḥya</i>	<i>náḥya</i>		'we'

Defective verbs with initial radical *w* are also initial-weak: imperfect prefix-vowel *a* + *w* → *ū*.

INFLECTION OF *wəṭi* 'to be low'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>wəṭi</i>	<i>byūṭa</i>	<i>yūṭa</i>		'he'
f	<i>wəṭyeṭ</i>	<i>bṭūṭa</i>	<i>ṭuṭa</i>		'she'
pl	<i>wəṭyu</i>	<i>byūṭu</i>	<i>yūṭu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>wṭīṭ</i>	<i>bṭūṭa</i>	<i>ṭūṭa</i>	<i>wṭā</i> , <i>ʔūṭa</i>	'you'
f	<i>wṭīṭi</i>	<i>bṭūṭi</i>	<i>ṭūṭi</i>	<i>wṭī</i> , <i>ʔūṭi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>wṭīṭu</i>	<i>bṭūṭu</i>	<i>ṭūṭu</i>	<i>wṭū</i> , <i>ʔūṭu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>wṭīṭ</i>	<i>būṭa</i>	<i>ʔūṭa</i>		'I'
pl	<i>wṭīna</i>	<i>mnūṭa</i>	<i>nūṭa</i>		'we'

Participle: *wāṭi* (Gerund: *wṭumw*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

wəṣel, *byəṣal* (or *byūṣal*) 'to arrive'

wəʔeḏ, *byəʔaḏ* (or *byūʔaḏ*) 'to fall'

yəbes, *byəbas* (or *byības*) 'to dry up'

The initial radical semivowel may either be lost entirely in the imperfect or else fused with the prefix vowel *a* to form *ū* (or *ī*). In some areas, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, the forms with *ū* (or *ī*) are used exclusively.

Some verbs are mainly limited in the imperfect to forms with *ū* (or *ī*) in all Syrian areas: *wəret*, *byūrat* 'to inherit', *yəʔes*, *byīʔas* 'to despair'. [187].

INFLECTION OF *wəṣel* 'to arrive'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>wəṣel</i>	<i>byəṣal</i> (<i>byūṣal</i>)	<i>yəṣal</i> (<i>yūṣal</i>)		'he'
f	<i>wəṣlet</i>	<i>bṭəṣal</i> (<i>bṭūṣal</i>)	<i>ṭəṣal</i> (<i>ṭūṣal</i>)		'she'
pl	<i>wəṣlu</i>	<i>byəṣalu</i> (<i>byūṣalu</i>)	<i>yəṣalu</i> (<i>yūṣalu</i>)		'they'
2m	<i>wṣəl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bṭəṣal</i> (<i>bṭūṣal</i>)	<i>ṭəṣal</i> (<i>ṭūṣal</i>)	<i>wṣāl</i>	'you'
f	<i>wṣəlṭi</i>	<i>bṭəṣali</i> (<i>bṭūṣali</i>)	<i>ṭəṣali</i> (<i>ṭūṣali</i>)	<i>wṣāli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>wṣəlṭu</i>	<i>bṭəṣalu</i> (<i>bṭūṣalu</i>)	<i>ṭəṣalu</i> (<i>ṭūṣalu</i>)	<i>wṣālu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>wṣəl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəṣal</i> (<i>būṣal</i>)	<i>ʔəṣal</i> (<i>ʔūṣal</i>)		'I'
pl	<i>wṣəlna</i>	<i>mnəṣal</i> (<i>mnūṣal</i>)	<i>nəṣal</i> (<i>nūṣal</i>)		'we'

Participle: *wāṣel* (Gerund: *wṣūl*)

INFLECTION OF *yəbes* 'to dry up'

3m	<i>yəbes</i>	<i>byəbas</i> (<i>byības</i>)	<i>yəbas</i> (<i>yības</i>)		'he'
f	<i>yəbset</i>	<i>bṭəbas</i> (<i>bṭības</i>)	<i>ṭəbas</i> (<i>tības</i>)		'she'
pl	<i>yəbsu</i>	<i>byəbasu</i> (<i>byībasu</i>)	<i>yəbasu</i> (<i>yībasu</i>)		'they'
2m	<i>ybəṣ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bṭəbas</i> (<i>bṭības</i>)	<i>ṭəbas</i> (<i>tības</i>)	<i>ybās</i>	'you'
f	<i>ybəṣṭi</i>	<i>bṭəbasi</i> (<i>bṭībasi</i>)	<i>ṭəbasi</i> (<i>tībasi</i>)	<i>ybəṣi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ybəṣṭu</i>	<i>bṭəbasu</i> (<i>bṭībasu</i>)	<i>ṭəbasu</i> (<i>tībasu</i>)	<i>ybəṣu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ybəṣ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəbas</i> (<i>bības</i>)	<i>ʔəbas</i> (<i>ʔības</i>)		'I'
pl	<i>ybəṣna</i>	<i>mnəbas</i> (<i>mnības</i>)	<i>nəbas</i> (<i>nības</i>)		'we'

Participle: *yābes* (Gerund: *yabəs*)

Derivational Types. Many Pattern I(e-a) verbs are passives [p.234], correlative to active verbs with a-e or a-o vowelling:

<i>xareb</i> , <i>byaxrab</i>	'to be ruined'	(cf. <i>xarab</i> , <i>byaxrob</i>	'to ruin')
<i>taʕeb</i> , <i>byatʕab</i>	'to get tired'	(cf. <i>taʕab</i> , <i>byatʕeb</i>	'to tire')
<i>ḥayi</i> , <i>byaḥya</i>	'to be revived'	(cf. <i>ḥaya</i> , <i>byaḥyi</i>	'to revive')

Some are inchoative or descriptive [p.250], correlative to simple adjectives:

<i>kāber</i> , <i>byakbar</i>	'to grow up, become large'	(cf. <i>kābir</i>	'large, adult')
<i>ṣāḡer</i> , <i>byaṣḡar</i>	'to become small'	(cf. <i>ṣāḡir</i>	'small')
<i>ṭuwel</i> , <i>byaṭwal</i>	'to become long or tall'	(cf. <i>ṭawīl</i>	'long, tall')
<i>sāhel</i> , <i>byašhal</i>	'to be easy'	(cf. <i>sahʕl</i>	'easy')

ANOMALOUS VERB: ʔaʕa 'to come'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv. (irregular)	
3m	ʔaʕa	byaʕi	yāʕi		'he'
f	ʔaʕet	btāʕi	tāʕi		'she'
pl	ʔaʕu	byaʕu	yāʕu		'they'
2m	ʔaʕt	btāʕi	tāʕi	tāʕa	'you'
f	ʔaʕti	btāʕi	tāʕi	tāʕi	'you'
pl	ʔaʕtu	btāʕu	tāʕu	tāʕu	'you'
1sg	ʔaʕt	bāʕi	ʔaʕi		'I'
pl	ʔaʕina	mnāʕi	nāʕi		'we'

Participle (irregular): ʕāye¹.

Variant forms include ʔaʕa, ʔaʕet, ʔaʕu (Damascus and elsewhere; b(y)iʕi, btīʕi, etc. (in Palestine and parts of Lebanon); ʕā, ʕāt, ʕū (or ʕaw), ʕīt, ʕīna, etc. (parts of Lebanon).

¹With irregular suffixing forms: ʕāyī-, (f.) ʕāyīt-, as in ʕāyīni, ʕāyītīni 'having come to me'. In some regions the -e is lost in the masculine absolute form: ʕāy.

PATTERN II: FaʕʕaL, biFaʕʕeL

Pattern II is augmented [p.46] with respect to Pattern I by a lengthening (or "doubling" [p.15]) of the middle radical. The pattern vowels are a...a in the perfect and a...e in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>sakkar</i> , <i>bisakker</i>	'to close'	<i>ṣayyaf</i> , <i>biṣayyef</i>	'to spend the summer'
<i>ḥammal</i> , <i>biḥammel</i>	'to load'	<i>xawwaf</i> , <i>bixawwef</i>	'to frighten'
<i>ṣarrab</i> , <i>biṣarreb</i>	'to try'	<i>saddaʔ</i> , <i>bisaddaʔ</i>	'to believe (to be true)'
<i>sabbab</i> , <i>bisabbab</i>	'to cause'	<i>waṣṣal</i> , <i>biwaṣṣel</i>	'to deliver (to destination)'

INFLECTION OF *sakkar* 'to close'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sákkar	bisákker	ysákker		'he'
f	sákkaret	bətsákker	tsákker		'she'
pl	sákkaru	bisákkru	ysákkru		'they'
2m	sakkár(ʔ)t	bətsákker	tsákker	sákker	'you'
f	sakkárti	bətsákkri	tsákkri	sákkri	'you'
pl	sakkártu	bətsákkru	tsákkru	sákkru	'you'
1sg	sakkár(ʔ)t	bsákker	sákker		'I'
pl	sakkárna	mənsákker	nsákker		'we'

Participles: Act. *msakker* Pass. *msakkar*; Gerund: *taskīr*

When the last two radicals are alike (as in *sabbab* 'to cause') the imperfect stem vowel *e* is not dropped when -i or -u is added, but is changed to *ə*:

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	sábbab	bisábbēb	ysábbēb		'he'
f	sábbabēt	bətsábbēb	tsábbēb		'she'
pl	sábbabu	bisábbəbu	ysábbəbu		'they'
2m	sabbáb(ə)t	bətsábbēb	tsábbēb	sábbēb	'you'
f	sabbábtī	bətsábbəbi	tsábbəbi	sábbəbi	'you'
pl	sabbábtu	bətsábbəbu	tsábbəbu	sábbəbu	'you'
1sg	sabbáb(ə)t	bsábbəb	sábbēb		'I'
pl	sabbábna	mənsábbēb	nsábbēb		'we'

Participles: Act. *msabbēb*, Pass. *msabbab*; Gerund: *tasbīb*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>malla</i> , <i>bimalli</i>	'to fill'	<i>ʕawwa</i> , <i>biʕawwi</i>	'to bark'
<i>fadda</i> , <i>bifaddi</i>	'to empty'	<i>nažža</i> , <i>binažži</i>	'to save'
<i>samma</i> , <i>bisammi</i>	'to name'	<i>wadda</i> , <i>biwaddi</i>	'to lead'
<i>ganna</i> , <i>biganni</i>	'to sing'	<i>naʔa</i> , <i>binaʔi</i>	'to choose'

The final radical *w* or *y* disappears in the base form (perfect); and in the imperfect, fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to form *i*.

INFLECTION OF *samma* 'to name'

3m	sámma	bisámmi	ysámmi		'he'
f	sámmēt	bətsámmi	tsámmi		'she'
pl	sámmu	bisámmu	ysámmu		'they'
2m	sammēt	bətsámmi	tsámmi	sámmi	'you'
f	sammēti	bətsámmi	tsámmi	sámmi	'you'
pl	sammētu	bətsámmu	tsámmu	sámmu	'you'
1sg	sammēt	bsámmi	sámmi		'I'
pl	sammēna	mənsámmi	nsámmi		'we'

Participles: Act. *msammi*, Pass. *msamma*; Gerund: *təsmāye*

In Pattern II there are no unsound verbs other than defective: Fluctuating or geminating medial (or initial) radicals do not fluctuate or geminate in this pattern.

Pattern II is by far the most common of the augmented verb patterns.

Pattern II Derivational Types

Many are causatives [p.240]:

<i>fadda</i>	'to empty'	←	<i>fədi</i>	'to become empty'
<i>ʔawwa</i>	'to strengthen'	←	<i>ʔəwi</i>	'to become strong'
<i>hammal</i>	'to load'	←	<i>hamal</i>	'to carry'
<i>šawwaf</i>	'to show'	←	<i>šāf</i>	'to see'
<i>fahham</i>	'to explain(to)'	←	<i>fəhem</i>	'to understand'

Many are augmentatives [253]:

<i>kassar</i>	'to smash, break to pieces'	←	<i>kasar</i>	'to break'
<i>žammaʕ</i>	'to collect, assemble'	←	<i>žamaʕ</i>	'to bring together'
<i>daffaš</i>	'to push (several things or times)'	←	<i>dafaš</i>	'to push'

Some are ascriptive [243]:

<i>saddaʔ</i>	'to believe (to be true)'	←	<i>sadaʔ</i>	'to be true'
<i>xawwan</i>	'to denounce as traitor'	←	<i>xān</i>	'to betray'
<i>faddal</i>	'to prefer'	←	<i>ʔafdal</i>	'favorite'

Many are applicative [256] (or denominatives of other kinds):

<i>samma</i>	'to name, call'	←	<i>ʔasəm</i>	'name'
<i>zayyat</i>	'to oil'	←	<i>zēt</i>	'oil'
<i>sabbab</i>	'to cause'	←	<i>sabab</i>	'cause'

PATTERN III: *FāʿaL, biFāʿeL*

Pattern III is augmented with respect to Pattern I by a lengthening (or change) of the first pattern vowel to *ā*. The pattern vowels are *ā...a* in the perfect and *ā...e* in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>ʿāmal, biʿāmel</i>	'to deal with'	<i>kātab, bikāteb</i>	'to write to'
<i>hāṣam, bihāṣem</i>	'to attack'	<i>šāwar, bišāwer</i>	'to consult'
<i>sāfar, bisāfer</i>	'to travel'	<i>ʿāṣaṣ, biʿāseṣ</i>	'to punish'
<i>bālaḡ, bibāleḡ</i>	'to exaggerate'	<i>qāḍaḍ, biqāḍeḍ</i>	'to oppose'

INFLECTION OF *sāʿad* 'to help'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>sāʿad</i>	<i>bisāʿed</i>	<i>ysāʿed</i>		'he'
f	<i>sāʿadet</i>	<i>bətsāʿed</i>	<i>tsāʿed</i>		'she'
pl	<i>sāʿadu</i>	<i>bisāʿdu</i>	<i>ysāʿdu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>sāʿád(ʔ)t¹</i>	<i>bətsāʿed</i>	<i>tsāʿed</i>	<i>sāʿed</i>	'you'
f	<i>sāʿádti</i>	<i>bətsāʿedi</i>	<i>tsāʿedi</i>	<i>sāʿedi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>sāʿádtu</i>	<i>bətsāʿdu</i>	<i>tsāʿdu</i>	<i>sāʿdu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>sāʿád(ʔ)t¹</i>	<i>bsāʿed</i>	<i>sāʿed</i>		'I'
pl	<i>sāʿádna</i>	<i>mənsāʿed</i>	<i>nsāʿed</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *msāʿed*, Pass. *msāʿad*; Gerund: *msāʿade*

If the last two radicals are alike (as in *hāṣaṣ* 'to argue with') the imperfect stem vowel *e* is commonly dropped when *-i* or *-u* are suffixed: *biḥāṣṣu*; or else *ə* may come between the like radicals as in Pattern II verbs [p.72]: *biḥāṣṣəṣu*.

¹Or with assimilation of *d* to *t*: *sāʿádt, sāʿádti, sāʿádtu*.

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>hāṣaṣ</i>	<i>biḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>yḥāṣeṣ</i>		'he'
f	<i>hāṣaṣet</i>	<i>bəṭḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>tḥāṣeṣ</i>		'she'
pl	<i>hāṣaṣu</i>	<i>biḥāṣ(ə)ṣu</i>	<i>yḥāṣ(ə)ṣu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>hāṣád(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəṭḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>tḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>hāṣeṣ</i>	'you'
f	<i>hāṣádti</i>	<i>bəṭḥāṣ(ə)ṣi</i>	<i>tḥāṣ(ə)ṣi</i>	<i>hāṣ(ə)ṣi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>hāṣádtu</i>	<i>bəṭḥāṣ(ə)ṣu</i>	<i>tḥāṣ(ə)ṣu</i>	<i>hāṣ(ə)ṣu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>hāṣád(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>hāṣeṣ</i>		'I'
pl	<i>hāṣádna</i>	<i>mənḥāṣeṣ</i>	<i>nḥāṣeṣ</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mḥāṣeṣ*, Pass. *mḥāṣaṣ*; Gerund: *mḥāṣaṣe*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>ḥāma, biḥāmi</i>	'to protect'	<i>sāwa, bisāwi</i>	'to make'
<i>ʿāda, biʿādi</i>	'to treat as an enemy'	<i>wāsa, biwāzi</i>	'to be parallel to'
<i>ḥāka, biḥāki</i>	'to talk to'	<i>ʿāfa, biʿāfi</i>	'to give strength and health to'

The final radical *w* or *y* disappears in the base form (perfect), and in the imperfect fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to form *i*.

INFLECTION OF *ḥāka* 'to talk to'

3m	<i>ḥāka</i>	<i>biḥāki</i>	<i>yḥāki</i>		'he'
f	<i>ḥāket</i>	<i>bəṭḥāki</i>	<i>tḥāki</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ḥāku</i>	<i>biḥāku</i>	<i>yḥāku</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ḥākēt</i>	<i>bəṭḥāki</i>	<i>tḥāki</i>	<i>ḥāki</i>	'you'
f	<i>ḥākēti</i>	<i>bəṭḥāki</i>	<i>tḥāki</i>	<i>ḥāki</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ḥākētu</i>	<i>bəṭḥāku</i>	<i>tḥāku</i>	<i>ḥāku</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ḥākēt</i>	<i>bḥāki</i>	<i>ḥāki</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ḥākēna</i>	<i>mənḥāki</i>	<i>nḥāki</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mḥāki*, Pass. *mḥāka*; Gerund: *mḥākāt¹*

¹Always used in construct [p.455]; absolute form would theoretically be "mḥākā".

In Pattern III there are no unsound verbs other than defective: unstable medial or initial radicals do not fluctuate or geminate in this pattern.

Pattern III Derivational Types

Many are participatives [p.246]:

<i>kātab</i> 'to write to (someone)'	—	<i>katab</i> 'to write (something)'
<i>ḥāka</i> 'to talk to (someone)'	—	<i>haka</i> 'to talk'
<i>qāḥak</i> 'to laugh with (s.o.)'	—	<i>qahak</i> 'to laugh'

Many are conatives [p.245]:

<i>sābaʔ</i> 'to race' (trans.)	—	<i>sabaʔ</i> 'to get ahead of, pass'
<i>lāḥaʔ</i> 'to pursue'	—	<i>laḥeʔ</i> 'to catch up with'
<i>rāḍa</i> 'to appease'	—	<i>raḍa</i> 'to gratify'

PATTERN IV: ʔaFʔaL, byaFʔeL

Pattern IV is augmented with respect to Pattern I by a prefix ʔa-, in the perfect tense only. There is no vowel between the first and middle radicals in either tense. The vowel between the middle and last radicals is *a* in the perfect and *e* in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>ʔakram, byəkrem</i> 'to honor'	<i>ʔaḍrab, byaḍreb</i> 'to go on strike'
<i>ʔarsal, byarsel</i> 'to send'	<i>ʔaʔlan, byaʔlen</i> 'to advertise'
<i>ʔazʔaʔ, byazʔeʔ</i> 'to bother'	<i>ʔaʔbaḥ, byaʔbeḥ</i> 'to be...in the morning'

INFLECTION OF ʔaʔlan 'to announce'

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Impf. Indic.</u>	<u>Impf. Subjn.</u>	<u>Impv.</u>	
3m	ʔáʔlan	byáʔlen	yáʔlen	'he'	
f	ʔáʔlanet	btáʔlen	táʔlen	'she'	
pl	ʔáʔlanu	byáʔ(ʔ)lnu	yáʔ(ʔ)lnu	'they'	
2m	ʔaʔlán(ʔ)t	btáʔlen	táʔlen	ɛlən	'you'
f	ʔaʔlánti	btáʔ(ʔ)lni	táʔ(ʔ)lni	ɛláni	'you'
pl	ʔaʔlántu	btáʔ(ʔ)lnu	táʔ(ʔ)lnu	ɛlónu	'you'
1sg	ʔaʔlán(ʔ)t	báʔlen	ʔáʔlen		'I'
pl	ʔaʔlánna	mnáʔlen	náʔlen		'we'

Participles: Act. *məʔlen* (Pass. *mʔaʔlan*¹); Gerund *ʔaʔlān*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>ʔaḡna, byaḡni</i> 'to make...rich'	<i>ʔahda, byaḥdi</i> 'to present...a gift'
<i>ʔasna, byasni</i> 'to commend'	<i>ʔanha, byanhi</i> 'to bring...to an end'

The final radical *w* or *y* disappears in the perfect, and in the imperfect fuses with the pattern vowel *e* to form *i*.

3m	ʔáḡna (ḡána)	byáḡni	yáḡni		'he'
f	ʔáḡnet (ḡánet)	btáḡni	táḡni		'she'
pl	ʔáḡnu (ḡánu)	byáḡnu	yáḡnu		'they'
2m	ḡanēt (ʔaḡnēt)	btáḡni	táḡni	ḡnī, ʔáḡni	'you'
f	ḡanēti (ʔaḡnēti)	byáḡni	táḡni	ḡni, ʔáḡni	'you'
pl	ḡanētu (ʔaḡnētu)	btáḡnu	táḡnu	ḡnū, ʔáḡnu	'you'
lsg	ḡanēt (ʔaḡnēt)	báḡni	ʔáḡni		'I'
pl	ḡanēna (ʔaḡnēna)	mnáḡni	náḡni		'we'

Participles: Act. (and Pass.) *məḡni*¹; Gerund: *ʔaḡnāʔ*

¹The verb *ʔaʔlan* is commonly inflected as a pseudo-quadriradical [p.116]; this passive participle is "borrowed" from the pseudo-quadriradical conjugation.

Many Pattern IV verbs have parallel Pattern I (a-e) forms that are synonymous to them: *ʔahda* or *hada* 'to give (as a gift)', *ʔazēaž* or *zaēaž* 'to annoy', *ʔašarr* or *šarr* 'to insist'. In such cases the Pattern IV forms are used more in the third person than in the first or second persons.

Unsound verbs other than defective are rare in Pattern IV:

Geminate verbs:

ʔašarr 'to insist'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔašárr</i> (<i>šárr</i>)	<i>bišárr</i>	<i>yšárr</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔašárret</i> (<i>šárret</i>)	<i>batšárr</i>	<i>tšárr</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔašárru</i> (<i>šárru</i>)	<i>bišárru</i>	<i>yšárru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>šarrēt</i> (<i>ʔašarrēt</i>)	<i>batšárr</i>	<i>tšárr</i>	<i>šarr</i>	'you'
f	<i>šarrēti</i> (<i>ʔašarrēti</i>)	<i>batšárr</i>	<i>tšárr</i>	<i>šárr</i>	'you'
pl	<i>šarrētu</i> (<i>ʔašarrētu</i>)	<i>batšárru</i>	<i>tšárru</i>	<i>šárru</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>šarrēt</i> (<i>ʔašarrēt</i>)	<i>bšárr</i>	<i>šárr</i>		'I'
pl	<i>šarrēna</i> (<i>ʔašarrēna</i>)	<i>mənšárr</i>	<i>nšárr</i>		'we'

Participle: Act. *mšarr*; Gerund *ʔašrār*

Hollow verbs:

ʔazāḥ 'to broadcast'

3m	<i>ʔazāḥ</i> (<i>zāḥ</i>)	<i>biḥ</i>	<i>yḥ</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔazāḥet</i> (<i>zāḥet</i>)	<i>baḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔazāḥu</i> (<i>zāḥu</i>)	<i>biḥu</i>	<i>yḥu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>zāḥ(ʔ)t</i> (<i>ʔazāḥt</i>)	<i>baḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>zāḥ</i>	'you'
f	<i>zāḥti</i> (<i>ʔazāḥti</i>)	<i>baḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>zāḥ</i>	'you'
pl	<i>zāḥtu</i> (<i>ʔazāḥtu</i>)	<i>baḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>zāḥ</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>zāḥ(ʔ)t</i> (<i>ʔazāḥt</i>)	<i>bḥ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>		'I'
pl	<i>zāḥna</i> (<i>ʔazāḥna</i>)	<i>mənḥ</i>	<i>nḥ</i>		'we'

Participles: Act: *m(u)ḥ*, Pass. *m(u)zāḥ*; Gerund *ʔizāḥa*

Initial-weak verb:

ʔāman 'to believe'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔāman</i>	<i>byāʔmen</i>	<i>yāʔmen</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔāmanet</i>	<i>btāʔmen</i>	<i>tāʔmen</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔāmanu</i>	<i>byāʔmnu</i>	<i>yāʔmnu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʔāmān(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btāʔmen</i>	<i>tāʔmen</i>	(<i>ʔāmen</i>)	'you'
f	<i>ʔāmānti</i>	<i>btāʔmni</i>	<i>tāʔmni</i>	(<i>ʔāmni</i>)	'you'
pl	<i>ʔāmāntu</i>	<i>btāʔmnu</i>	<i>tāʔmnu</i>	(<i>ʔāmnu</i>)	'you'
1sg	<i>ʔāmān(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bāʔmen</i>	<i>ʔāʔmen</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʔāmānna</i>	<i>mnaʔmen</i>	<i>naʔmen</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *māʔmen*, Pass. *māʔman* (*fī*); Gerund: *ʔīmān*

In *ʔāman*, the Pattern IV formative *ʔa-* combines with the first radical *ʔ* to produce *ʔā-*. The resulting form is like Pattern III (*FāʔeL*) [p.80], and in fact the verb is commonly converted entirely to Pattern III, with imperfect forms *biʔāmen*, *batʔāmen*, etc. (Imperative forms are almost always Pattern III.)

Pattern IV verbs are comparatively rare in Colloquial Arabic, and many of those which do occur are sporadic classicisms. It is therefore difficult to discern any predominant derivational characteristics for this pattern except by reference to Classical Arabic itself, in which Pattern IV is common.

Some Pattern IV verbs are causative [p.240]: *ʔağna* 'to make...rich' - *ğani* 'to become rich'; *ʔağhar* 'to reveal' - *əher* 'to appear'.

THE FORMATIVE t-

The base-formative prefix *t-* is used in various different patterns: *tFaʔeL* [p.86], *tFāʔeL* [88], *tFaʔLaL* [121], and pseudo-quadriradicals [109]. Its main derivational function is that of passive [p.234]; in Pattern *tFāʔeL* it also forms reciprocative [248] and simulative [249] verbs, and in Pattern *tFaʔeL* inchoatives [251].

t- is commonly voiced (changed to *d*) before voiced dental and palatal obstruents (*d, z, ʒ, ɖ, ʒ*): *dʒawwas* 'to be married', *dzakkar* 'to remember', *ddōzan* 'to be in tune', *ddaɛwas* 'to be trampled', *dʒāhal* 'to feign ignorance'.

This tendency to assimilate to a voiced radical is not equally strong in all words. Note that some speakers who normally voice the prefix in *dʒawwas* 'to be married' normally do not voice it in *tʒāwas* 'to exceed' (or *tʒāwas* – with the radical *ʒ* devoiced rather than with *t* voiced).

t- is (automatically) velarized [p.26], in the neighborhood of a velarized radical consonant: *tʃāfah(u)* 'to shake hands', *tʃāṣaṣ* 'to be punished', *dʒannar* 'to gird one's self'.

The prefix *t-* is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant (*s, ʃ, ʒ, z, ʒ*): *bazzakkar* 'I remember' (for *badzakkar*), *məṣṣaṭṭeḥ* (lying down' (for *məṣṣaṭṭeḥ*), *ʒzannar* 'he girded himself' (for *dʒannar*).

PATTERN V: *tFaʕʕaL, byəʔFaʕʕaL*

Pattern V is augmented with respect to Pattern II, by prefixation of the formative *t* []. It also differs from Pattern II in keeping the second pattern vowel *a* in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>tʕallam, byəʔtʕallam</i> 'to learn'	<i>tɕayyar, byəʔtɕayyar</i> 'to change, be changed'
<i>tʔaxxar, byəʔaxxar</i> 'to be late'	<i>tballal, byəʔtballal</i> 'to get wet'
<i>dzakkar, byəʔdzakkar</i> 'to remember'	<i>tfahham, byəʔtfahham</i> 'to come to understand'

INFLECTION OF *tʔaxxar* 'to be late'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>tʔaxxar</i>	<i>byəʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>yəʔʔaxxar</i>		'he'
f	<i>tʔaxxaret</i>	<i>btəʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>təʔʔaxxar</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tʔaxxaru</i>	<i>byəʔʔaxxaru</i>	<i>yəʔʔaxxaru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tʔaxxár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btəʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>təʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>tʔaxxar</i>	'you'
f	<i>tʔaxxárti</i>	<i>btəʔʔaxxari</i>	<i>təʔʔaxxari</i>	<i>tʔaxxari</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tʔaxxártu</i>	<i>btəʔʔaxxaru</i>	<i>təʔʔaxxaru</i>	<i>tʔaxxaru</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>tʔaxxár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>ʔəʔʔaxxar</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tʔaxxárna</i>	<i>mnəʔʔaxxar</i>	<i>nəʔʔaxxar</i>		'we'

Participles: *məʔʔaxxer, məʔʔaxxar*¹; Gerund: *taʔʔaxxor*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>tmanna, byəʔtmanna</i> 'to wish'	<i>tsamma, byəʔtsamma</i> 'to be called, named'
<i>tɕaṭṭa, byəʔtɕaṭṭa</i> 'to be covered'	<i>txabba, byəʔtxabba</i> 'to hide, be hidden'
<i>tražža, byəʔtražža</i> 'to implore'	<i>ṭwaṣṣa, byəʔṭwaṣṣa</i> 'to be recommended'

Final radical *y* or *w* disappears in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF *tmanna* 'to wish'

3m	<i>tmánna</i>	<i>byəʔtmánna</i>	<i>yəʔtmánna</i>		'he'
f	<i>tmánnet</i>	<i>btəʔtmánna</i>	<i>təʔtmánna</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tmánnu</i>	<i>byəʔtmánnu</i>	<i>yəʔtmánnu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tmannēt</i>	<i>btəʔtmánna</i>	<i>təʔtmánna</i>	<i>tmánna</i>	'you'
f	<i>tmannēti</i>	<i>btəʔtmánni</i>	<i>təʔtmánni</i>	<i>tmánni</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tmannētu</i>	<i>btəʔtmánnu</i>	<i>təʔtmánnu</i>	<i>tmánnu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>tmannēt</i>	<i>bəʔtmánna</i>	<i>ʔəʔtmánna</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tmannēna</i>	<i>mnəʔtmánna</i>	<i>nəʔtmánna</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *məʔtmanni*, Pass. *məʔtmanna* (*ʕalē*); Gerund: *tamanni*

¹The passive form *məʔʔaxxar* is used in reference to inanimate objects while the "active" form applies to animate beings.

Derivational Types:

Most verbs of Pattern V are passives [235] of Pattern II verbs:

<i>tɛallam</i> 'to learn, be taught'	←	<i>ɛallam</i> 'to teach'
<i>tǧayyar</i> 'to change, be changed'	←	<i>ǧayyar</i> 'to change' (trans.)
<i>tšažžaɛ</i> 'to take heart'	←	<i>šažžaɛ</i> 'to encourage'
<i>tsamma</i> 'to be called, named'	←	<i>samma</i> 'to call, name'

Some are inchoative [251]:

<i>tfahham</i> 'to come to understand better'	←	<i>fahem</i> 'to understand'
<i>tmallak</i> 'to acquire'	←	<i>byəmlək</i> 'to own'
<i>tħassan</i> 'to improve'	←	<i>ʔaħsan</i> 'better'

Some are intransitive denominatives:

<i>tsawwaʔ</i> 'to go shopping'	←	<i>sūʔ</i> 'market'
<i>džassas</i> 'to spy'	←	<i>žāsūs</i> 'spy'

PATTERN VI: *tFāɛaL*, *byəʔFāɛaL*

Pattern VI is augmented with respect to Pattern III, by prefixation of the formative *t* [p.85]. It also differs from Pattern III in keeping the second pattern vowel *a* in the imperfect.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>tšāʔam</i> , <i>byəʔtšāʔam</i>	'to be pessimistic'	<i>ttāwab</i> , <i>byəʔttāwab</i>	'to yawn'
<i>thāmal</i> , <i>byəthāmal</i>	'to be negligent'	<i>tħādas(u)</i> , <i>byəʔtħādas(u)</i>	'to converse'
<i>tʔāsaš</i> , <i>byəʔʔāsaš</i>	'to be punished'	<i>tšāfaħ(u)</i> , <i>byəʔtšāfaħ(u)</i>	'to shake hands'

INFLECTION OF *tsāmaħ* 'to be forgiven'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>tsāmaħ</i>	<i>byətsāmaħ</i>	<i>yətsāmaħ</i>	'he'
f	<i>tsāmaħet</i>	<i>btətsāmaħ</i>	<i>tətsāmaħ</i>	'she'
pl	<i>tsāmaħu</i>	<i>byətsāmaħu</i>	<i>yətsāmaħu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>tsāmāħ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btətsāmaħ</i>	<i>tətsāmaħ</i>	'you'
f	<i>tsāmāħti</i>	<i>btətsāmaħi</i>	<i>tətsāmaħi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tsāmāħtu</i>	<i>btətsāmaħu</i>	<i>tətsāmaħu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>tsāmāħ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətsāmaħ</i>	<i>ʔətsāmaħ</i>	'I'
pl	<i>tsāmāħna</i>	<i>mnətsāmaħ</i>	<i>nətsāmaħ</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *mətsāmeħ*, Pass. *mətsāmaħ (fī)*; Gerund: *tasāmoħ*

Reciprocal verbs [p.248] do not ordinarily occur in the singular, hence the plural (-u) suffixes in some of these examples.

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>tħāša</i> , <i>byəʔtħāša</i>	'to avoid'	<i>trāxa</i> , <i>byəʔtrāxa</i>	'to be liberal, easygoing'
<i>trādu</i> , <i>byəʔtrādu</i>	'to be conciliated'	<i>tsāwa</i> , <i>byəʔtsāwa</i>	'to be made'
<i>tħāku</i> , <i>byəʔtħāku</i>	'to converse'		

Final radical *y* or *w* disappears in all inflections.

INFLECTION OF *tħāša* 'to avoid'

3m	<i>tħāša</i>	<i>byəʔtħāša</i>	<i>yəʔtħāša</i>	'he'
f	<i>tħāšet</i>	<i>btəʔtħāša</i>	<i>təʔtħāša</i>	'she'
pl	<i>tħāšu</i>	<i>byəʔtħāšu</i>	<i>yəʔtħāšu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>tħāšēt</i>	<i>btəʔtħāša</i>	<i>təʔtħāša</i>	<i>tħāša</i> 'you'
f	<i>tħāšēti</i>	<i>btəʔtħāši</i>	<i>təʔtħāši</i>	<i>tħāši</i> 'you'
pl	<i>tħāšētu</i>	<i>btəʔtħāšu</i>	<i>təʔtħāšu</i>	<i>tħāšu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>tħāšēt</i>	<i>bəʔtħāša</i>	<i>ʔəʔtħāša</i>	'I'
pl	<i>tħāšēna</i>	<i>mnəʔtħāša</i>	<i>nəʔtħāša</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məʔtħāši*, Pass. *məʔtħāša* (Gerund: *mħāšā*)

Initial-Weak Verbs. The verbs *ttāxad* 'to be taken' and *ttākal* 'to be eaten, to be edible' [Cf. p.235]:

INFLECTION OF *ttāxad* 'to be taken'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ttāxad</i>	<i>byəttāxad</i>	<i>yəttāxad</i>		'he'
f	<i>ttāxadet</i>	<i>btəttāxad</i>	<i>təttāxad</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ttāxadu</i>	<i>byəttāxadu</i>	<i>yəttāxadu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ttāxad(ə)t</i>	<i>btəttāxad</i>	<i>təttāxad</i>	<i>ttāxad</i>	'you'
f	<i>ttāxadtti</i>	<i>btəttāxadi</i>	<i>təttāxadi</i>	<i>ttāxadi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ttāxadttu</i>	<i>btəttāxadu</i>	<i>təttāxadu</i>	<i>ttāxadu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ttāxad(ə)t</i>	<i>btəttāxad</i>	<i>ʔəttāxad</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ttāxadna</i>	<i>mnəttāxad</i>	<i>nəttāxad</i>		'we'

Participle: *məttāxed*

The initial radical ʔ is assimilated to the prefixed formative t-.

Derivational Types.

Many Pattern VI verbs are passives of Pattern III verbs:

<i>tḥārak</i>	'to be blessed'	←	<i>bārak</i>	'to bless'
<i>tḥāfaḥ</i>	'to be protected'	←	<i>ḥāfaḥ</i>	'to protect'
<i>tṣāmaḥ</i>	'to be forgiven'	←	<i>sāmaḥ</i>	'to forgive'

Some are reciprocative [248]:

<i>tḥāku</i>	'to converse'	←	<i>ḥāka</i>	'to talk with'
<i>trāḍu</i>	'to be conciliated'	←	<i>rāḍa</i>	'to ingratiate one's self with'
<i>tkātabu</i>	'to write one another'	←	<i>kātab</i>	'to write to'

Some are simulatives [249]:

<i>tḡāšam</i>	'to play dumb'	←	<i>ḡāšim</i>	'naïve'
<i>tḡāhar</i>	'to feign'	←	<i>ḡāher</i>	'to appear'
<i>tkāsal</i>	'to loaf'	←	<i>kasūl</i>	'lazy'

PATTERN VII: *nFaʕaL*, *byənFáʕaL*

Pattern VII is augmented with respect to Pattern I, by prefixation of the formative *n*.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>nkasar</i> , <i>byənkáser</i>	'to be broken'	<i>nṣamaʕ</i> , <i>byənṣámeʕ</i>	'to be brought together'
<i>nšaraf</i> , <i>byənšáref</i>	'to be let out'	<i>mbašaṭ</i> , <i>byəmbášeṭ</i>	'to have a good time'
<i>nkatab</i> , <i>byənkáteb</i>	'to be written'	<i>nʔaʕaʕ</i> , <i>byənʔáʕeʕ</i>	'to be cut off'

The formative *n* is generally assimilated to a first radical *b* (or *m*), producing *m*, as in *mbašaṭ* [p.27].

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first vowel of the stem is lost in the imperfect, and the accent shifted to the prefix syllable: *byānkser*, *byāmbšeṭ*. With suffixes -i or -u, however, the last stem vowel *e* is lost (as usual) and the first vowel *a* restored: *btānkásri*, *byāmbáštu*.

INFLECTION OF *nsaḥab* 'to withdraw'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>nsáḥab</i>	<i>byənsáḥeb</i>	<i>yənsáḥeb</i>		'he'
f	<i>nsáḥbet</i>	<i>btənsáḥeb</i>	<i>tənsáḥeb</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nsáḥabu</i>	<i>byənsáḥbu</i>	<i>yənsáḥeb</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nsaḥáb(ə)t</i>	<i>btənsáḥeb</i>	<i>tənsáḥeb</i>	<i>nsáḥeb</i>	'you'
f	<i>nsaḥábtī</i>	<i>btənsáḥbi</i>	<i>tənsáḥbi</i>	<i>nsáḥbi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nsaḥábtu</i>	<i>btənsáḥbu</i>	<i>tənsáḥbu</i>	<i>nsáḥbu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nsaḥáb(ə)t</i>	<i>bənsáḥeb</i>	<i>ʔənsáḥeb</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nsaḥábnā</i>	<i>mnənsáḥeb</i>	<i>nənsáḥeb</i>		'we'

Participle: *mənsáḥeb*; Gerund: *ʔənsiḥāb*

Defective Verbs (a-i). Examples:

<i>nṭafa</i> , <i>byənṭāfi</i>	(or <i>byənṭāfa</i>)	'to be extinguished'
<i>nkawa</i> , <i>byənkāwi</i>	(or <i>byənkāwa</i>)	'to be ironed'
<i>nʔaḍa</i> , <i>byənʔāḍi</i>	(or <i>byənʔāḍa</i>)	'to be finished'

The imperf. vowel may be either *a...i*¹ (corresponding to sound *a...e*) or *a...a*.

INFLECTION OF *nkasa* 'to be clothed'

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Impf. Indic.</u>	<u>Impf. Subjn.</u>	<u>Impv.</u>	
3m	<i>nkása</i>	<i>byənkási</i> (<i>byənkása</i>)	<i>yənkási</i> (<i>yənkása</i>)		'he'
f	<i>nkáset</i>	<i>btənkási</i> (<i>btənkása</i>)	<i>tənkási</i> (<i>tənkása</i>)		'she'
pl	<i>nkásu</i>	<i>byənkásu</i> (<i>btənkásu</i>)	<i>yənkásu</i> (<i>yənkásu</i>)		'they'
2m	<i>nkasēt</i>	<i>btənkási</i> (<i>btənkása</i>)	<i>tənkási</i> (<i>tənkása</i>)	<i>nkási</i> (<i>nkása</i>)	'you'
f	<i>nkasēti</i>	<i>btənkási</i> (<i>btənkási</i>)	<i>tənkási</i> (<i>tənkási</i>)	<i>nkási</i> (<i>nkási</i>)	'you'
pl	<i>nkasētu</i>	<i>btənkásu</i> (<i>btənkásu</i>)	<i>tənkásu</i> (<i>tənkásu</i>)	<i>nkásu</i> (<i>nkasu</i>)	'you'
1sg	<i>nkasēt</i>	<i>bənkási</i> (<i>btənkásu</i>)	<i>ʔənkási</i> (<i>ʔənkása</i>)		'I'
pl	<i>nkasēna</i>	<i>mnənkási</i> (<i>mnənkása</i>)	<i>nənkási</i> (<i>nənkása</i>)		'we'

Participle: *mənkāsi* Gerund: *ʔənkisāʔ*

¹As in sound verbs, the first stem vowel *a* is lost — and the accent shifted to the first syllable — in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: *byənṭfi*, *byənkṣi*, etc.

Defective Verbs (a-a). Examples:

<i>nḥaka</i> , <i>byənḥāka</i>	'to be told'
<i>nḥaṭa</i> , <i>byənḥāṭa</i>	'to be given'
<i>nʔara</i> , <i>byənʔāra</i>	'to be read'

The imperfect vowel is *a...a*, just as in the perfect. In some parts of the Syrian area, however, e.g. Lebanon, there is a tendency to use *a...i* or *a...a* indiscriminately in the imperfect for all Pattern VII defectives.

INFLECTION OF *nḥada* 'to be infected'

	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Impf. Indic.</u>	<u>Impf. Subjn.</u>	<u>Impv.</u>	
3m	<i>nḥāda</i>	<i>byənḥāda</i>	<i>yənḥāda</i>		'he'
f	<i>nḥādet</i>	<i>btənḥāda</i>	<i>tənḥāda</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nḥādu</i>	<i>byənḥādu</i>	<i>yənḥādu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nḥadēt</i>	<i>btənḥāda</i>	<i>tənḥāda</i>	<i>nḥāda</i>	'you'
f	<i>nḥadēti</i>	<i>btənḥādi</i>	<i>tənḥādi</i>	<i>nḥādi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nḥadētu</i>	<i>btənḥādu</i>	<i>tənḥādu</i>	<i>nḥādu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nḥadēt</i>	<i>bənḥāda</i>	<i>ʔənḥāda</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nḥadēna</i>	<i>mnənḥāda</i>	<i>nənḥāda</i>		'we'

Participle: *mənḥādi* Gerund: *ʔənḥidāʔ*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<i>nʔāl</i> , <i>byənʔāl</i>	'to be said'	<i>nšāf</i> , <i>byənšāf</i>	'to be seen'
<i>nžāb</i> , <i>byənžāb</i>	'to be brought'	<i>mbāḥ</i> , <i>byəmbāḥ</i>	'to be bought'
<i>nšāb</i> , <i>byənšāb</i>	'to be hit'	<i>nʔām</i> , <i>byənʔām</i>	'to be removed'

Vowelling is the same in both tenses.

INFLECTION OF *nšāf* 'to be seen'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>nšāf</i>	<i>byənšāf</i>	<i>yənšāf</i>		'he'
f	<i>nšāfet</i>	<i>btənšāf</i>	<i>tənšāf</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nšāfu</i>	<i>byənšāfu</i>	<i>yənšāfu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nšāf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btənšāf</i>	<i>tənšāf</i>	<i>nšāf</i>	'you'
f	<i>nšāfti</i>	<i>btənšāfi</i>	<i>tənšāfi</i>	<i>nšāfi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nšāftu</i>	<i>btənšāfu</i>	<i>tənšāfu</i>	<i>nšāfu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nšāf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bənšāf</i>	<i>ʔənšāf</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nšāfna</i>	<i>mnənšāf</i>	<i>nənšāf</i>		'we'

Participle: *mənšāf*

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

<i>nsadd, byənsadd</i>	'to be stopped up'	<i>nmadd, byənmadd</i>	'to be stretched'
<i>nʔašš, byənʔašš</i>	'to be cut'	<i>nhazz, byənhazz</i>	'to be shaken'
<i>nḥass, byənḥass</i>	'to be felt'	<i>nḥaṭṭ, byənḥaṭṭ</i>	'to be put'

INFLECTION OF *nšaff* 'to be lined up'

3m	<i>nšaff</i>	<i>byənšáff</i>	<i>yənšáff</i>		'he'
f	<i>nšáffet</i>	<i>btənšáff</i>	<i>tənšáff</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nšáffu</i>	<i>byənšáffu</i>	<i>yənšáffu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nšaffēt</i>	<i>btənšáff</i>	<i>tənšáff</i>	<i>nšaff</i>	'you'
f	<i>nšaffēti</i>	<i>btənšáffi</i>	<i>tənšáffi</i>	<i>nšáffi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nšaffētu</i>	<i>btənšáffu</i>	<i>tənšáffu</i>	<i>nšáffu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nšaffēt</i>	<i>bənšáff</i>	<i>ʔənšáff</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nšaffēna</i>	<i>mnənšáff</i>	<i>nənšáff</i>		'we'

Participle: *mənšaff*

Derivational Types: Almost all verbs of Pattern VII are passives [234] of Pattern I verbs:

<i>nḥabas</i>	'to be imprisoned'	← <i>ḥabas</i>	'to imprison'
<i>mbara</i>	'to be sharpened'	← <i>bara</i>	'to sharpen'
<i>mbaṣaṭ</i>	'to be pleased'	← <i>baṣaṭ</i>	'to please'
<i>nḥall</i>	'to be solved'	← <i>ḥall</i>	'to solve'
<i>nnām</i>	'to be slept (e.g. ...in)'	← <i>nām</i>	'to sleep'

nzawa 'to withdraw, be by one's self' is an idiomatic denominative [256] of *zāwye* 'corner'.

PATTERN VIII: *FtaʕaL, byəFtəʕeL*

Pattern VIII is augmented with respect to Pattern I by infixation of the formative *t* [p.85] after the first radical.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>ftakar, byəftaker</i>	'to think'	<i>qṭaṣad, byəqṭaṣed</i>	'to economize'
<i>ntaʔal, byəntaʔel</i>	'to be transferred'	<i>rtakab, byərtakab</i>	'to commit'
<i>ʕtaraf, byəʕtarəf</i>	'to admit'	<i>ḥtaram, byəḥtərem</i>	'to respect'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first imperfect stem vowel *a* is lost and the accent shifted to the first syllable: *byəftker, byəštəgel* — except when the last stem vowel is lost before a suffix (requiring the restoration of the first vowel): *btəftəkri, byəštəglo*.

INFLECTION OF *štaḡal* 'to work'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>štaḡal</i>	<i>byəštaḡel</i>	<i>yəštaḡel</i>		'he'
f	<i>štaḡlet</i>	<i>btəštaḡel</i>	<i>təštaḡel</i>		'she'
pl	<i>štaḡalu</i>	<i>byəštaḡlu</i>	<i>yəštaḡlu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>štaḡál(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btəštaḡel</i>	<i>təštaḡel</i>	<i>štaḡel</i>	'you'
f	<i>štaḡálti</i>	<i>btəštaḡli</i>	<i>təštaḡli</i>	<i>štaḡli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>štaḡáltu</i>	<i>btəštaḡlu</i>	<i>təštaḡlu</i>	<i>štaḡlu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>štaḡál(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəštaḡel</i>	<i>ʔəštaḡel</i>		'I'
pl	<i>štaḡálna</i>	<i>məštaḡel</i>	<i>nəštaḡel</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *məštaḡel*, Pass. *məštaḡal*; Gerund: *ʔəštiḡāl*

Initial-Weak Verbs. Examples:

<i>ttafaʔ</i> , <i>byəttáfeʔ</i> 'to agree'	<i>ttaʃaf</i> , <i>byəttáʃeʃ</i> 'to be characterized'
<i>ttaʃal</i> , <i>byəttáʃel</i> 'to be in touch with'	<i>ttaxaz</i> , <i>byəttáxez</i> 'to undertake'
<i>ttásam</i> , <i>byəttásem</i> 'to be branded'	<i>ttakal</i> , <i>byəttákel</i> 'to depend, rely'

An initial radical *w* or *ʔ* is assimilated to the infix *t* (or *ʔ*), producing *tt-* (or *tʔ-*): Pattern *FtaʕaL* with Root *w-s-m* gives *ttasam*; Pattern *FtaʕaL* with Root *ʔ-x-z* (*ʔ-x-d*) gives *ttaxaz*.

INFLECTION OF *ttafaʔ* 'to agree'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>ttáfaʔ</i>	<i>byəttáfeʔ</i>	<i>yəttáfeʔ</i>	'he'
f	<i>ttáfʔet</i>	<i>btəttáfeʔ</i>	<i>təttáfeʔ</i>	'she'
pl	<i>ttáfaʔu</i>	<i>byəttáfʔu</i>	<i>yəttáfʔu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>ttáfáʔ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btəttáfeʔ</i>	<i>təffáfeʔ</i>	<i>ttáfeʔ</i> 'you'
f	<i>ttáfáʔti</i>	<i>btəttáfʔi</i>	<i>təttáfʔi</i>	<i>ttáfʔi</i> 'you'
pl	<i>ttáfáʔtu</i>	<i>btəttáfʔu</i>	<i>təttáfʔu</i>	<i>ttáfʔu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>ttáfáʔ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəttáfeʔ</i>	<i>ʔəttáfeʔ</i>	'I'
pl	<i>ttáfáʔna</i>	<i>mnəttáfeʔ</i>	<i>nəttáfeʔ</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məttáfeʔ*, Pass. *məttáfaʔ* (*ʕalē*); Gerund *ʔəttifāʔ*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>štara</i> , <i>byəštári</i> 'to buy'	<i>ʕtana</i> , <i>byəʕtáni</i> 'to take care of'
<i>ktafa</i> , <i>byəktáfi</i> 'to be satisfied'	<i>ddaʕa</i> , <i>byəddáʕi</i> 'to pretend'

In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the first stem vowel *a* in the imperfect is lost and the accent shifted to the prefix: *byəštri*, *byəktfi*.

INFLECTION OF *štaka* 'to complain'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>štáka</i>	<i>byəštáki</i>	<i>yəštáki</i>	'he'
f	<i>štáket</i>	<i>btəštáki</i>	<i>təštáki</i>	'she'
pl	<i>štáku</i>	<i>byəšták(y)u</i>	<i>yəšták(y)u</i>	'they'
2m	<i>štakēt</i>	<i>btəštáki</i>	<i>təštáki</i>	<i>štáki</i> 'you'
f	<i>štakēti</i>	<i>btəštáki</i>	<i>təštáki</i>	<i>štáki</i> 'you'
pl	<i>štakētu</i>	<i>btəšták(y)u</i>	<i>təšták(y)u</i>	<i>štáku</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>štakēt</i>	<i>bəštáki</i>	<i>ʔəštáki</i>	'I'
pl	<i>štakēna</i>	<i>mnəštáki</i>	<i>nəštáki</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məštáki*, Pass. *məštáka* (*ʕalē*); Gerund: *ʔəštikāʔ*

Defective Verbs (a-a). Only two Pattern VIII verbs have imperfect vowels *a*:

ltaʔa, *byəltáʔa* 'to be found'

ntala, *byəntála* 'to be filled'

In the sense 'to meet' (intr.), *ltaʔa* can also have the imperfect *byəltáʔi*; *ntala* likewise has an imperfect *byəntáli* that is sometimes heard. Note, too, that *ntala* is irregular in having *n* instead of the expected radical *m* (cf. *mállā* 'to fill'; it is therefore possible to interpret it as a Pattern VII verb with initial radical *t* (cf. Aleppo *talla* 'to fill')).

INFLECTION OF *ntala* 'to be filled'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ntála</i>	<i>byəntála</i> (<i>byəntáli</i>)	<i>yəntála</i> (<i>yəntáli</i>)		'he'
f	<i>ntálet</i>	<i>btəntála</i> (<i>btəntáli</i>)	<i>təntála</i> (<i>təntáli</i>)		'she'
pl	<i>ntálu</i>	<i>byəntálu</i> (<i>byəntálu</i>)	<i>yəntálu</i> (<i>yəntáli</i>)		'they'
2m	<i>ntalēt</i>	<i>btəntála</i> (<i>btəntáli</i>)	<i>təntála</i> (<i>təntáli</i>)	<i>ntáli</i>	'you'
f	<i>ntalēti</i>	<i>btəntáli</i> (<i>btəntáli</i>)	<i>təntáli</i> (<i>təntáli</i>)	<i>ntáli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ntalētu</i>	<i>btəntálu</i> (<i>btəntálu</i>)	<i>təntálu</i> (<i>təntálu</i>)	<i>ntálu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ntalēt</i>	<i>bəntála</i> (<i>bəntáli</i>)	<i>ʔəntála</i> (<i>ʔəntáli</i>)		'I'
pl	<i>ntalēna</i>	<i>mnəntála</i> (<i>mnəntáli</i>)	<i>nəntála</i> (<i>nəntáli</i>)		'we'

Participles: *məntáli*¹; Gerund: *ʔəntilāʔ*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

- htāl*, *byəhtāl* 'to use deceit'
htāš, *byəhtāš* 'to need'
rtāh, *byərtāh* 'to rest, relax'
zdād, *byəzdād* 'to increase' (intrans.)

INFLECTION OF *rtāh* 'to rest, relax'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>rtāh</i>	<i>byertāh</i>	<i>yertāh</i>		'he'
f	<i>rtāhet</i>	<i>btərtāh</i>	<i>tərtāh</i>		'she'
pl	<i>rtāhu</i>	<i>byərtāhu</i>	<i>yərtāhu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>rtāh(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btərtāh</i>	<i>tərtāh</i>	<i>rtāh</i>	'you'
f	<i>rtāhti</i>	<i>btərtāhi</i>	<i>tərtāhi</i>	<i>rtāhi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>rtāhtu</i>	<i>btərtāhu</i>	<i>tərtāhu</i>	<i>rtāhu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>rtāh(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bərtāh</i>	<i>ʔərtāh</i>		'I'
pl	<i>rtāhna</i>	<i>mnərtāh</i>	<i>nərtāh</i>		'we'

Participle: *mərtāh*; Gerund: *ʔərtiyāh*

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

- mtadd*, *byəmtadd* 'to extend' (intrans.)
ʔtarr, *byəʔtarr* 'to be obliged, required'
štaʔʔ, *byəštaʔʔ* 'to be derived'

INFLECTION OF *htall* 'to occupy'

3m	<i>htáll</i>	<i>byəhtáll</i>	<i>yəhtáll</i>		'he'
f	<i>htálllet</i>	<i>btəhtáll</i>	<i>təhtáll</i>		'she'
pl	<i>htálllu</i>	<i>byəhtálllu</i>	<i>yəhtálllu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>htallēt</i>	<i>btəhtáll</i>	<i>təhtáll</i>	<i>htáll</i>	'you'
f	<i>htallēti</i>	<i>btəhtállli</i>	<i>yəhtállli</i>	<i>htállli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>htallētu</i>	<i>btəhtálllu</i>	<i>təhtálllu</i>	<i>htálllu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>htallēt</i>	<i>bəhtáll</i>	<i>ʔəhtáll</i>		'I'
pl	<i>htallēna</i>	<i>mnəhtáll</i>	<i>nəhtáll</i>		'we'

Participle: *məhtall*; Gerund: *ʔəhtilāl*

¹Some speakers distinguish between a mediopassive *məntáli* '(having gotten) full' and true passive *məntála* '(having been) filled'.

Derivational Types: Many Pattern VIII verbs are passives [234] of simple active verbs:

<i>ntasa</i> 'to be forgotten'	←	<i>nasi</i> 'to forget'
<i>ltaha</i> 'to be distracted, entertained'	←	<i>laha</i> 'to distract, entertain'
<i>xtana?</i> 'to choke' (intrans.)	←	<i>xana?</i> 'to choke' (trans.)

In Pattern VIII mediopassives are much more common than true passives: *štaḡal* 'to work' (cf. *šaḡal* 'to occupy, to busy'); *mbaṣaṭ* 'to enjoy one's self' (cf. *baṣaṭ* 'to please'). See p. 234.

Some Pattern VIII verbs are abstractive [p.252] with respect to simple concrete verbs:

<i>ktāṣaf</i> 'to discover'	←	<i>kaṣaf</i> 'to uncover, reveal'
<i>ḥtawā</i> 'to include, contain' (ʿala)	←	<i>ḥawa</i> 'to contain, keep'
<i>mṭaṣṣ</i> 'to absorb'	←	<i>maṣṣ</i> 'to suck'

Some are abstract denominatives:

<i>ʿtād</i> 'to become habituated'	←	<i>ʿāde</i> 'habit'
<i>ṣtarak</i> 'to associate'	←	<i>ṣarke</i> 'association'
<i>ḥtāl</i> 'to be deceitful'	←	<i>ḥīle</i> 'trick, deceit'
<i>ṭṭarr</i> 'to be required, obliged'	←	<i>ḍarūra</i> 'necessity'

A fairly high proportion of Pattern VIII verbs are not functionally derivable from any underlying word (or are at least highly idiomatic in their derivation): *rtakab* 'to commit (e.g. a crime)', cf. *rakab* 'to ride'; *ʿtaraḍ* 'to oppose, contradict', cf. *ʿaraḍ* 'to show, display'; *ṣtarr* 'to chew a cud', cf. *ṣarr* 'to pull'.

Voicing of the -t- Formative

The infix -t- is changed to -d- after an initial radical *z* or *d*:

<i>zdād</i> 'to increase' (intrans.):	Root <i>z-w-d</i>	
<i>zdara</i> 'to scorn':	Root <i>z-r-y</i>	(Gerund <i>ʿazdirā?</i>)
<i>ddaʿa</i> 'to claim, pretend':	Root <i>d-ʿ-w</i>	(cf. participial noun <i>muddāʿi</i> 'claimant')

In the vicinity of a velarized root consonant, it is automatically velarized to *ṭ*: *ṣṭād* 'to hunt'. An initial radical voiced obstruent other than *z* or *d* is often devoiced before -t- [p.26]: *ṣtamaʿ* 'to meet': Root *ṣ-m-ʿ*; *ṭṭarr* 'to be required': Root *ṭ-r-r*.)

PATTERN IX: *FʿaLL*, *byəFʿaLL*

Pattern IX is augmented with respect to other patterns by lengthening of the final radical.

The only examples found are:

<i>byaḍḍ</i> , <i>byəbyaḍḍ</i> 'to become white'	<i>swadd</i> , <i>byəswadd</i> 'to become black'
<i>ḥmarr</i> , <i>byəḥmarr</i> 'to become red'	<i>xḍarr</i> , <i>byəxḍarr</i> 'to become green'
<i>ṣfarr</i> , <i>byəṣfarr</i> 'to become yellow'	<i>zra??</i> , <i>byəzra??</i> 'to become blue'
<i>smarr</i> , <i>byəsmarr</i> 'to tan, darken'	<i>ṣʔarr</i> , <i>byəṣʔarr</i> 'to become blond'

ʿwaṣṣ, *byəʿwaṣṣ* 'to become bent'

INFLECTION OF *ḥmarr* 'to become red, blush'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ḥmarr</i>	<i>byəḥmárr</i>	<i>yəḥmárr</i>		'he'
f	<i>ḥmárret</i>	<i>btəḥmárr</i>	<i>təḥmárr</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ḥmárru</i>	<i>byəḥmárru</i>	<i>təḥmárru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ḥmarrēt</i>	<i>btəḥmárr</i>	<i>təḥmárr</i>	<i>ḥmarr</i>	'you'
f	<i>ḥmarrēti</i>	<i>btəḥmárri</i>	<i>təḥmárri</i>	<i>ḥmárri</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ḥmarrētu</i>	<i>btəḥmárru</i>	<i>təḥmárru</i>	<i>ḥmárru</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ḥmarrēt</i>	<i>bəḥmárr</i>	<i>ʔəḥmárr</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ḥmarrēna</i>	<i>mnəḥmárr</i>	<i>nəḥmárr</i>		'we'

Participle: *məḥmarr*; Gerund *ʔəḥmirār*

Grammatical Characteristics. All Pattern IX's are inchoative [p.250] derivatives of Pattern *ʔaFʿaL* adjectives [130]. All but one (*ʿwaṣṣ*) are from color-adjectives.

<i>byaḍḍ</i> 'to become white'	←	<i>ʔabyaḍ</i> 'white'
<i>zra??</i> 'to become blue'	←	<i>ʔazra?</i> 'blue'
<i>ʿwaṣṣ</i> 'to become bent'	←	<i>ʔaʿwaṣ</i> 'bent'

PATTERN X: *stāFēaL*, *byāstaFēeL*

Pattern X is augmented with respect to Pattern I by prefixation of a formative *st(a)-*. The pattern vowels are *a...a* (pf.), *a...e* (impf.).

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>stafham</i> , <i>byəstafhem</i>	'to enquire'	<i>stahsan</i> , <i>byəstahsen</i>	'to prefer'
<i>stasmar</i> , <i>byəstasmer</i>	'to exploit'	<i>stasēab</i> , <i>byəstašēeb</i>	'to find difficult'
<i>stawrad</i> , <i>byəstawred</i>	'to import'	<i>staṭyab</i> , <i>byəstaṭyeb</i>	'to find tasty'

Sound verbs of this pattern include some with medial radical *w* and *y*: *stažwab* 'to question' (cf. hollow *stažāb* 'to grant'). Occasionally, one also hears a Pattern X verb with second and third radicals alike formed on the sound pattern (*stāxfaf* 'to treat lightly') instead of the usual geminate (*stāxdff*) [p.105]

INFLECTION OF *staʔbal* 'to welcome'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>stāʔbal</i>	<i>byəstāʔbel</i>	<i>yəstāʔbel</i>	'he'
f	<i>stāʔbalet</i>	<i>btəstāʔbel</i>	<i>təstāʔbel</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stāʔbalu</i>	<i>byəstāʔ(ə)blu</i>	<i>yəstāʔ(ə)blu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stāʔbdl(ə)t</i>	<i>btəstāʔbel</i>	<i>təstāʔbel</i>	<i>stāʔbel</i> 'you'
f	<i>stāʔbdlti</i>	<i>btəstāʔ(ə)bli</i>	<i>təstāʔ(ə)bli</i>	<i>stāʔ(ə)bli</i> 'you'
pl	<i>stāʔbdltu</i>	<i>btəstāʔ(ə)blu</i>	<i>təstāʔ(ə)blu</i>	<i>stāʔ(ə)blu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>stāʔbdl(ə)t</i>	<i>bəstāʔbel</i>	<i>ʔəstāʔbel</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stāʔbdlna</i>	<i>mnəstāʔbel</i>	<i>nəstāʔbel</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məstaʔbel*, Pass. *məstaʔbal*; Gerund: *ʔəstaʔbāl*

Sound with medial radical *w*: *stažwab* 'to question'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>stāžwab</i>	<i>byəstāžweb</i>	<i>yəstāžweb</i>	'he'
f	<i>stāžwabet</i>	<i>btəstāžweb</i>	<i>təstāžweb</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stāžwab</i>	<i>byəstāž(ə)wbu</i>	<i>yəstāž(ə)wbu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stažwdb(ə)t</i>	<i>btəstāžweb</i>	<i>təstāžweb</i>	<i>stāžweb</i> 'you'
f	<i>stažwdbti</i>	<i>btəstāž(ə)wbi</i>	<i>təstāž(ə)wbi</i>	<i>stāž(ə)wbi</i> 'you'
pl	<i>stažwdbtu</i>	<i>btəstāž(ə)wbu</i>	<i>təstāž(ə)wbu</i>	<i>stāž(ə)wbu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>stažwdb(ə)t</i>	<i>bəstāžweb</i>	<i>ʔəstāžweb</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stažwdbna</i>	<i>mnəstāžweb</i>	<i>bəstāžweb</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məstažweb*, Pass. *məstažwab*; Gerund: *ʔəstažwāb*

Defective Verbs. Examples:

<i>stahla</i> , <i>byəstahli</i>	'to like'	<i>stakra</i> , <i>byəstakri</i>	'to rent, hire'
<i>stasna</i> , <i>byəstasni</i>	'to exclude'	<i>stawla</i> , <i>byəstawli</i>	'to take over'
<i>staēfa</i> , <i>byəstaēfi</i>	'to resign'	<i>starda</i> , <i>byəstarḍi</i>	'to make an apology'
<i>staʔwa</i> , <i>byəstaʔwi</i>	'to take heart'	<i>staḡla</i> , <i>byəstaḡli</i>	'to consider expensive'

Initial or medial radical *w* does not fluctuate in defective verbs of this pattern, but for medial *y*, see p.

INFLECTION OF *stahla* 'to like'

3m	<i>stāhla</i>	<i>byəstāhli</i>	<i>yəstāhli</i>	'he'
f	<i>stāhlet</i>	<i>btəstāhli</i>	<i>təstāhli</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stāhlu</i>	<i>byəstāhlu</i>	<i>yəstāhlu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stahlēt</i>	<i>btəstāhli</i>	<i>təstāhli</i>	<i>stāhli</i> 'you'
f	<i>stahlēti</i>	<i>btəstāhli</i>	<i>təstāhli</i>	<i>stāhli</i> 'you'
pl	<i>stahlētu</i>	<i>btəstāhlu</i>	<i>təstāhlu</i>	<i>stāhlu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>stahlēt</i>	<i>bəstāhli</i>	<i>ʔəstāhli</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stahlēna</i>	<i>mnəstāhli</i>	<i>nəstāhli</i>	'we'

Participle: Act. *məstāhli*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<i>stašār</i> , <i>byastašār</i> 'to consult'	<i>staqāl</i> , <i>byastaqāl</i> 'to resign'
<i>staṭāḥ</i> , <i>byastaṭāḥ</i> 'to be able'	<i>stažāb</i> , <i>byast(a)žāb</i> 'to grant'
<i>stafād</i> , <i>byastfid</i> 'to benefit'	<i>starāḥ</i> , <i>byastriḥ</i> 'to rest'
<i>staḥān</i> , <i>byastḥān</i> 'to ask for help'	<i>staḥād</i> , <i>byastḥād</i> 'to get back'

The occurrence of the formative vowel *a* in the imperfect is partly a matter of style; it is more elegant to pronounce e.g. *byastažāb*, while *byastžāb* is more informal. Therefore only words which are themselves elegant or formal vocabulary items will be consistently pronounced with the *a*: *byastaṭāḥ*.

Note that not all Pattern X verbs with medial radical semivowel are hollow: compare *stažāb* 'to grant' with the sound verb *stažwāb* 'to question', both of which have the root *ž-w-b*.

INFLECTION OF *starāḥ* 'to relax' (unstable *a*)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>starāḥ</i>	<i>byastriḥ</i>	<i>yastriḥ</i>	'he'
f	<i>starāḥet</i>	<i>btastriḥ</i>	<i>tastriḥ</i>	'she'
pl	<i>starāḥu</i>	<i>byastriḥu</i>	<i>yastriḥu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>strāḥ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btastriḥ</i>	<i>tastriḥ</i>	<i>striḥ</i> 'you'
f	<i>strāḥti</i>	<i>btastriḥi</i>	<i>tastriḥi</i>	<i>striḥi</i> 'you'
pl	<i>strāḥtu</i>	<i>btastriḥu</i>	<i>tastriḥu</i>	<i>striḥu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>strāḥ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bastriḥ</i>	<i>ʔastriḥ</i>	'I'
pl	<i>strāḥna</i>	<i>mnastriḥ</i>	<i>nastriḥ</i>	'we'

Participle: *mastriḥ*; Gerund *ʔastirāḥ*

INFLECTION OF *stašār* 'to consult' (stable *a*)

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.
3m	<i>stašār</i>	<i>byastašār</i>	<i>yastašār</i>	'he'
f	<i>stašāret</i>	<i>btastašār</i>	<i>tastašār</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stašāru</i>	<i>byastašāru</i>	<i>yastašāru</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stašār(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btastašār</i>	<i>tastašār</i>	<i>stašār</i> 'you'
f	<i>stašār(ʔ)ti</i>	<i>btastašār(ʔ)i</i>	<i>tastašār(ʔ)i</i>	<i>stašār(ʔ)i</i> 'you'
pl	<i>stašār(ʔ)tu</i>	<i>btastašār(ʔ)u</i>	<i>tastašār(ʔ)u</i>	<i>stašār(ʔ)u</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>stašār(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bastašār</i>	<i>ʔastašār</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stašārna</i>	<i>mnastašār</i>	<i>nastašār</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *mastašār*, Pass. *mastašār*; Gerund *ʔastišāra*

Note that in the first and second persons of the perfect, the last stem vowel remains *a* if the first stem vowel (*a*) is kept, but is usually changed to *ə* if the first stem vowel is dropped (see conjugation of *starāḥ*, above).

Geminate Verbs. Examples:

<i>staradd</i> , <i>byast(a)radd</i> 'to get back'	<i>stahabb</i> , <i>byast(a)habb</i> 'to like'
<i>stamarr</i> , <i>byast(a)marr</i> 'to continue'	<i>stahaʔʔ</i> , <i>byast(a)haʔʔ</i> 'to deserve'
<i>staḡall</i> , <i>byast(a)ḡall</i> 'to exploit'	<i>staxaff</i> , <i>byast(a)xaff</i> 'to make light(of)'

INFLECTION OF *staradd* 'to take back'

3m	<i>starádd</i>	<i>byastrádd</i>	<i>yastrádd</i>	'he'
f	<i>staráddet</i>	<i>btastrádd</i>	<i>tastrádd</i>	'she'
pl	<i>staráddu</i>	<i>byastráddu</i>	<i>yastráddu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>st(a)raddēt</i>	<i>btastrádd</i>	<i>tastrádd</i>	<i>strádd</i> 'you'
f	<i>st(a)raddēti</i>	<i>btastráddi</i>	<i>tastráddi</i>	<i>stráddi</i> 'you'
pl	<i>st(a)raddētu</i>	<i>btastráddu</i>	<i>tastráddu</i>	<i>stráddu</i> 'you'
1sg	<i>st(a)raddēt</i>	<i>bastrádd</i>	<i>ʔastrádd</i>	'I'
pl	<i>st(a)raddēna</i>	<i>mnastrádd</i>	<i>nastrádd</i>	'we'

Participle: Act. *mastaradd*; Gerund *ʔastardād*

Initial-weak verb: *stāhal* 'to deserve'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	
3m	<i>stāhal</i>	<i>byəstāhel</i>	<i>yəstāhel</i>	'he'
f	<i>stāhalet</i>	<i>btəstāhel</i>	<i>təstāhel</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stāhalu</i>	<i>byəstāhlu</i>	<i>yəstāhlu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stāhd(ə)t</i>	<i>btəstāhel</i>	<i>təstāhel</i>	'you'
f	<i>stāhdlti</i>	<i>btəstāhli</i>	<i>təstāhli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>stāhdltu</i>	<i>btəstāhlu</i>	<i>təstāhlu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>stāhd(ə)t</i>	<i>bəstāhel</i>	<i>ʔəstāhel</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stāhālna</i>	<i>mnəstāhel</i>	<i>nəstāhel</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məstāhel*, Pass. *məstāhal*

stāhal is the only initial-weak Pattern X verb found. The formative *sta-* combines with the first radical ʔ to produce *stā-*. (Compare the sound verb *staʔzan*, *byəstaʔzen* 'to ask permission'.)

Hollow-defective verb: *stāha*, *byəstāhi* 'to be embarrassed'

3m	<i>stāha</i>	<i>byəstāhi</i>	<i>yəstāhi</i>	'he'
f	<i>stāhet</i>	<i>btəstāhi</i>	<i>təstāhi</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stāhu</i>	<i>byəstāhu</i>	<i>yəstāhu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stāhēt</i>	<i>btəstāhi</i>	<i>təstāhi</i>	'you'
f	<i>stāhēti</i>	<i>btəstāhi</i>	<i>təstāhi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>stāhētu</i>	<i>btəstāhu</i>	<i>təstāhu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>stāhēt</i>	<i>bəstāhi</i>	<i>ʔəstāhi</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stāhēna</i>	<i>mnəstāhi</i>	<i>nəstāhi</i>	'we'

Participle: *məstāhi*; Gerund: *ʔəstāhyāʔ*

stāha (Root *h-y-y*, cf. *hayy* 'bashful') is the only Hollow-defective Pattern X verb found. Both radical semivowels disappear in all inflections. The forms are like those of Pattern VIII defective verbs, but *stāha* cannot be classified as Pattern VIII; that would imply its root was *s-h-y*.

Another pseudo-Pattern VIII verb is *zdall* 'to conclude, gather' (Root *d-l-l*, cf. *dall* 'to indicate'). The formative is reduced from *sta-* to *st-*, but the combination *std-* cannot stand intact and is reduced to *sd-*. Compare the regularly formed doublet *stadall* 'to find the way'. (*zdall*, *byəzdall* is conjugated like Pattern VIII verbs [p.99].)

Derivational Types: Many Pattern X verbs are estimative [p.244]:

<i>staḡrab</i> 'to be surprised at, to consider strange'	-	<i>ḡarīb</i> 'strange'
<i>staṣṣab</i> 'to find difficult'	-	<i>ṣaṣb</i> 'difficult'
<i>stāḥla</i> 'to like, find nice'	-	<i>ḥālu</i> 'nice, pretty'

Many are eductive [244]:

<i>staḡfar</i> 'to ask (God's) forgiveness'	-	<i>ḡafar</i> 'to forgive'
<i>staradd</i> 'to get (something) back'	-	<i>radd</i> 'to give back'
<i>staṣwab</i> 'to question'	-	<i>ṣāwab</i> 'to answer'
<i>staʔṣar</i> 'to rent, hire'	-	<i>ʔaṣṣar</i> 'to rent, hire out'
<i>staxbar</i> 'to enquire, get information'	-	<i>xabar</i> 'news, information'

ANOMALOUS FORMS

Patterns V and X mixed: *stmannā* 'to wish'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	
3m	<i>stmánna</i>	<i>byəstmánna</i>	<i>yəstmánna</i>	'he'
f	<i>stmánnet</i>	<i>btəstmánna</i>	<i>təstmánna</i>	'she'
pl	<i>stmánnu</i>	<i>byəstmánnu</i>	<i>yəstmánnu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>stmannēt</i>	<i>btəstmánna</i>	<i>təstmánna</i>	'you'
f	<i>stmannēti</i>	<i>btəstmánni</i>	<i>təstmánni</i>	'you'
pl	<i>stmannētu</i>	<i>btəstmánnu</i>	<i>təstmánnu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>stmannēt</i>	<i>bəstmánna</i>	<i>ʔəstmánna</i>	'I'
pl	<i>stmannēna</i>	<i>mnəstmánna</i>	<i>nəstmánna</i>	'we'

Participles: *məstmanni*, Pass. *məstmannā*

These forms are often replaced by the straight Pattern V forms: *tmanna*, *byatmanna*.

Patterns V and X mixed, Initial-weak: *stanna* 'to wait'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>stánna</i>	<i>byastánna</i>	<i>yastánna</i>		'he'
f	<i>stánnet</i>	<i>btastánna</i>	<i>tastánna</i>		'she'
pl	<i>stánnu</i>	<i>byastánnu</i>	<i>yastánnu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>stannēt</i>	<i>btastánna</i>	<i>tastánna</i>	<i>stánna</i>	'you'
f	<i>stannēti</i>	<i>btastánni</i>	<i>tastánni</i>	<i>stánni</i>	'you'
pl	<i>stannētu</i>	<i>btastánnu</i>	<i>tastánnu</i>	<i>stánnu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>stannēt</i>	<i>bastánna</i>	<i>ʔastánna</i>		'I'
pl	<i>stannēna</i>	<i>mnastánna</i>	<i>nastánna</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mastanni*, Pass. *mastanna*

A theoretical initial radical ʔ is lost in all inflections.

Patterns III and X mixed, with loss of -t-: *snāwal* 'to catch'

3m	<i>snāwal</i>	<i>byasnāwel</i>	<i>yasnāwel</i>		'he'
f	<i>snāwalet</i>	<i>btasnāwel</i>	<i>tasnāwel</i>		'she'
pl	<i>snāwalu</i>	<i>byasnāwlu</i>	<i>yasnāwlu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>snāwāl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btasnāwel</i>	<i>tasnāwel</i>	<i>snāwel</i>	'you'
f	<i>snāwālti</i>	<i>btasnāwli</i>	<i>tasnāwli</i>	<i>snāwli</i>	'you'
pl	<i>snāwāltu</i>	<i>btasnāwlu</i>	<i>tasnāwlu</i>	<i>snāwlu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>snāwāl(ʔ)t</i>	<i>basnāwel</i>	<i>ʔasnāwel</i>		'I'
pl	<i>snāwālna</i>	<i>mnasnāwel</i>	<i>nasnāwel</i>		'we'

Participle: Act. *masnāwel*

The form with -t- is also sometimes heard: *stnāwal*, *byastnāwel*.

PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL PATTERNS

Syrian Arabic has a number of triradical verb patterns that are used little or not at all in Classical Arabic and consequently have no traditional classification (or numerical labels). These patterns, described in the sections that follow, are *FaʕFaL*, *FaʕwaL*, *FōʕaL*, *FarʕaL*, *FaʕʕaL*, and *ʔaʕʕaL* (with stable ʔ — not the same as Pattern IV [p.82]). Each of these except *ʔaʕʕaL* is paralleled by a pattern with the *t-* formative [85] *tFaʕFaL*, *tFaʕwaL*, etc.

Besides these there are some very rare patterns, for example *FaʕLa* (as in *ʔaʕma*, *biʔaʕmi* 'to feed'), and some geographically limited patterns like the Lebanese *FayʕaL* (as in *ʔaylaʕ* 'to take up, out': elsewhere *ʔallaʕ* or *tālaʕ*).

Verbs with any of these patterns fall into the same form-types (and conjugational types) as quadriradical verbs. That is to say, their characteristic formatives are not distinguishable from an extra radical on the basis of form alone — hence they have sometimes been loosely classified with the true quadriradicals as examples of Pattern *FaʕLaL* (or *tFaʕLaL*) [p.117].¹

They differ from true quadriradicals in that they are derived (as regular functions of the given formatives [p.47]) from triradical words. For instance the verb *madmad* 'to stretch, extend' is an augmentative [253] of the simple triradical verb *madd* (same translation); therefore it has the root *m-d-d* and the pattern *FaʕFaL* [111]. By way of contrast the verb *damdam* 'to mutter, grumble' is not related to any word with the

¹Patterns are of course always defined relative to roots [p.36]. None of the augmented verb patterns can always be identified on the basis of word-forms alone: for instance *ntaʔal* 'to move, be transferred' might be thought to have Pattern *nFaʕaL* and Root *t-ʔ-l*; only by knowing that its root is actually *n-ʔ-l* may one deduce that its pattern is definitely *FtaʕaL*.

The term 'quadriradical' (or 'quadriliteral'), however, has often been extended to encompass not only bases that have quadriliteral roots, but also many trilateral-root bases that are similar in form to the true quadriradicals. This classification is invalid, not only because it is a contradiction in terms to use 'quadriradical' (or 'quadriliteral') without reference to roots, but also because it is inconsistent to call all words formed on Pattern *FōʕaL*, for instance, "quadriradical" while classifying Pattern *FaʕaL* words as triradical. (The class of bases represented jointly by the formulae *CVCVC(C)* and *CVCCVC(C)* cannot exclude triradical patterns II and III except by ad hoc stipulations to that effect, which would covertly introduce derivational criteria into a supposedly formal base classification.)

root *d-m-m* and is therefore relegated to the quadriliteral root *d-m-d-m* and the pattern *FaELaL*.¹

THE REDUPLICATIVE PATTERN

FaELFaL, *biFaELFeL*

tFaELFaL, *byaELFaELFaL*

Reduplicative verbs are augmented with respect to simple verbs by a repetition of the first radical immediately after the second.

Sound Verbs, with Middle and Last Radicals Different. Examples:

farfaḥ, *bifarfeḥ* 'to rejoice' *ʔarʔaE*, *biʔarʔeE* 'to clatter'
ṭarṭaš, *biṭarṭeš* 'to splatter' *šaṣaE*, *bišaṣeE* 'to startle'

INFLECTION OF *farfaḥ* 'to rejoice'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>fárfaḥ</i>	<i>bifárfeḥ</i>	<i>yfárfeḥ</i>		'he'
f	<i>fárfaḥet</i>	<i>bətfárfeḥ</i>	<i>tfárfeḥ</i>		'she'
pl	<i>fárfaḥu</i>	<i>bifár(ʔ)fḥu</i>	<i>yfár(ʔ)fḥu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>farfáḥ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətfárfeḥ</i>	<i>tfárfeḥ</i>	<i>fárfeḥ</i>	'you'
f	<i>farfáḥti</i>	<i>bətfár(ʔ)fḥi</i>	<i>tfár(ʔ)fḥi</i>	<i>fár(ʔ)fḥi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>farfáḥtu</i>	<i>bətfár(ʔ)fḥu</i>	<i>tfár(ʔ)fḥu</i>	<i>fár(ʔ)fḥu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>farfáḥ(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bárfeḥ</i>	<i>fárfeḥ</i>		'I'
pl	<i>farfáḥna</i>	<i>mənfárfeḥ</i>	<i>nfárfeḥ</i>		'we'

Participle: *mfarfeḥ*; Gerund: *farfaḥa*

¹Pseudo-quadriradicals are also to be distinguished from SECONDARY QUADRIRADICALS like *thēwan* 'to blunder'. This verb, derived idiomatically as a simulative [p.249] from *hēwān* 'animal', is analogous to *tšētan* 'to be naughty', similarly derived from *šēṭān* 'devil'. While *šēṭān* is a quadriradical word (Root š-y-t-n), *hēwān* is actually triradical (Root ḥ-y-y) but *thēwan* is derived from it on Pattern *tFaELaL* [119] as if its root were ḥ-y-w-n — by analogy to formally comparable words like *šēṭān*.

As distinct both from absolute quadriradicals like *tšētan* and secondary quadriradicals like *thēwan*, verbs such as *twaldan* 'to be childish' are genuinely triradical: the final *n* cannot be traced back to the underlying word *walad* 'child', so it must be analyzed as a verb-formative affix — the characteristic formative of pseudo-quadriradical (i.e. triradical) Pattern (t)*FaELan* [115].

Sound Verbs, with Middle and Last Radicals Alike. Examples:

laflaf, *bilaflef* 'to wrap up' *šamšam*, *bišamšem* 'to smell, sniff'
fatfat, *bifatfet* 'to crumble' *madmad*, *bimadmed* 'to extend, stretch'
ʔašʔaš, *biʔašʔeš* 'to cut, snip' *ḥalḥal*, *biḥalḥel* 'to untie, undo'

With geminating roots, the reduplicative infix comes between the like radicals, resulting in a repeated sequence of two consonants. Verbs of this form are quite common.

INFLECTION OF *laflaf* 'to wrap up'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>láfłaf</i>	<i>biláflef</i>	<i>yláflef</i>		'he'
f	<i>láfłafet</i>	<i>bətláflef</i>	<i>tláflef</i>		'she'
pl	<i>láfłafu</i>	<i>biláfʔlfu</i>	<i>yláfʔlfu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>lafláf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətláflef</i>	<i>tláflef</i>	<i>láflef</i>	'you'
f	<i>lafláfṭi</i>	<i>bətláfʔlfi</i>	<i>tláfʔlfi</i>	<i>láfʔlfi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>lafláfṭu</i>	<i>bətláfʔlfu</i>	<i>tláfʔlfu</i>	<i>lafʔlfu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>lafláf(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bláflef</i>	<i>láflef</i>		'I'
pl	<i>lafláfna</i>	<i>mənláflef</i> (məll-)	<i>nláflef</i> (ll-)		'we'

Participles: Act. *młaflef*, Pass. *młafłaf*; Gerund: *laflafe*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

lōlaḥ, *bilōleḥ* 'to wave'
tōṭaḥ, *biṭōṭeḥ* 'to toss'
sōzaʔ, *bisōzeʔ* 'to decorate'

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with the middle radical *w*, leaving *ō* between the initial radical and its duplicate. Verbs of this form are rare. (No hollow reduplicatives are found with medial radical *y*.)

INFLECTION OF *lōlah* 'to wave'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>lōlah</i>	<i>bilōlah</i>	<i>ylōleh</i>		'he'
f	<i>lōlahet</i>	<i>batlōleh</i>	<i>tlōleh</i>		'she'
pl	<i>lōlahu</i>	<i>bilōlhu</i>	<i>ylōlhu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>lōlāh(ə)t</i>	<i>batlōleh</i>	<i>tlōleh</i>	<i>lōleh</i>	'you'
f	<i>lōlāhti</i>	<i>batlōlhi</i>	<i>tlōlhi</i>	<i>lōlhi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>lōlāhtu</i>	<i>batlōlhu</i>	<i>tlōlhu</i>	<i>lōlhu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>lōlāh(ə)t</i>	<i>blōleh</i>	<i>lōleh</i>		'I'
pl	<i>lōlāhna</i>	<i>mānlōleh</i> (māll-)	<i>nlōleh</i> (ll-)		'we'

Participles: Act. *mlōleh*, Pass. *mlōlah*; Gerund: *lōlahə*

Reduplicative Verbs with *t* Formative. Examples:

tfarfad, *byətfarfad* 'to be set apart'
tlāflaf, *byətlāflaf* 'to be wrapped up'
tṭōṭah, *byəṭṭōṭah* 'to be tossed in the air'

Derivation. Almost all reduplicative verbs are augmentative [253]:

farfaḥ 'to rejoice' — *fəreh* (same translation)
laflaf 'to wrap up' — *laff* 'to turn; to wrap'
halhal 'to untie, undo' — *hall* 'to untie; to solve'
lōlah 'to wave' — *lāh* (same translation)

The alliterative effect of reduplication seems to have a certain symbolic value, often connoting vividness, emphasis, or repetitiveness — hence the aptness of this pattern to express the augmentative derivation.

Some reduplicatives have no underlying simple verb, but may be correlated with a more or less synonymous Pattern II verb, or derived from a simple noun:

zōzaʔ 'to decorate': cf. *zawwaʔ* (same translation)
 . cf. *zōʔ* 'taste'

Verbs that are reduplicative in form but which are not functionally related to triliteral-root words are classified as true quadriradical [117].

OTHER INFIXING PATTERNS

FaʕwaL, *biFaʕweL* *tFaʕwaL*, *byətFaʕwaL*
FōʕaL, *biFōʕeL* *tFōʕaL*, *byətFōʕaL*
FarʕaL, *biFarʕeL* *tFarʕaL*, *byətFarʕaL*

Verbs of these patterns are augmented with respect to simple verbs by an infix *w* immediately after the middle radical, or by *r* or *w* (*a + w → ō*) immediately before the middle radical. Examples:

Patterns *FaʕwaL* and *tFaʕwaL*:

baxwaš, 'to perforate' *tbaxwaš*, 'to be perforated'
bibaxweš *byətbaxwaš*
daʕwas, 'to trample' *ddaʕwas*, 'to be trampled'
bidaʕwes *byəddaʕwas*
ʕašwar, 'to wring out' *tʕašwar*, 'to be wrung out'
biʕašwer *byətʕašwar*

sadwad, *bisadwed* 'to stop up'
naṭwaṭ, *binaṭweṭ* 'to jump about'
šaxwaṭ, *bišaxweṭ* 'to scribble'

Patterns *FōʕaL* and *tFōʕaL*:

bōram, 'to wind' *tbōram*, 'to be wound'
bibōrem *byətbōram*
lōʔaṭ, 'to pick up' *tlōʔaṭ*, 'to be picked up'
bilōʔeṭ *byətlōʔaṭ*
ʔōṭar, 'to tow, pull' *tʔōṭar*, 'to be towed, pulled'
biʔōṭer *byətʔōṭar*
ḥōrak, *biḥōrek* 'to move around'
zōḡal, *bizōḡel* 'to cheat (in games)'
ḥōzaʔ, *biḥōzeʔ* 'to have the hiccups'

Patterns *FarʕaL* and *tFarʕaL*:

<i>harbaš,</i> <i>biharbeš</i>	'to slash'	<i>tharbaš,</i> <i>byətharbaš</i>	'to be shashed'
<i>šarbak,</i> <i>bišarbak</i>	'to complicate' ...	<i>tšarbak,</i> <i>byətšarbak</i>	'to be complicated'
<i>xarmaš,</i> <i>bixarmeš</i>	'to scratch'	<i>txarmaš,</i> <i>byətxarmaš</i>	'to be scratched'

farʕaš, *bifarʕeš* 'to set off (fireworks)'

karfat, *bikarfet* 'to curse'

tʕarbaš, *byətʕarbaš* 'to cling (in panic)'

Verbs of all these patterns are inflected like true quadriradicals [pp. 118-119].

Derivation.

Most of these verbs are augmentatives [p. 253]:

<i>daʕwas</i>	'to trample'	—	<i>daʕas</i>	'to tread on; run over'
<i>naṭwaṭ</i>	'to jump about'	—	<i>naṭṭ</i>	'to jump'
<i>ḥōzaʕ</i>	'to have hiccups'	—	<i>ḥazaʕ</i>	'to hiccup'
<i>lōʕaṭ</i>	'to pick up' (frequentative)	—	<i>laʕaṭ</i>	'to pick up'
<i>karfat</i>	'to curse' (freq. or intens.)	—	<i>kafat</i>	'to curse'
<i>xarmaš</i>	'to scratch'	—	<i>xamaš</i>	'to scratch'
<i>tʕarbaš</i>	'to cling (in panic)'	—	<i>ʕabaš</i>	'to grasp'

Some are more or less synonymous with Pattern II verbs, but have no underlying simple verbs:

<i>xarṭaš</i>	'to scribble'	(cf. <i>xarṭaš</i>)
<i>fōxar</i>	'to decay, rot'	(cf. <i>faxxar</i>)
<i>šōfar</i>	'to whistle'	(cf. <i>šaffar</i>)
<i>šaḥwar</i>	'to blacken, smoke'	(cf. <i>šaḥḥar</i>)

Some *w*-formative verbs are applicative [256] or similarly denominative:

<i>sarwaš</i>	'to saddle'	—	<i>sarš</i>	'saddle'
<i>xōṭar</i>	'to endanger'	—	<i>xarar</i>	'danger'
<i>bōṭal</i>	'to cheat'	—	<i>bəṭʕal</i>	'cheating'
<i>bōrad</i>	'to cool off'	—	<i>barʕad</i>	'cold' (abst. noun)
<i>txašwan</i>	'to rough it'	—	<i>xəšʕan</i>	'rough'

Verbs which appear to have these patterns, but which are not derivable from some triliteral-root word by the addition of a verb-formative *w* or *r*, are classified as true quadriradical. [117]

THE *n* SUFFIX PATTERN

FaʕLan, *biFaʕLen*

tFaʕLan, *byətFaʕLan*

Verbs of this pattern are augmented with respect to other patterns by suffixation of a formative *n*. Examples:

<i>šafran,</i> <i>bišafran</i>	'to make...faint'	<i>tšafran,</i> <i>byətšafran</i>	'to feel faint'
<i>ḥalwan,</i> <i>biḥalwen</i>	'to sweeten'	<i>twaldan,</i> <i>byətwaldan</i>	'to be childish'
<i>tēsan,</i> <i>bitēsen</i>	'to be stubborn'	<i>twahšsan,</i> <i>byətwahšsan</i>	'to get rough'
<i>sōdan,</i> <i>bisōden</i>	'to depress'	<i>tsōdan,</i> <i>byətsōdan</i>	'to be depressed'

For inflection, cf. True Quadriradicals [p. 118].

Derivation:

Verbs of Pattern *FaʕLan* and *tFaʕLan* are mainly derived from nouns or adjectives. Those without the *t* formative are usually causative [240] or ascriptive [243]:

<i>ḥalwan</i>	'to sweeten' (causative)	—	<i>ḥalu</i>	'sweet'
<i>šafran</i>	'to make...faint' (causative)	—	<i>ʕašfar</i>	'yellow, pale'
<i>sōdan</i>	'to depress' (causative)	—	<i>ʕaswad</i>	'black'
<i>ḥamran</i>	'to consider stupid' (ascriptive)	—	<i>ḥmār</i>	'donkey, stupid'

Note, however, the verb *tēsan* 'to be stubborn', which is an idiomatic simulative from *tēs* 'billy-goat'. (One would expect a *t-* formative: "*ttēsan*".)

Those with the *t* formative are mainly simulatives [249], or passives of *FaELan* verbs:

<i>twaldan</i> 'to act childish' (simul.)	—	<i>walad</i> 'child'
<i>twahšan</i> 'to act rough' (simul.)	—	<i>wahʕš</i> 'wild beast'
<i>tḥamran</i> 'to act stupid' (simul.)	—	<i>ḥmār</i> 'donkey, stupid'
<i>tsōdan</i> 'to be depressed' (pass.)	—	<i>sōdan</i> 'to depress'

Miscellaneous derivations:

<i>rōḥan</i> 'to revive' (trans.)	—	<i>rūḥ</i> 'spirit'
<i>tšahwan</i> 'to crave'	—	<i>šahwe</i> 'craving, desire'
<i>tfakhan</i> 'to eat fruit' (applicative)	—	<i>fākha</i> 'fruit'
<i>tšōfan</i> 'to be "stuck up"'	—	<i>šāyef</i> 'considering one's <i>ḥālo...</i> self (important)'

Verbs which appear to have these patterns, but which are not derivable from other words by the addition of a verb-formative *n*, are classified as true quadriradical [117].

THE ʔ PREFIX PATTERN

ʔaFēaL, *biʔaFēeL*

Verbs of this pattern are augmented with respect to other patterns by a formative prefix *ʔ*, which remains in all inflections. Examples:

<i>ʔaslam</i> , <i>biʔaslem</i>	'to become a Muslim'	<i>ʔaḥzar</i> , <i>biʔaḥzer</i>	'to bloom'
<i>ʔawraʔ</i> , <i>biʔawreʔ</i>	'to leaf out'	<i>ʔaflas</i> , <i>biʔafles</i>	'to go bankrupt'
<i>ʔašbaḥ</i> , <i>biʔašbeḥ</i>	'to be...in the morning'	<i>ʔaḡlam</i> , <i>biʔaḡlem</i>	'to get dark'

Some verbs of this pattern are variants of Pattern IV verbs: cf. *ʔašbaḥ*, *byəšbeḥ*; *ʔaḡlam*, *byəḡlem*. Pseudo-quadriradical Pattern *ʔaFēaL* is rare.

INFLECTION OF *ʔaslam* 'to become a Muslim'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>ʔaslam</i>	<i>biʔaslem</i>	<i>yʔaslem</i>		'he'
f	<i>ʔaslamet</i>	<i>bətʔaslem</i>	<i>tʔaslem</i>		'she'
pl	<i>ʔaslamu</i>	<i>biʔasʕlmu</i>	<i>yʔasʕlmu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>ʔaslām(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətʔaslem</i>	<i>tʔaslem</i>	<i>ʔaslem</i>	'you'
f	<i>ʔaslāmti</i>	<i>bətʔasʕlmi</i>	<i>tʔasʕlmi</i>	<i>ʔasʕlmi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>ʔaslāmtu</i>	<i>bətʔasʕlmu</i>	<i>tʔasʕlmu</i>	<i>ʔasʕlmu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>ʔaslām(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bʔaslem</i>	<i>ʔaslem</i>		'I'
pl	<i>ʔaslāmna</i>	<i>mənʔaslem</i>	<i>nʔaslem</i>		'we'

Participle: *mʔaslem*

Most of these verbs are inchoatives [250], derived from adjectives of the pattern *məFēeL* [133]:

<i>ʔaslam</i> 'to become a Muslim'	—	<i>məsləm</i> 'Muslim'
<i>ʔawraʔ</i> 'to leaf out'	—	<i>mūreʔ</i> 'in leaf, leafy'
<i>ʔaḥzar</i> 'to bloom'	—	<i>məḥzer</i> 'blooming, flowering'
<i>ʔaḡlam</i> 'to get dark'	—	<i>məḡlem</i> 'dark'
<i>ʔaflas</i> 'to go bankrupt'	—	<i>məfles</i> 'bankrupt'

Adjectives of the *məFēeL* pattern are sometimes participles of Pattern IV verbs, but they cannot be considered participles of this pseudo-quadriradical pattern, since they contrast with the quadriradical-type participles: *mʔaslem* 'having become a Muslim', *mʔaḡlem* 'having become dark', etc.

THE SIMPLE QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN

FaELaL, *biFaELeL*¹

True quadriradical verbs are those which actually have four radicals, as distinct from pseudo-quadriradicals [109], which have three radicals plus an affix that is indistinguishable from a radical in form.

¹The traditional pattern formulas misleadingly use *L* (*lām*) for the fourth as well as the third radical, but it is to be understood that the last two radicals are usually different.

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>taržam</i> , <i>bitaržem</i> 'to translate'	<i>daḥraš</i> , <i>biḥreš</i> 'to roll' (trans.)
<i>barṭal</i> , <i>bibarṭel</i> 'to bribe'	<i>barhan</i> , <i>bibarhen</i> 'to prove'
<i>damdam</i> , <i>bidamdem</i> 'to mumble'	<i>harwal</i> , <i>biharwel</i> 'to hurry' (intrans.)
<i>baxšaš</i> , <i>bibaxšeš</i> 'to tip'	<i>xatyar</i> , <i>bixatyer</i> 'to age' (intrans.)

INFLECTION OF *taržam* 'to translate'

	Perfect	Impv. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>táržam</i>	<i>bitáržem</i>	<i>ytáržem</i>		'he'
f	<i>táržamet</i>	<i>bəttáržem</i>	<i>ttáržem</i>		'she'
pl	<i>táržamu</i>	<i>bitáržmu</i>	<i>ytáržmu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>taržám(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bəttáržem</i>	<i>ttáržem</i>	<i>táržem</i>	'you'
f	<i>taržámti</i>	<i>bəttáržmi</i>	<i>ttáržmi</i>	<i>táržmi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>taržámtu</i>	<i>bəttaržmu</i>	<i>ttáržmu</i>	<i>táržmu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>taržám(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btáržem</i>	<i>táržem</i>		'I'
pl	<i>taržámna</i>	<i>məntáržem</i>	<i>ntáržem</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mtaržem*, Pass. *mtaržam*; Gerund *taržame*

When the third and fourth radicals are alike, they do not geminate when *-i* or *-u* are suffixed in the imperfect, but are kept apart by *ə*:

INFLECTION OF *baxšaš* 'to tip'

3m	<i>báxšaš</i>	<i>bibáxšeš</i>	<i>ybáxšeš</i>		'he'
f	<i>báxšašet</i>	<i>bətbáxšeš</i>	<i>tbáxšeš</i>		'she'
pl	<i>báxšašu</i>	<i>bibáxšəšu</i>	<i>ybáxšəšu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>baxšáš(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətbáxšeš</i>	<i>tbáxšeš</i>	<i>báxšeš</i>	'you'
f	<i>baxšášti</i>	<i>bətbáxšəši</i>	<i>tbáxšəši</i>	<i>báxšəši</i>	'you'
pl	<i>baxšáštu</i>	<i>bətbáxšəšu</i>	<i>tbáxšəšu</i>	<i>báxšəšu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>baxšáš(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bbáxšeš</i>	<i>báxšeš</i>		'I'
pl	<i>baxšášna</i>	<i>mənbáxšeš</i>	<i>nbáxšeš</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mbaxšeš*, Pass. *mbaxšaš*; Gerund: *baxšaše*

Hollow Verbs. Examples:

<i>bōdar</i> , <i>bibōder</i> 'to powder'	<i>ʔōnan</i> , <i>biʔōnen</i> 'to regulate (by rules)'
<i>dōzan</i> , <i>bidōzen</i> 'to tune'	<i>hēlam</i> , <i>bihēlem</i> 'to bluff'
<i>sōgar</i> , <i>bisōger</i> 'to insure'	<i>nēšan</i> , <i>binēšen</i> 'to aim at'

The first pattern vowel *a* fuses with the second radical *w* or *y* to produce *ō* or *ē* respectively. (This fusion does not take place in most Lebanese dialects, however, and the verbs remain sound: *dawzan* for *dōzan*, *nayšan* for *nēšan*, etc.)

INFLECTION OF *sōgar* 'to insure'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>sōgar</i>	<i>bisōger</i>	<i>ysōger</i>		'he'
f	<i>sōgaret</i>	<i>bətsōger</i>	<i>tsōger</i>		'she'
pl	<i>sōgaru</i>	<i>bisōgru</i>	<i>ysōgru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>sōgár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətsōger</i>	<i>tsōger</i>	<i>sōger</i>	'you'
f	<i>sōgárti</i>	<i>bətsōgri</i>	<i>tsōgri</i>	<i>sōgri</i>	'you'
pl	<i>sōgártu</i>	<i>bətsōgru</i>	<i>tsōgru</i>	<i>sōgru</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>sōgár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bsōger</i>	<i>sōger</i>		'I'
pl	<i>sōgárna</i>	<i>mənsōger</i>	<i>nsōger</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *msōger*, Pass. *msōgar*; Gerund: *sōgara*

INFLECTION OF *nēšan* 'to aim'

3m	<i>nēšan</i>	<i>binēšen</i>	<i>ynēšen</i>		'he'
f	<i>nēšanet</i>	<i>bətnēšen</i>	<i>tnēšen</i>		'she'
pl	<i>nēšanu</i>	<i>binēšnu</i>	<i>ynēšnu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>nēšán(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətnēšen</i>	<i>tnēšen</i>	<i>nēšen</i>	'you'
f	<i>nēšánti</i>	<i>bətnēšni</i>	<i>tnēšni</i>	<i>nēšni</i>	'you'
pl	<i>nēšántu</i>	<i>bətnēšnu</i>	<i>tnēšnu</i>	<i>nēšnu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>nēšán(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bnēšen</i>	<i>nēšen</i>		'I'
pl	<i>nēšánna</i>	<i>mənnēšen</i>	<i>nnēšen</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mnēšen*, Pass. *mnēšan*; Gerund: *nēšane*

Defective Verbs. There are very few examples to be found:

farša, bifarši 'to brush'

ʔarža, biʔarži 'to show'

warža, biwarži 'to show'

Besides the forms *warža* and *ʔarža* 'to show', there is also *farža* (same meaning). The latter, however, is formed on the rare pseudo-quadriradical pattern *FaELa*: Compare *farraž* 'to show around' (and passive *tfarraž* 'to look around'); *taema, biṭaemi* 'to feed' (Root *ṭ-ē-m*).

INFLECTION OF *farša* 'to brush'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>fárša</i>	<i>bifárši</i>	<i>yfárši</i>		'he'
f	<i>fáršet</i>	<i>bətfárši</i>	<i>tfárši</i>		'she'
pl	<i>fáršu</i>	<i>bifáršu</i>	<i>yfáršu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>faršēt</i>	<i>bətfárši</i>	<i>tfárši</i>	<i>fárši</i>	'you'
f	<i>faršēti</i>	<i>bətfárši</i>	<i>tfárši</i>	<i>fárši</i>	'you'
pl	<i>faršētu</i>	<i>bətfáršu</i>	<i>tfáršu</i>	<i>fáršu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>faršēt</i>	<i>bfárši</i>	<i>fárši</i>		'I'
pl	<i>faršēna</i>	<i>mənfárši</i>	<i>nfárši</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mfarši*, Pass. *mfarša*

Hollow-Defective Verbs. The few examples found include:

bōya, bibōyi 'to polish'

šōša, bišōši 'to squeak'

INFLECTION OF *bōya* 'to polish'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>bōya</i>	<i>bibōyi</i>	<i>ybōyi</i>		'he'
f	<i>bōyet</i>	<i>bətbōyi</i>	<i>tbōyi</i>		'she'
pl	<i>bōyu</i>	<i>bibōyu</i>	<i>ybōyu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>bōyēt</i>	<i>bətbōyi</i>	<i>tbōyi</i>	<i>bōyi</i>	'you'
f	<i>bōyēti</i>	<i>bətbōyi</i>	<i>tbōyi</i>	<i>bōyi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>bōyētu</i>	<i>bətbōyu</i>	<i>tbōyu</i>	<i>bōyu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>bōyēt</i>	<i>bbōyi</i>	<i>bōyi</i>		'I'
pl	<i>bōyēna</i>	<i>mənbōyi</i>	<i>nbōyi</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mbōyi*, Pass. *mbōya*

Derivational Types. Many simple quadriliteral verbs are applicative [256], derived from words of four or more radicals:

<i>baxšaš</i> 'to tip'	—	<i>baxšiš</i> 'tip, handout'
<i>barhan</i> 'to prove'	—	<i>bərhān</i> 'proof'
<i>talfan</i> 'to telephone'	—	<i>talifōn</i> 'telephone'
<i>ʔōnan</i> 'to regulate (by rules)'	—	<i>ʔānūn</i> 'rule, law'
<i>basmal</i> 'to say "basməllāh..."'	—	<i>b-əsm-əllāh</i> 'In the name of God...'
<i>bōya</i> 'to polish'	—	<i>bōya</i> 'polish'

Some are denominatives of other sorts: *xatyar* 'to age, grow old' (inchoative [250]) from *ʔəxyār* 'old man'

AUGMENTED QUADRIRADICAL PATTERN: *tFaELaL*, *byətFaELaL*

Sound Verbs. Examples:

<i>tbarhan, byətbərhān</i>	'to be proven'
<i>tmarkaz, byətmərkaz</i> ¹	'to take position'
<i>ddaḥraš, byəddaḥraš</i>	'to roll' (intrans.)
<i>ttaržam, byəttaržam</i>	'to be translated'

INFLECTION OF *tmarkaz* 'to consolidate one's position, settle'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>tmarkaz</i>	<i>byətmərkaz</i>	<i>yətmərkaz</i>		'he'
f	<i>tmarkazet</i>	<i>bətətmərkaz</i>	<i>tətmərkaz</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tmarkazu</i>	<i>byətmərkazu</i>	<i>yətmərkazu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tmarkáz(ə)t</i>	<i>bətətmərkaz</i>	<i>tətmərkaz</i>	<i>tmarkaz</i>	'you'
f	<i>tmarkázti</i>	<i>bətətmərkazi</i>	<i>tətmərkazi</i>	<i>tmarkazi</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tmarkáztu</i>	<i>bətətmərkazu</i>	<i>tətmərkazu</i>	<i>tmarkazu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>tmarkáz(ə)t</i>	<i>bətmərkaz</i>	<i>ʔətmərkaz</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tmarkázna</i>	<i>mətmərkaz</i>	<i>nətmərkaz</i>		'we'

Participles: Act. *mətmərkəz*, Pass. *mətmərkaz (fī)*; (Gerund: *markəzə*)

¹The *m* is a secondary radical: the original triliteral root is *r-k-z*, whence *markaz* 'position'.

Defective Verbs:

INFLECTION OF *tfarša* 'to be brushed'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>tfárša</i>	<i>byatfárša</i>	<i>yatfárša</i>		'he'
f	<i>tfáršet</i>	<i>btatfárša</i>	<i>tatfárša</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tfáršu</i>	<i>byatfáršu</i>	<i>yatfáršu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tfaršēt</i>	<i>btatfárša</i>	<i>tatfárša</i>	<i>tfárša</i>	'you'
f	<i>tfaršēti</i>	<i>btatfárši</i>	<i>tatfárši</i>	<i>tfárši</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tfaršētu</i>	<i>btatfáršu</i>	<i>tatfáršu</i>	<i>tfáršu</i>	'you'
lsg	<i>tfaršet</i>	<i>bāt fárša</i>	<i>ʔatfárša</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tfaršēna</i>	<i>mnatfárša</i>	<i>natfárša</i>		'we'

Participle: *matfarši*; Gerund: *tfərši*

Hollow Verbs:

INFLECTION OF *tsōgar* 'to be insured'

3m	<i>tsōgar</i>	<i>byatsōgar</i>	<i>yatsōgar</i>		'he'
f	<i>tsōgaret</i>	<i>btatsōgar</i>	<i>tatsōgar</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tsōgaru</i>	<i>byatsōgaru</i>	<i>yatsōgaru</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tsōgár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btatsōgar</i>	<i>tatsōgar</i>	<i>tsōgar</i>	'you'
f	<i>tsōgárti</i>	<i>btatsōgari</i>	<i>tatsōgari</i>	<i>tsōgari</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tsōgártu</i>	<i>btatsōgaru</i>	<i>tatsōgaru</i>	<i>tsōgaru</i>	'you'
lsg	<i>tsōgár(ʔ)t</i>	<i>batsōgar</i>	<i>ʔatsōgar</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tsōgárna</i>	<i>mnatsōgar</i>	<i>natsōgar</i>		'we'

Participle: *matsoḡer*INFLECTION OF *tšētan* 'to be naughty'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	Impv.	
3m	<i>tšētan</i>	<i>byatšētan</i>	<i>yatšētan</i>		'he'
f	<i>tšētanet</i>	<i>btatšētan</i>	<i>tatšētan</i>		'she'
pl	<i>tšētanu</i>	<i>byatšētanu</i>	<i>yatšētanu</i>		'they'
2m	<i>tšētán(ʔ)t</i>	<i>btatšētan</i>	<i>tatšētan</i>	<i>tšētan</i>	'you'
f	<i>tšētánti</i>	<i>btatšētani</i>	<i>tatšētani</i>	<i>tšētani</i>	'you'
pl	<i>tšētántu</i>	<i>btatšētanu</i>	<i>tatšētanu</i>	<i>tšētanu</i>	'you'
lsg	<i>tšētán(ʔ)t</i>	<i>bətšētan</i>	<i>ʔətšētan</i>		'I'
pl	<i>tšētánna</i>	<i>mnatšētan</i>	<i>natšētan</i>		'we'

Participle: *matšēten*; Gerund: *šētane*Derivational Types. Most verbs of Pattern *tFaLaL* are passives of simple quadriradicals:

<i>tbarhan</i> 'to be proven'	← <i>barhan</i> 'to prove'
<i>ddōzan</i> 'to be in tune'	← <i>dōzan</i> 'to tune'
<i>tsōgar</i> 'to be insured'	← <i>sōgar</i> 'to insure'

Some are simulative [249]:

<i>tšētan</i> 'to be naughty'	← <i>šētān</i> 'devil, naughty'
<i>tḥēwān</i> ¹	← <i>ḥēwān</i> 'animal'

Some are otherwise denominative: *tmarkaz* 'to take up a position' (from *markaz*² 'position').PATTERN *FaLaLL*

Examples:

<i>šmaʔazz</i> , <i>byəšmaʔazz</i>	'to be revolted, sickened'
<i>ḍmaḥall</i> , <i>byəḍmaḥall</i>	'to fade away, die out'
<i>tmaʔann</i> , <i>byətmaʔann</i>	'to be calm, feel secure'
<i>qšəʔarr</i> , <i>byəqšəʔarr</i>	'to shudder, have gooseflesh'

¹ the *n* is a secondary radical; the original triliteral root is *ḥ-y-y*, whence *ḥēwān*.

INFLECTION OF *šmaʔazz* 'to be revolted'

	Perfect	Impf. Indic.	Impf. Subjn.	
3m	<i>šmaʔázz</i>	<i>bʔašmaʔázz</i>	<i>ʔašmaʔázz</i>	'he'
f	<i>šmaʔázzet</i>	<i>btašmaʔázz</i>	<i>təšmaʔázz</i>	'she'
pl	<i>šmaʔázzu</i>	<i>bʔašmaʔázzu</i>	<i>ʔašmaʔázzu</i>	'they'
2m	<i>šmaʔazzēt</i>	<i>btašmaʔázz</i>	<i>təšmaʔázz</i>	'you'
f	<i>šmaʔazzēti</i>	<i>btašmaʔázz</i>	<i>təšmaʔázz</i>	'you'
pl	<i>šmaʔazzētu</i>	<i>btašmaʔázzu</i>	<i>təšmaʔázzu</i>	'you'
1sg	<i>šmaʔazzēt</i>	<i>bəšmaʔázz</i>	<i>ʔəšmaʔázz</i>	'I'
pl	<i>šmaʔazzēna</i>	<i>mnašmaʔázz</i>	<i>nəšmaʔázz</i>	'we'

Participles: Act. *məšmaʔəzz*, Pass. *məšmaʔazz* (*mənno*); Gerund: *ʔəšmaʔəzz*

The verb *qšaʔarr* may also be pronounced *ʔšaʔarr*.

Verbs of Pattern *FəaLaLL* are all intransitive, but are not derived or related in any regular way to other words. Note, however, that *ʔmaʔann* is related to the triliteral root *ʔ-m-n*, as in *ʔamman* 'to calm, assuage, assure'.

CHAPTER 4: ADJECTIVE PATTERNS

In this chapter the common base patterns [p.36] for adjectives are exemplified, showing any alterations that are incurred with unstable roots [p.41].

All adjectives are cited in the masculine/singular. The inflection of adjectives is described in Chapter 7.

Index of Patterns

TRIRADICAL:	<i>FəʔeL</i>	p. 126	<i>FəʔeL</i>	p. 129
	<i>FəʔL</i>	126	<i>ʔaFəaL</i>	130
	<i>FəʔiL</i>	127	<i>FəʔeL</i>	131
	<i>FəʔiL</i>	127	<i>FəʔLān</i>	132
	<i>FəʔeL</i>	128	<i>maFəūL</i>	132
	<i>FəʔūL</i>	128	<i>məFəeL</i>	133
	<i>FəʔeāL</i>	129		

Augmented Participial Patterns: pp.134-136

(II)	<i>mFəʔeL</i>	<i>mFəʔeL</i>
(III)	<i>mFəʔeL</i>	<i>mFəʔeL</i>
(IV)	<i>məFəeL</i>	<i>məFəeL</i>
(V)	<i>məFəeL</i>	<i>məFəeL</i>
(VI)	<i>məFəeL</i>	<i>məFəeL</i>
(VII)	<i>mənFəeL</i> , <i>mənFəeL</i>	
(VIII)	<i>məFtəeL</i> , <i>məFtəeL</i>	<i>məFtəeL</i>
(IX)	<i>məFəaLL</i>	
(X)	<i>məstəFəeL</i> , <i>məstəFəeL</i>	<i>məstəFəeL</i>

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS: p.136

<i>FəʔLūL</i>	
<i>FəʔLiL</i>	
<i>mFəʔLeL</i>	<i>mFəʔLaL</i>
<i>məFəʔLeL</i>	<i>məFəʔLaL</i>
<i>məFəʔaLL</i>	<i>məFəʔaLL</i>

PATTERN *FaEeL*

Sound:	<i>bašeē</i> 'ugly'	<i>xāšen</i> 'rough, coarse'
	<i>xāter</i> 'dangerous'	<i>daleē</i> 'bland'
	<i>raṭeb</i> 'moist, humid'	<i>wāheš</i> 'wild, savage'
	<i>šareḥ</i> 'airy, healthful'	<i>wašex</i> 'dirty'
	<i>šaleb</i> 'hard, solid'	<i>ḫaker</i> 'turbid, troubled'
	<i>desem</i> 'nourishing'	<i>wāēer</i> 'uneven, bump'
Geminate:	<i>ḥarr</i> 'free'	<i>marr</i> 'bitter'

Defective: *ḥalu* 'sweet, pleasant, pretty'

The adjective *saxʕn* 'hot' is exceptional in being formed on the pattern *FaEL* [141]. For those who do not distinguish in pronunciation between *e* and *a* (or *i*) in this position [13], there is of course no difference between the two patterns.

Some adjective of this pattern are correlative to nouns of the *FaEL* or *FaEaL* patterns: *xāter* 'dangerous'; *xātar* 'danger'; *wašex* 'dirty'; *wašax* 'dirt, filth'; *wāheš* 'wild'; *wāḥeš* 'wild beast'.

PATTERN *FaEL*

Sound:	<i>šaēʕb</i> 'difficult'	<i>faxʕm</i> 'stately, elegant'
	<i>sahʕl</i> 'easy'	<i>ḡaxʕm</i> 'heavy, big'
With last two radicals alike:		
	<i>fažž</i> 'unripe'	<i>ḥarr</i> (or <i>ḥārr</i>) 'hot'
	<i>ḥayy</i> 'alive'	<i>ḥadd</i> (or <i>ḥādd</i>) 'sharp'
	<i>nayy</i> 'raw'	

With final radical semivowel: *raxu* 'loose, lax'

Adjectives with this typically nominal pattern [139] are not common.

PATTERN *FEiL*

<i>nāṭif</i> 'clean'	<i>txīn</i> 'thick, fat'
<i>bxīl</i> 'stingy'	<i>bēīd</i> 'far, distant'
<i>tʔīl</i> 'heavy'	<i>ḡdīd</i> 'new'
<i>rxīš</i> 'cheap'	<i>šḥīḥ</i> 'whole, in one piece' (cf. <i>šaḥīḥ</i> , below)
<i>ḡḡīr</i> 'small, young'	<i>ḡēīf</i> 'ill' (cf. <i>ḡaēīf</i> , below)
<i>ktīr</i> 'much'	<i>mnīḥ</i> 'good'

This pattern is not used with final (or medial?) radical semivowel, (for which see Pattern *FaEiL* below).

Some adjectives of this pattern are correlative to descriptive verbs [251].

PATTERN *FaEiL*

Sound:	<i>ʔakīd</i> 'definite, certain'	<i>badīē</i> 'novel, original, exotic'
	<i>baṣīṭ</i> 'easy, minor, simple'	<i>barīʔ</i> 'innocent' (cf. <i>bari</i> , below)
	<i>saēīd</i> 'happy, fortunate'	<i>ḡamīl</i> 'beautiful'
	<i>ḡarīḥ</i> 'wounded'	<i>xabīr</i> 'experienced'
	<i>xafīf</i> 'light'	<i>ḡaēīf</i> 'weak'
	<i>ṭawīl</i> 'long, tall'	<i>šaḥīḥ</i> 'true'
	<i>ḫatīʔ</i> 'old'	<i>ḫaḡīm</i> 'great, grand'
	<i>faḡīē</i> 'awful, marvelous'	<i>ʔalīl</i> 'little, few'
	<i>waḥīd</i> 'unique, only'	<i>ʔadīm</i> 'ancient'

Defective: <i>saki</i> 'intelligent, bright'	<i>bari</i> 'innocent' (or sound <i>barī</i> ?)
<i>saxi</i> 'generous'	<i>ġani</i> 'rich'
<i>ṭari</i> 'fresh'	<i>šaʔi</i> 'hoodlum'
<i>ʔawi</i> 'strong'	<i>wafi</i> 'dependable, true (to one's word)'

Some adjective of Pattern *FaʕīL* are correlative to descriptive verbs [251]. A few contrast, as qualitative adjectives, with stative adjectives: *fahīm* '(naturally) understanding': cf. *fahmān*, *fāhem* 'knowledgeable, having come to understand'; *ḥazīn* 'sad' (temperament): cf. *ḥaznān* 'sad' (mood); *ʔaxīr* 'last, final': cf. *ʔāxer* 'last, latest'.

PATTERN *FaʕʕeL* (Variant of Pattern *FaʕīL*)

<i>ṣayyed</i> 'good, excellent'	<i>ṭayyeb</i> 'good'
<i>dayyeʔ</i> 'narrow, tight'	<i>xayyer</i> 'charitable, benificent'
<i>mayyet</i> 'dead'	<i>hayyen</i> 'easy'
<i>sayyeʔ</i> 'bad, unfortunate'	

This pattern is a modification of Pattern *FaʕīL* used with medical radical semivowels: -yye- in lieu of -yi-, and (sometimes) in lieu of -wi-.

PATTERN *FaʕūL*

<i>ṣasūr</i> 'daring'	<i>wadūd</i> 'devoted, fond'
<i>naṣūḥ</i> 'sincere, loyal'	<i>xadūm</i> 'solicitous, servile'
<i>xadūʕ</i> 'obedient'	<i>ṣaḥūḥ</i> 'radiant, bright, smiling'
<i>ṭamūḥ</i> 'ambitious'	<i>ʔanūʕ</i> 'contented, temperate'

This pattern is not used (?) with final radical semivowel. As medial semivowel, y is lengthened: *ḡayyūr* 'jealous'.

Almost all adjectives of this pattern designate personal qualities or dispositions. Most of them are dispositional derivatives of simple verbs [277].

PATTERN *FaʕʕāL*

<i>baṭṭāl</i> 'bad'	<i>rannān</i> 'sonorous'
<i>šaġġāl</i> 'in operation, working'	<i>ṣaffāf</i> 'transparent, translucent'
<i>naššāf</i> 'blotting, drying, absorbent'	<i>ḥabbāb</i> 'lovable, amiable'
<i>ṭawwāf</i> 'floating, buoyant'	<i>ḥassās</i> 'sensitive'
Defective: <i>bakka</i> 'weeper, cry-baby'	<i>ḥakka</i> 'talkative'

Many adjectives of this pattern are dispositional [277]. Compare noun pattern *FaʕʕāL* [151].

PATTERN *FaʕʕīL*

<i>lammīʕ</i> 'shiny'	<i>ṣarrīb</i> 'heavy drinker'
<i>ṣaxxīx</i> 'show-off'	<i>rakkīb</i> 'good rider, horseman'
<i>xawwīf</i> 'timorous, cowardly'	<i>ṣarrīr</i> 'evil-doer, malicious'

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

Some adjectives are formed on a slightly different pattern, *FaʕʕīL*: *sakkīr* and *xammīr* 'drunkard, alcoholic', *ṣallīf* (or *ṣallīf*) 'charging exorbitant prices'.

Pattern *FaʕʕīL* is used mainly in forming dispositional adjectives [277].

PATTERN *ʔaFēaL*

<i>ʔašfar</i> 'yellow'	<i>ʔabkam</i> 'mute, dumb'
<i>ʔaḥmar</i> 'red'	<i>ʔaṭraš</i> 'deaf'
<i>ʔazraʔ</i> 'blue'	<i>ʔašlaē</i> 'bald'
<i>ʔaxḍar</i> 'green'	<i>ʔaēwar</i> 'one-eyed'
<i>ʔabyaḍ</i> 'white'	<i>ʔaēraš</i> 'lame'
<i>ʔaswad</i> 'black'	<i>ʔaēwaš</i> 'bent, crooked'
<i>ʔasmar</i> 'dark-complexioned'	<i>ʔašrad</i> 'barren, bleak'
<i>ʔašʔar</i> 'blond'	<i>ʔahbal</i> 'dim-witted, feeble-minded'
<i>ʔablaʔ</i> 'piebald'	<i>ʔabraš</i> 'leprous'
<i>ʔadham</i> 'black' (horse)	<i>ʔaḥmaʔ</i> 'stupid, foolish'
<i>ʔabraš</i> 'grey; albino'	<i>ʔašēar</i> 'crook, brigand'
<i>ʔašhal</i> 'having dark grey eyes'	<i>ʔaēsab</i> 'unmarried'

Geminate: *ʔašamm* 'stone deaf'

Defective: *ʔaēma* 'blind'

The *ʔaFēaL* pattern is used 1.) for colors and 2.) for "defect" (mostly human lacks and imperfections).¹ The pattern is completely changed in the feminine (*FaēLa*) and plural (*FaēL*, *FaēLān*) — See Adjective Inflection [208]. For relatives, see Noun Pattern *ʔaFēaL* [310].

The adjective *ʔarmal* 'widowed' has the "defects" pattern in the masculine form, but the feminine *ʔarmale* and the plural *ʔarāmel* are formed as from a quadriradical noun of the *FaēLaL* pattern [159].

¹The color-adjectives and defect-adjectives, to judge from their augmented pattern and from their categories of meaning, would seem to be derivatives. In fact, however, there are no underlying words to derive them from — certainly not in the case of color-adjectives. Defect-adjectives, though they are generally paronymous to simple verbs (e.g. *ēama* 'to blind' and *ēami* 'to go blind'), are treated as underlying these verbs rather than as derivatives from them, since the verbs can be counted as inchoatives [250] and causatives [240], while the adjectives do not fit any otherwise established derivational category.

PATTERN *FāēeL*

Sound:	<i>bāred</i> 'cold'	<i>šāṭer</i> 'clever, smart'
	<i>šārem</i> 'strict, severe'	<i>ēādel</i> 'just'
	<i>ēāṭel</i> 'bad'	<i>wāseē</i> 'wide, broad'
	<i>ēāʔel</i> 'wise, sensible'	<i>wāḍeḥ</i> 'clear'
	<i>nāšef</i> 'dry'	<i>yābes</i> 'dry, hard'
	<i>ʔāxer</i> 'last'	<i>šāreḥ</i> 'sharp, dangerous'
	<i>bāyet</i> 'stale'	<i>xāyef</i> 'afraid'
Geminate:	<i>xāšš</i> 'special, private'	<i>šāzz</i> 'odd, strange'
	<i>ēāmm</i> 'general, public'	<i>ḥārr</i> 'hot'

Active participles of geminate verbs have the sound pattern in Colloquial, not the geminate: *ḥāṭeṭ* 'having put' (not *ḥāṭṭ*). (In the feminine and plural, however, the sound becomes like the geminate: *ḥāṭṭe*, *ḥāṭṭīn* [p. 28].)

Some geminate adjectives belonging theoretically to this pattern are usually (if not always) pronounced with a short *a*: *ḥadd* 'sharp'. (See Pattern *FaēL* [126].)

Defective:	<i>ēāli</i> 'high'	<i>ḡāli</i> 'expensive'
	<i>bāʔi</i> 'remaining'	<i>wāṭi</i> 'low'
	<i>fāḍi</i> 'empty, unoccupied'	<i>ēāši</i> 'stubborn' (inanim. 'stuck, jammed')
	<i>šāḥi</i> 'wide awake'	<i>ʔāsi</i> 'hard, solid'

See adjective inflection [204].

In Pattern *FāēeL*, medial radical *w* appears as *y* (*xāyef* 'afraid', Root *x-w-f*), unless the final radical is also a semivowel, as in *ḥāwi* 'windy' (Root *h-w-y*).

Many adjectives of Pattern *FāēeL* are active participles of simple verbs. [p. 258].

PATTERN *FaELān*

<i>baṭrān</i> 'wasteful'	<i>raḍyān</i> 'pleased, satisfied'
<i>ḥafyān</i> 'barefoot'	<i>wartān</i> 'heir, having inherited'
<i>naʿsān</i> 'sleepy'	<i>talfān</i> 'worthless, ruined'
<i>kaslān</i> 'lazy, loafing'	<i>zaʿlān</i> 'displeased'
<i>waʿyān</i> 'conscious'	<i>yaʿsān</i> 'in despair'

With medial radical semivowel: *ṣūʿān* 'hungry' (Root *ṣ-w-ʿ*)

With medial and final radical semivowels: *rayyān* 'swampy, irrigated' (Root *r-w-y*); *ʿayyān* 'sick' (Root *ʿ-y-y*).

Defective: *malān* 'full' (also sound: *malyān*) (Root *m-l-y* or *m-l-ʔ*)

With the exception of *malān*, adjectives on this pattern with final radical semivowel are sound, with *-y* before the *-ān* ending.

Pattern *FaELān* is not used with geminating radicals [p. 41] other than semivowels.

Most adjectives formed on Pattern *FaELān* are participles of sound and defective simple intransitive verbs [259].

PATTERN *maFēūL*

Sound: <i>maxlūt</i> 'mixed'	<i>mamnūn</i> 'obliged'
<i>mašhūr</i> 'famous'	<i>mašnūn</i> 'insane'
<i>masʿūl</i> 'responsible'	<i>mawšūd</i> 'occurring, found, present'
<i>madyūn</i> 'indebted'	<i>mayʿus</i> (<i>ʾaḥḥ</i>) 'despaired (of)'
<i>maʿwūš</i> 'bent'	<i>maḥbūb</i> 'well-liked, beloved'
<i>maḥlūl</i> 'wet'	<i>maḥḥūl</i> 'correct'

Hollow: *maḥūl* 'extraordinary' (Root *h-w-l*).

Defective: <i>maʿli</i> 'fried'	<i>maḥši</i> 'stuffed'
<i>maḥwi</i> 'ironed'	<i>maḥli</i> 'afflicted'
<i>maḥwi</i> 'bent, curving'	<i>maḥsi</i> 'forgotten'

In some areas (e.g. Palestine) these defectives are pronounced with *a* in the first syllable: *maḥši*, *maʿli*, etc. Compare Pattern *maFēeL* defective [below].

Most adjectives formed on Pattern *maFēūL* are passive participles of simple verbs. [258].

PATTERN *maFēeL* (*muFēeL*)

Sound: <i>maṣmen</i> 'fattening'	<i>maḥles</i> 'bankrupt, broke'
<i>maḥṣe</i> 'frightful'	<i>maṣlem</i> 'Moslem'
<i>maḥlem</i> 'dark, murky'	<i>maḥken</i> (or <i>mumken</i>) 'possible'
<i>maḥwez</i> 'paired'	<i>maḥleṣ</i> (or <i>muxleṣ</i>) 'faithful'
<i>maḥyeb</i> 'awesome'	<i>maḥrez</i> 'worthwhile'

Initial Weak: *mūṣe* 'hurtful, inflicting pain' *mūḥeš* 'desolate'
mūreʿ 'in leaf, leafy'

Geminate: <i>maḥall</i> 'immoral'	<i>maṣamm</i> 'poisonous'
<i>maḥamm</i> 'important'	<i>maḥall</i> 'boring'

Hollow: *maḥī* 'obedient' *mufīd* 'useful, beneficial'
maḥīh 'comfortable, restful' *mufīṭ* (*b-*) 'surrounding'
(also sound: *maḥyeh*)

Defective: <i>maḥdi</i> 'contagious'	<i>maḥdi</i> 'satisfactory'
<i>maḥzi</i> 'harmful'	<i>maḥwi</i> 'draughty, airy'

In most parts of the Syrian area, defective participles of the pattern *maFēūL* above have been assimilated to this pattern, so that there is no difference in form between the two kinds of defective pattern; see, however, pp. 203-204.

Many adjectives formed on Pattern *māʔēel* are agentive [278] or characteristic [279]; some are participles of Pattern IV verbs [82].

AUGMENTED PARTICIPIAL PATTERNS

Pattern *māʔēel*: *mraššeḥ* 'having a cold', *mbayyen* 'apparent, seeming'; Defective: *mxalli* 'having left', *msawwi* 'having cooked'.

Used for Active Participles of Pattern II verbs [p.77].

Pattern *māʔēal*: *mtallaṣ* 'iced', *mšawwaz* 'married', *mhaṣṣab* 'polite', *mʕayyan* 'definite, particular', *mwaḥḥa* 'fortunate'; Defective: *mrabba* 'brought up, educated', *msamma* 'named, called'.

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern II verbs.

Pattern *māʔēel*: *msāfer* 'traveling', *mnāseb* 'suitable, convenient', *mšāweb* 'having answered, respondent'; Defective: *mlāʔi* 'having found', *msāwi* 'having made'.

Used for Active Participles of Pattern III verbs [p.80].

Pattern *māʔēal*: *mbārak* 'blessed', *mʔāṣaṣ* 'punished', *mšāwab* 'answered'; Defective: *mlāʔa* 'found', *msāwa* 'made'.

Used for Passive Participles of Pattern III verbs.

Pattern *māʔēel*: (Rare as participle; see p.133 above): *mākrem* 'honoring'.

Pattern *māʔēal*: *mākram* 'honored', *māʔṣab* (b-) 'admiring, impressed (by)'; Defective: *muḡma* (ʕalē) 'fainted'.

Rare, as passive participle of Pattern IV verbs; see p.260.

Pattern *māʔēel*: *māʔaxxer* 'delaying, late', *māḥabb* 'haughty', *māḥawwez* 'married', *mātradded* 'undecided', *mādayyen* (māno) 'borrowed (from)'; Defective: *mātrabbi* 'educated, well brought up'.

Used for active participles of Pattern V verbs [p.86].

Pattern *māʔēal*: *māʔaxxar* 'delayed' (inanimate); Defective: *mābanna* 'adopted'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern V verbs.

Pattern *māʔēel*: *māʔādeḥ* 'humble, modest', *māʔāmel* 'considerate', *māʔāmel* 'dealt with'; Defective: *māʔāwi* 'equal, balanced', *māʔāhi* 'extreme'.

Used for active participles of Pattern VI verbs [p.88].

Pattern *māʔēal*: *māʔādal* 'mutual, reciprocal', *māʔāwaz* 'exceeded', *māʔāwal* 'attainable, within reach'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern VI verbs.

Pattern *māʔēel*, *māʔēal*: *māʔāser* 'defeated, broken', *māʔāreb* 'enraptured', *māʔādeḥ* 'discontinued'; Geminate: *māʔāll* 'disbanded, discharged'; Hollow: *māʔāf* 'seen'; Defective: *māʔāri* 'read'.

Used for "active" [267] participles of Pattern VII verbs [p.91].

Pattern *māʔēel*, *māʔēal*: *māʔādel* 'moderate, temperate, mild', *māʔālef* 'different, differing', *māʔābes* 'ambiguous, obscure', *māʔāxeb* 'having elected', *māʔāhem* 'crowded' [100]; Geminate: *māʔāll* 'occupying'; Hollow: *māʔāh* 'comfortable, at ease', *māʔāz* 'excellent'; Defective: *māʔāsi* 'forgotten', *māʔāwi* 'cooked, done'; Initial weak: *māʔākel* (ʕala) 'depending (on)', *māʔāhed* 'united', *māʔāṣeh* (la-) 'headed (for)'.

This pattern is used for active participles of Pattern VIII verbs [p.95].

Pattern *māʔēal*: *māʔāram* 'respected, respectable', *māʔāsar* 'brief', *māʔāxab* 'elected'; Defective: *māʔāwa* (ʕalē) 'contained, included' (Geminate and Hollow rare, same in form as Pattern *māʔēel*;) *māʔāll* 'occupied'.

Used for passive participles of Pattern VIII verbs.

Pattern *māʔēal*: *māʔāmar* 'blushing, reddened', *māʔāwaz* 'crooked, twisted'.

Used for participles of Pattern IX verbs [101].

Pattern *māʔēel*: *māʔāhsen* 'preferring', *māʔāmel* 'using, having used', *māʔāṣel* 'in a hurry', *māʔāweb* 'having questioned'; Geminate: *māʔādd* 'ready, prepared', *māʔāll* 'independent'; Hollow: *māʔāfid* 'benefitting', *māʔāṣi* 'able'; Defective: *māʔākri* 'renting'.

Used for active participles of Pattern X verbs [102].

Pattern *məstaʔəL*: *məstaʔmal* 'used', *məstaʔsan* 'preferred', *məstaʔʒal* 'hurried, speeded'; Geminate: *məstaʔaʔʔ* '(one's) due'; Hollow *məstaʔʒar* 'consulted', *məstaʔʒan* 'called upon for help'

Used for passive participles of Pattern X verbs.

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL) PATTERNS

Pattern *FaELūL*: *farkūš* 'clumsy', *šaršūh* 'slovenly'

Pattern *FaELīL*: *zangīl* 'wealthy'

Pattern *mFaELeL*: *mfastek* 'depressed', *mbargel* 'grainy', *mbarʔel* 'having bribed, bribing', *mʔafles* 'having gone bankrupt'; Defective: *mfarʒi* 'having shown'

This pattern is used for active participles of simple quadriradical [117] and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [109].

Pattern *mFaELaL*: *mbarʔal* 'bribed', *mlaxbaʔ* 'mixed up', *mʔaʔlan* 'announced, advertized', *mʔablaʒ* 'plump', *mʔahbaʒ* 'wrecked', *mʔanʔaʒ* 'arrogant', *mʔarʔaʔ* 'ragged'; Defective: *mfarʒa* 'shown'

This pattern is used for passive participles of simple quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern *məʔFaELeL*: *məddahwer* 'decadent'

Used for "active" participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [121].

Pattern *məʔFaELaL*: *məʔtarʒam* (*məʔno*) 'translated (from)'

Used for passive participles of augmented quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs.

Pattern *məʔFaLaLL*: *məʔmaʔəʒʒ* 'disgusted, nauseated' *məʔmaʔənn* 'calm' secure'

Used for "active" participles of Pattern *FəLaLaLL* verbs [123]

Pattern *məʔFaLaLL*: *məʔmaʔəʒʒ məʔno* 'nauseating, revolting'

Used for passive participles of Pattern *FəLaLaLL* verbs. (Rare)

CHAPTER 5: NOUN PATTERNS

In this chapter the more common base patterns [p.36] for nouns are exemplified, showing any alterations that are incurred with unstable roots [p.40].

Not included here, however, are several important kinds of noun patterns that are illustrated in other parts of the book: participial patterns (other than *FāʔeL*) [131, 258], augmented gerundial patterns [293], elative patterns [310], and patterns involving the relative suffix *-i* [280].

All nouns are cited in the absolute form of the singular. Dual and plural forms are shown in Chapter 8, and construct forms are treated at the end of the present chapter [162].

Index of Patterns

TRIRADICAL:	<i>FaEL</i>	p.139	<i>FaELe</i>	p.140
	<i>FəEL</i>	141	<i>FəELe</i>	142
	<i>FaLaL</i>	143	<i>FaLaLe</i>	144
	<i>FāʔeL</i>	144	<i>FāʔeLe</i>	145
	<i>FaʔāL</i>	146	<i>FaʔāLe</i>	146
	<i>FəʔāL</i>	147	<i>FəʔāLe</i>	147
	<i>FiʔāL</i>	148	<i>FiʔāLe</i>	148
	<i>FaʔīL</i>	148	<i>FaʔīLe</i>	149
	<i>FəʔīL</i>	149	<i>FəʔīLe</i>	150
	<i>F(u)ʔūL</i>	150	<i>F(u)ʔūLe</i>	151
	<i>FāʔūL</i>	151	<i>FāʔūLe</i>	151
	<i>FaʔʔāL</i>	151	<i>FaʔʔāLe</i>	152
	<i>FəʔʔāL</i>	152	<i>FəʔʔāLe</i>	152
	<i>mFaLaL</i>	153	<i>mFaLaLe</i>	153
	<i>mFaʔeL</i>	154	<i>mFaʔe(i)Le</i>	154
	<i>mFaʔaL</i>	155	<i>mFaʔaLe</i>	155
	<i>mFaʔeL</i>	155	<i>mFaʔe(i)Le</i>	155
	<i>mFaʔāL</i>	156	<i>mFaʔāLe</i>	156

Miscellaneous 158

QUADRIRADICAL:	<i>FaELaL</i>	p. 159
	<i>FaELoL</i>	159
	<i>FaELāL</i>	160
	<i>FaELāL</i>	160
	<i>FaELīL</i>	160
	<i>FaELīL</i>	161
	<i>FaELūL</i>	161

OTHERS..... 161

The Base-Formative Suffix *-e/-a*

Most noun patterns come in pairs — one with, and one without, the ending *-e*. (Compare the left and right columns in the index above.) This ending normally takes the form *-a* after velarized consonants (*ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ẓ*) and back consonants (*x, ǧ, q, ḥ, ʕ, h, ʔ*) and usually after *r* (but not usually after *-īr-*). Examples:

With <i>-e</i>		With <i>-a</i>	
<i>raʔbe</i>	'neck'	<i>ʕabha</i>	'front'
<i>zīne</i>	'decoration'	<i>ʕīǧa</i>	'jewelry'
<i>sakke</i>	'track'	<i>ʔašša</i>	'story'
<i>ʕāde</i>	'custom'	<i>ḥāra</i>	'quarter'
<i>ʕāšfe</i>	'storm'	<i>ʕānʕa</i>	'maid'
<i>ʔasāwe</i>	'harshness'	<i>safāra</i>	'embassy'
<i>natīʕe</i>	'result'	<i>ṭarīʔa</i>	'method'
<i>ḍfīre</i>	'braid'	<i>fḍīha</i>	'scandal'

There are exceptions to this rule, however, in which *-e* occurs after *r* (especially in Pattern *FaELe*): *ʔabre* 'needle', *namre* 'number, class' (also *namra*), etc.; and sometimes after a velarized consonant: *ʕašše* 'a sneeze' (but more usually

[Ch. 8]

ʕašša). More common are cases in which the suffix appears as *-a* after plain front consonants: *šifa* 'attribute', *šōraba* 'soup', *ʔārma* 'sign, placard', *prōva* 'rehearsal', etc.¹

The most notable formal features of the *-e/-a* suffix are its change to "connective *t*" in construct forms [163] and before the dual suffix *-ēn* [210], and its loss before the plural suffix *-āt* [214] and the relative suffix *-i* [280].

The *-e/-a* suffix has several derivational functions: singulative [p. 297], feminal [304], abstract [288]. In many (perhaps most) noun bases, however, it has no derivational significance, but merely indicates that the noun (if inanimate) is grammatically feminine [374].

This same suffix functions inflectionally in the feminine of adjectives [p. 202] and in the plurals of certain nouns [213].

PATTERN *FaEL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

<i>tax(ʔ)t</i>	'bed'	<i>ʔar(ʔ)n</i>	'horn'
<i>bar(ʔ)d</i>	'cold'	<i>ḍah(ʔ)r</i>	'back'
<i>ʔaš(ʔ)l</i>	'origin'	<i>kaʕ(ʔ)b</i>	'heel'
<i>waḥ(ʔ)š</i>	'wild beast'	<i>ʔalb</i>	'heart'
<i>yaʔ(ʔ)s</i>	'despair'	<i>ʕamb</i>	'side'

The helping vowel *ʔ* usually appears between the last two radicals at the end of a phrase or before a consonant. See p. 29 for details.

¹Also *kahraba* 'electricity', *xawāšša* 'gentleman', etc. Although the *-e/-a* suffix normally corresponds to *ġ* in written Arabic, there are also cases in which it corresponds to *|* or *ʕ*. The criterion for the *-e/-a* suffix is connective *t* in construct forms and duals: *kahrabet*, *kahrabt-* 'electricity of', *xawāštēn* 'two gentlemen'.

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

<i>ʕaʒu</i> 'pressed dates'	<i>ʒabi</i> 'boy'
<i>faru</i> 'fur'	<i>raʔi</i> 'opinion'
<i>ʔabu</i> 'basement'	<i>haki</i> 'talk'

The radical semivowel appears as a consonant *w* or *y* before suffixes beginning with a vowel, otherwise usually as a vowel *u* or *i*: *raʔyak* 'your (m.) opinion', but *raʔikon* 'your (pl.) opinion'.

Geminate:

<i>haʔʔ</i> 'right'	<i>wazz</i> 'geese'
<i>xadd</i> 'cheek'	<i>ʒaww</i> 'air, atmosphere'
<i>samm</i> 'poison'	<i>fayy</i> 'shade, shadow'

Altered Pattern. Hollow ($a + w \rightarrow \bar{o}$; $a + y \rightarrow \bar{e}$):

<i>tōr</i> 'bull'	<i>tēr</i> 'bird'
<i>zōʔ</i> 'taste'	<i>xēl</i> 'horses'
<i>yōm</i> 'day'	<i>sēf</i> 'sword'

Commonly in Lebanese speech, however, the radical semivowel does not fuse with the pattern vowel, the pattern remaining unaltered as with stable roots: *tawr* 'bull', *ʔayr* 'bird'. See p.13.

Many nouns of Pattern *FaEL* are gerunds of simple verbs [p.289]: *darb* 'striking, hitting' (cf. *darab* 'to hit, strike'); *haki* 'talk, talking' (cf. *haka* 'to talk, speak'); *ʔaxʔd* 'taking' (cf. *ʔaxad* 'to take').

PATTERN *FaELe*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

<i>raʔbe</i> 'neck'	<i>ʒabha</i> 'front'
<i>damʕa</i> 'tear'	<i>ʔazme</i> 'crisis'
<i>hafle</i> 'party'	<i>baħra</i> 'lake'
<i>waʒfe</i> 'prescription'	<i>farʒe</i> 'mattress'

Sound, with middle radical semivowel:

<i>dawle</i> 'nation'	<i>sawra</i> 'revolution'
<i>ʕawʒe</i> 'bend'	

With final radical semivowel (Sound, or with exchange of *y* and *w*):

<i>xaʔwe</i> 'step, pace'	<i>hanye</i> 'bow; bend'
<i>ʒarwe</i> 'bargain'	<i>ʒafwe</i> 'ashes'

Before connective *-t-* plus suffixed vowel, the radical semivowel appears in its vocalic form; *xaʔutēn* 'two paces', *hanito* 'his bow'. See p.166.

Geminate:

<i>marra</i> 'a time'	<i>salle</i> 'basket'
<i>qaffe</i> 'edge, bank'	<i>hayye</i> 'snake'

Altered Pattern. Hollow ($a + w \rightarrow \bar{o}$; $a + y \rightarrow \bar{e}$):

<i>xēme</i> 'tent'	<i>ʒōke</i> 'fork'
<i>qēʕa</i> 'village; estate'	<i>ʒōʔa</i> 'band'

Many nouns of Pattern *FaELe* are singulatives [p.297], derived from Gerunds or collectives of Pattern *FaEL*: *ʒazwe* 'a raid' (cf. *ʒazu* 'raid-ing'), *bēda* 'an egg' (cf. *bēd* 'eggs'). Others are gerunds [p.292] and feminal derivatives [304].

PATTERN *FəEL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

<i>bən(ʔ)t</i> 'girl, daughter'	<i>kəb(ʔ)ʒ</i> 'ram'
<i>ʔəs(ʔ)m</i> 'name'	<i>ʒes(ʔ)r</i> 'bridge'
<i>ʕəm(ʔ)r</i> 'age'	<i>ʒəns</i> 'kind'
<i>bər(ʔ)ʒ</i> 'tower'	<i>məlk</i> 'property'

On the use of the helping vowel (ʔ), see p.29.

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

ʕaḏu 'member' ʕaḏi 'kid'

On the alternation of *u* and *i* with *w* and *y*, see p.140.

Geminate:

ʔamm 'mother' ʔabb 'medicine'
razz 'rice' wašš 'face'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (*a* + *w* → *ū*; *a* + *y* → *ī*):

ʕūx 'cloth' ʔīd 'hand'
būm 'owls' (coll.) bīr 'well'
sūʔ 'market' tīn 'figs'

Anomalous hollow-defective: šī 'thing' (cf. classicism šēʔ)

Commonly in Palestine this word is pronounced ʔaši, which is sound, with root ʔ-š-y. (The initial ʔ also occurs in the plural ʔašya or ʔašya, which is used throughout Greater Syria.)

Some nouns of this pattern are abstract and gerundial derivatives [p.286]: kaḇʔr 'large size' (cf. kbīr 'large'); laʕb 'play, game' (cf. laʕeb 'to play').

On plural Pattern FaʕL, see p.221.

PATTERN FaʕLe

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

ʔašra 'fee' tarbe 'cemetery'
raḥle 'trip, tour' faša 'opportunity'
kaʕme 'word' maʕze 'goats' (coll.)
šarke 'company' ʔobre 'needle'

Sound, with final radical semivowel:

laḥye 'beard' kaʕwe 'kidney'
daḥye 'world' ʕarwe 'button-hole'

On the alternation of *u* and *i* with *w* and *y*, see p.166.

Geminate:

šaffe 'lip' faḏda 'silver'
ʔešša 'story' saḁke 'track'

Altered Pattern. Semivowel-geminate, with assimilation of pattern vowel:

niyye 'aim, intention' (Root n-w-y) ʔuwwē 'power' (Root ʕ-w-y)
diyye 'blood money' (See p.157) huwwē 'precipice' (Root h-w-y)

See p.166.

Hollow (*a* + *y* → *ī*; *a* + *w* → *ū*):

zīne 'decoration' šūra 'picture'
šīga 'jewelry' mūne 'provision'
ḥīle 'trick' ʔūda 'room'

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract or gerundial [287] or singular [297]: ʔalle 'scarcity' (cf. ʔalīl 'few, little'); xadme 'service' (cf. xadam 'to serve'); faḁkra 'an idea' (cf. faḁr 'thinking, thought').

PATTERN FaʕaL

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

ʔamal 'hope' taman 'price'
šaraf 'honor' ʔalaʔ 'insomnia'
walad 'child' sabab 'cause'
baʔar 'cattle' ɖarar 'damage'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of middle radical):

šār 'neighbor'	sā? 'leg'
rās 'head'	xāl 'maternal uncle'
bāb 'door'	?āē 'bottom'

The word šāy 'tea' appears to belong to this pattern (though since it has no paronyms there is no basis for classifying it so), with final radical semivowel maintained. Otherwise, roots with final semivowel do not occur with this pattern. See pattern FaēāL [146].

PATTERN FaēāLe

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

sakane 'barrack(s)'	barake 'blessing'
šalaḥa 'salad'	ṭabaʿa 'class'
daraḡe 'degree, step'	ḥaḡara 'a stone'

Altered Pattern. Hollow (Loss of Middle radical):

ēāde 'habit, custom'	ḥāra 'quarter, neighborhood'
ṭābe 'ball'	rāye 'banner'
wāēa 'container'	sāēa 'hour'

PATTERN FāēēL

Sound:

bāēes 'motive'	šāmeē 'mosque'
ḥāḡeb 'eyebrow'	wāḡeb 'duty'
ḡābeṭ 'officer'	ḥādes 'incident'

With middle radical semivowel:

fāyeḡ 'usury'	zāyer 'visitor'
---------------	-----------------

A medial radical *w* is represented by *y* in this pattern; see Adjective Pattern FāēēL [p.131].

Defective (*e + y* or *w - ī*):

rāēi 'keeper, herdsman'	?āḍi 'judge'
-------------------------	--------------

Cf. Pattern FāēēL adjectives.

Many nouns of this pattern are substantivized active participles of simple verbs: *kāteb* 'clerk', 'writer' (cf. *katab* 'to write'); *zāyer* 'visitor' (cf. *zār* 'to visit'); *māneē* 'inconvenience, obstacle, hindrance' (cf. *manaē* 'to prevent'); *nāʿeb* 'representative' (cf. *nāb* 'to represent'). See p. 276.

PATTERN Fāēḷe

ēāḡfe 'storm'	ṡānēa 'maid'
šāmēa 'university'	wāḡṡa 'means'
ṭāwle 'table'	ṭāyfe 'sect'
zāwye 'corner'	ḡāḡye 'suburb'
mādde 'material'	dābbe 'beast of burden'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root, except that final or medial radical *w* commonly becomes *y*. [p.44]. See also Construct Forms, p.167.

PATTERN Faēāl

Sound:

šamāl 'beauty'	ʔasās 'foundation'
bayān 'statement'	ḥarām 'taboo; shame'
šawās 'permit'	kalām 'speech, words'
qarār 'decision'	ḡazāl 'gazelle'

Defective (Loss of final radical semivowel):

ʕaša 'dinner, supper'	sama 'sky; heaven'
hawa 'air'	masa 'evening'
ḡada 'lunch, dinner'	dawa 'medicine'
ḥaya 'modesty'	šaza 'punishment, penalty'

The long ā of the pattern is preserved in the suffixing forms of these words, see p. 27.

Defective, with final radical semivowel → ʔ: šazāʔ (= šaza).

PATTERN FaēāLe

saʕāde 'happiness'	wakāle 'agency'
safāra 'embassy'	šamāʕa 'group of people'
rabābe 'rebab' (mus. instr.)	baḡāṭa 'potatoes'
ʔasāwe 'cruelty'	ʕašāye 'stick'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of this pattern are abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns [285]: saʕāde 'happiness' (cf. saʕīd 'happy'); safāra 'embassy' (cf. safīr 'ambassador'); ʕadāwe 'enmity' (cf. ʕaduwu 'enemy').

PATTERN Feāl

Sound:

ḥšān 'horse'	ḥmār 'donkey'
ʔmāš 'cloth'	blāš 'beach'
wšāʔ 'stove'	ktāb 'book'
šʕāʕ 'ray, beam'	ʔyās 'measurement'
šʔāʔ 'street'	ḡyāb 'absence'

Defective:

dara 'corn, maize'	raḡa 'contentment, satisfaction'
šate 'winter; rain'	nade 'dew'
ḡare 'glue'	šade 'rust'

The long a of this defective pattern is preserved in the suffixing form [p. 27], while the absolute form has variants ending in e or a, as in the -e/-a suffix [p. 138]. The a of the first syllable, which is lost in the sound version of this pattern, remains in all forms.

The anomalous noun baʕe 'crying, weeping', is like these words in the absolute form, but has a suffixing form like Pattern FaēL [142]: baʕi-hon 'their crying' (cf. šatā-hon 'their winter').

Many nouns of Pattern Feāl are gerunds of simple verbs: ḡyāb 'absence' (cf. ḡāb 'to be absent'); raḡa 'satisfaction' (cf. raḡi 'to be satisfied').

For plural Pattern Feāl, see p. 218.

PATTERN FeāLe

xzāne 'closet'	bḡāʕa 'merchandise'
swāra 'bracelet'	ršāša 'bullet'
zyāra 'visit'	mlāye 'veil'

This pattern remains unaltered with all types of root.

Many nouns of Pattern *FēāLe* are gerunds of simple verbs: *ʕbāde* 'worship' (cf. *ʕabad* 'to worship'), *ʔrāye* 'reading' (cf. *ʔara* 'to read').

PATTERN *FiēāL*

<i>difāe</i> 'defense'	<i>niḡām</i> 'system, order'
<i>ʔilāh</i> 'god'	<i>wisām</i> 'medal, badge'

Defective: *šifa* 'cure'

PATTERN *FiēāLe*

<i>šināʕa</i> 'industry'	<i>nihāye</i> 'end'
<i>zirāʕa</i> 'agriculture'	<i>wilāye</i> 'state'
<i>riwāye</i> 'novel; play'	<i>siyāse</i> 'politics; policy'

Patterns *FiēāL* and *FiēāLe* are somewhat classicized variants of Patterns *FēāL* and *FēāLe* respectively.

Many nouns of Pattern *FiēāLe* are gerunds of simple verbs: *dirāse* 'study' (cf. *daras* 'to study'); *zirāʕa* 'agriculture' (cf. *zaraʕ* 'to plant, cultivate').

PATTERN *FaēīL*

<i>ʔadīb</i> 'man of letters'	<i>sabīl</i> 'way'
<i>ʔamīs</i> 'shirt'	<i>ṭabīb</i> 'physician'
<i>raʔīs</i> 'chief, head'	<i>yamīn</i> 'right (hand)'
<i>ḡarīr</i> 'silk'	<i>rabīʕ</i> 'spring(time)'

Defective: *waši* 'trustee, guardian'

Many nouns of Pattern *FaēīL* that designate human beings are substantivized adjectives. See p.127. Some are correlative to simple abstract nouns in the sense 'practitioner of' or 'versed in': *ʔadīb* 'man of letters' (cf. *ʔadab* 'belles-lettres'); *ṭabīb* 'physician' (cf. *ṭabb* 'medicine, physical therapy').

PATTERN *FaēīLe*

<i>natīʕe</i> 'result'	<i>ṣarīme</i> 'crime'
<i>ṭarīʔa</i> 'method'	<i>madīne</i> 'city'
<i>daʔīʔa</i> 'minute'	<i>ṣarīʕa</i> 'Muslim law'

With final radical semivowel (-iyy- = -īy-):

<i>xaṭiyye</i> 'sin'	<i>ʔaḍiyye</i> 'case'
<i>ʕaṣiyye</i> 'evening'	<i>waṣiyye</i> 'will, testament'

PATTERN *FēīL*

<i>ṣbīn</i> 'forehead'	<i>rḡīf</i> 'loaf'
<i>rfīʔ</i> 'companion'	<i>ṣrīṭ</i> 'string, wire'
<i>ṣēīr</i> 'barley'	<i>gdīš</i> 'nag, horse'

This pattern is not used with middle or final radical semivowel.

Patterns *FaēīL* and *FēīL* are used in a number of gerunds, especially those designating noises: *ṣrīx* 'shouting', *ṣxīr* 'snoring', *ʔanīn* 'moaning', *ḡaṣīš* 'noise, tumult', *ranīn* 'tinkle', *bṣīš* 'glimmering, glimpse'.

PATTERN *FēīLe*

<i>dfīre</i> 'braid'	<i>knīse</i> 'church'
<i>fđīha</i> 'scandal'	<i>thīne</i> 'sesame oil sauce'

With final radical semivowel (y) (-iyy- = -īy-):

<i>hdiyye</i> 'gift'	<i>w[?]iyye</i> 'oka' (weight measure)
----------------------	---

This pattern is not used with middle radical semivowel.

PATTERN *F(u)ēūL*

<i>zbūn</i> 'customer'	<i>znūb</i> 'south'
<i>s(u)rūr</i> 'joy, pleasure'	<i>f(u)tūr</i> 'breakfast'
<i>hšūm</i> 'attack'	<i>tumūh</i> 'aspiration'

With final radical semivowel (w) (-uww- = -ūw-):

<i>ē(u)luww</i> 'elevation, height'	<i>numuww</i> 'growth'
-------------------------------------	------------------------

The pattern may also be altered (defective) in *ēalu* 'height' (suffixing form *ēalū-*).

Pattern *FēūL* is commonly used for gerunds of simple verbs [291]: *tlūē* 'coming out, going up' (cf. *ṭaleē* 'to come out, go up'); *šēūr* 'feeling(s)' (cf. *šaēar* 'to feel').

For plural Pattern *FēūL*, see p. 220.

PATTERN *FēūLe*

<i>rṭūbe</i> 'humidity'	<i>hkūme</i> 'government'
<i>xšūne</i> 'roughness'	<i>šxūne</i> 'fever'
<i>šēūbe</i> 'difficulty'	<i>hmūda</i> 'acidity'

With final radical semivowel (-uww- = -ūw-):

<i>mrūuwe</i> 'mastery'	<i>ʔubūuwe</i> 'fatherhood'
-------------------------	-----------------------------

This pattern is used mainly for abstract nouns derived from simple adjective and nouns [p. 286].

For plural Pattern *FēūLe*, see p. 220.

PATTERNS *FāēūL*, *FāēūLe*

<i>qānūn</i> 'law'	<i>tāḥūn</i> 'mill'
<i>xāzūʔ</i> 'stake'	<i>xārūf</i> 'lamb'
<i>šābūn</i> 'soap'	<i>nāēūra</i> 'water wheel'
<i>qāmūs</i> 'dictionary'	<i>māsūra</i> 'pipe, tube'

PATTERN *FaēēāL*

<i>xabbāz</i> 'baker'	<i>ḥaddād</i> 'blacksmith'
<i>fallāḥ</i> 'peasant'	<i>xayyāṭ</i> 'tailor'
<i>ḥammām</i> 'bath'	<i>šabbāṭ</i> '(pair of) shoes'
<i>tayyār</i> 'current'	<i>dawwār</i> 'whirlpool'

Defective:

banna 'builder, mason' *kawwa* 'presser'

The long pattern vowel *ā* is retained in the suffixing form: *bannāhon* 'their mason'.

Pattern *FaEEāL* is commonly used for occupational nouns [305]. Cf. adjective pattern *FaEEāL* [129].

PATTERN *FaEEāLe*

kammāše 'pincers' *sayyāra* 'automobile'
ʔallābe 'ferris-wheel' *barrāde* 'refrigerator'
šabbāne 'cemetery' *ṭarrāḥa* 'cushion'

With final radical semivowel *y*, unaltered:

maḥḥāye 'eraser' *barrāye* 'pencil-sharpener'

Pattern *FaEEāLe* is commonly used for instrumental nouns [306]

PATTERNS *FaEEāL*, *FaEEāLe*

šabbāk 'window' *sənnāra* 'fish hook'
rəššāl 'man' *ṣəkkāze* 'crutch'
səššād 'rugs' (collective) *səššāde* 'a rug'
təffāḥ 'apples (collective)' *təffāḥa* 'an apple'

Cf. plural pattern *fəEEāL* [223].

PATTERN *maFēaL*

Unaltered Pattern. Sound:

madfaē 'cannon' *maṣṣar* 'view'
maxbaz 'bakery' *maṭṭam* 'restaurant'
mablagʔ 'amount, sum' *maʔzaq* 'bottleneck, strait'
mašyaf 'summer resort' *maytam* 'orphanage'

Altered Pattern. Geminate:

maḥall 'place' *mafarr* 'escape, flight'
mašabb 'mouth (of a river)' *mamarr* 'aisle'

Hollow:

manām 'dream' *maṣāš* 'salary'
maṭār 'airport' *mašāl* 'space, scope'

Defective:

maēna 'meaning' *maʔwa* 'shelter'
maḡza 'point, import' *mawla* 'lord, master'

Most nouns of Pattern *maFēaL* are locative [308], hypostatic [309], or instrumental [307].

PATTERN *maFēaLe*

Unaltered Pattern Sound:

maḥrame 'handkerchief' *maḥale* 'stage, step'
maēlaʔa 'spoon' *maxane* 'chimney'
masʔale 'matter, question' *mawʔade* 'brazier, fireplace'
maṣfaḍa 'ashtray' *mašyade* 'trap, snare'

Altered Pattern. Geminate:

<i>maḥabbe</i> 'love, affection'	<i>mawadde</i> 'love, friendship'
<i>mašalle</i> 'magazine'	

Hollow:

<i>masāfe</i> 'distance'	<i>manāra</i> 'lighthouse'
<i>maxāḍa</i> 'ford'	<i>maḍāfe</i> 'reception room'

Most nouns of Pattern *maFēaLe* are locative [308], hypostatic [309] or instrumental [307].

PATTERN *maFēeL*

Sound:

<i>maržeē</i> 'source, reference'	<i>mawled</i> 'birth, birthday'
<i>mažles</i> 'chamber, session room'	<i>mawdeē</i> 'position'
<i>mawʔef</i> 'stop, station'	<i>mawēed</i> 'appointment'

Many nouns of this pattern have initial radical *w*.

Hollow: *mašīr* 'course, destiny'

Pattern *maFēeL* is not used with geminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of Pattern *maFēeL* are locative, hypostatic, or instrumental.

PATTERN *maFē(i)Le*

Sound:

<i>manṭiʔa</i> 'district, zone'	<i>mawhibe</i> 'talent, gift'
<i>maʔdira</i> 'ability, power'	<i>mawḥiḡa</i> 'lecture, reprimand'
<i>maḥrife</i> or <i>maḥʔrfe</i> 'knowledge, acquaintance'	

Hollow: *mašīʔa* 'will, wish'¹

Initial Weak: *māḍne* 'minaret' (Root ʔ-d-n)

Pattern *maFē(i)Le* is not used with geminating radicals or final radical semivowels.

Most nouns of this pattern are hypostatic or locative.

PATTERNS *maFēaL* and *maFēaLe*

For locative, projective, or instrumental nouns, these patterns are mainly used with geminating roots, and altered accordingly:

<i>mʔašš</i> 'scissors'	<i>mḥaṭṭa</i> 'station'
<i>mfakk</i> 'screwdriver'	<i>mʔašše</i> 'brown'
<i>mḥaṭṭ</i> 'object, point'	<i>mxadde</i> 'pillow'
	<i>msabbe</i> 'curse, invective'

Some nouns of Pattern *maFēaL* (or more usually *muFēaL*) are substantivized passive participles or hypostatic nouns corresponding to verb Pattern IV [p.84]. These include sound: *mulḥaq* 'attaché', hollow: *murād* 'wish, desire', and initial weak: *mūšaz* 'outline, résumé'.

PATTERNS *maFēeL* and *maFē(i)Le*

Sound:

<i>maškel</i> or <i>maškle</i>	'problem, difficulty'
<i>maḥḡize</i> or <i>maḥʔḡze</i>	'miracle'
<i>maḥʔnse</i>	'broom'

¹This word is always used in construct, thus always in the construct forms *mašīʔet*, *mašīʔt-*, *mašīʔt-*. E.g. *mašīʔet ʔabno* 'his son's wish', *mašīʔto* 'his wish'.

Hollow: *mṣībe* 'misfortune, calamity'

Initial Weak: *mūsem* 'season'

Pattern *māFēēL* is more commonly used in substantivized personal adjectives [133, 382]: *māsem* 'Moslem', *māfti* 'mufti', *mudīr* 'director'.

PATTERNS *māFēēL* and *māFēēāLe*

Sound:

<i>māṣṣār</i> 'saw'	<i>māṣwār</i> 'walk, errand'
<i>māzrāb</i> 'gutter, drain'	<i>mānxār</i> 'nose'
<i>māʿyār</i> 'balance, measure'	<i>māḥrāt</i> 'plow'

Initial Weak:

<i>mīlād</i> 'appointment'	<i>mīlād</i> 'birth, birthday, Nativity'
<i>mīzān</i> 'scale balance'	<i>mīsāq</i> 'pact, covenant'

The pattern vowel *a* combines with initial radical *w* to produce *i*.

With final radical semivowel (*y*), the suffix *-e* is used:

<i>mākwāye</i> '(flat)iron'	<i>māʿlāye</i> 'frying pan'
<i>mādrāye</i> 'winnowing fork'	<i>māṣlāye</i> 'trap'

Hollow: *māyē* 'mirror' (Root *r-ʔ-y*)

In some parts of Greater Syria, final radical *y* produces defective nouns on Pattern *māFēēāL*: *mādra* 'winnowing fork' (instead of *mādrāye*).

Most nouns of Pattern *māFēēāL(e)* are instrumental or hypostatic.

MISCELLANEOUS TRIRADICAL PATTERNS

There are many nouns in Arabic whose patterns are rare or even unique. Some of these less common patterns are briefly exemplified here:

Pattern *ʿiLa*: *ṣiḥa* 'direction', *ṣiḥa* 'attribute, adjective', *siḥa* 'capacity' *ṣiḥa* (or *siḥa*) 'faith, trust'. (For construct forms, see p.169)

This pattern is applied exclusively to roots with initial *w*, which is lost. Thus *ṣiḥa* has Root *w-ṣ-h*, *ṣiḥa* has Root *w-ṣ-f*, etc. Nouns with this pattern are classicisms, with the marginal exception of *diyye* 'blood money', whose root, theoretically speaking, is *w-d-y*, but which has been altered colloquially to fit pattern *FāēLe* as if its root were *d-y-y*. (It has no colloquial paronyms with either root.)

Patterns *F(u)ʿayyeL*, *F(u)ʿayLe*, *FwayēeL*: *ḡḡayyer* 'little one', *buḡayra* 'lake', *ṣwayye* 'a little'.

These traditional diminutive patterns [p.310] are quite unproductive in most kinds of Syrian Arabic.

Pattern *FēēLe*: *ḡnēne* 'garden', *ḡmēra* 'measles', *ḡwēze* 'deuce'.

This is an alteration of the diminutive pattern *F(u)ʿayLe*.

Pattern *FāēeL*: *mālek* 'king'

Pattern *FāēoL*: *raṣol* 'man' (classicism)

Pattern *FāēeL*: *ʿāneb* 'grapes'

Pattern *FāēoL*: *tāton* 'tobacco', *ʿaṭon* 'cotton' (Cf. plural pattern *FāēoL* [p.221].)

Pattern *FāēūL*: *rasūl* 'apostle, messenger, prophet', *ʿaṣūz* 'old person', *ʿaduww* 'enemy'. (Cf. adjective pattern *FāēūL* [p.128].)

Pattern *FāēāL*: *ʿālam* 'world'

Pattern *FāēēoL*: *sāllom* 'ladder', *ḡammoṣ* 'chick peas'

Pattern *FīēāL*: *bīkār* 'compass' (for drawing), *dīnār* (monetary unit), *ʿiṭwān* 'sitting room', *nīsān* 'April'.

Pattern *FāēōL*: *māḡōn* 'container', *bāḡōn* 'cement', *bālōn* 'balloon'.

Pattern *FūēāL*: *būlād* 'steel'

Pattern *FəʕəLL*: *səʕəll* 'record'

Pattern *Fuʕāl*: *suʕāl* 'question', *buxār* 'steam', *duʕāʔ* 'prayer of supplication' (defective; radical semivowel → ʔ).

Pattern *ʔəFəʕūL*: *ʔəʕtūh* 'roof', *ʔəʕtūl* 'fleet'

Pattern *FəʕəLān* (Hollow-defective): *həwān* 'animal' (Root *h-y-y*) [Cf. p. 110]

Pattern *FəʕLūn*: *zētūn* 'olives'

Pattern *Fəʕlōn*: *ʕardōn* 'rat' *hardōn* 'lizard'

Patterns *FəʕəʕəL*, *FəʕəʕəLe*: *fəttəs* 'fireworks', *ləzzəʔa* 'adhesive tape', *duwwəxa* 'merry-go-round'

Augmented Gerundial Patterns

All the patterns used for gerunds of augmented verbs, e.g. *taFəʕīL*, *mFəʕəLe*, *ʔəFəʕīL*, *ʔənFəʕīL*, etc., are also used for ordinary nouns, i.e. gerunds that have been concretized [p. 284] or otherwise altered from the pure gerundial sense. These patterns are not separately illustrated here; see p. 293.

Adjectival Patterns

Many adjectival patterns are used for nouns, insofar as adjectives tend to be substantivized. Patterns *FəʕəL* and *FəʕəʕəL* have been separately illustrated for nouns and adjectives, but Patterns *FəʕəʕīL* [p. 129] and *ʔəFəʕəL* [130] are shown only for adjectives, though many words with these patterns are used substantivally.

Most important of all are the participial patterns [p. 258], e.g. *maFəʕūL*, *mFəʕəʕəL*, *məʕtaFəʕəL*, *məFəʕəL*, etc. (only *FəʕəL* has been listed separately for nouns); a large number of nouns have these patterns, but are not illustrated here.

For relative patterns, see p. 310.

QUADRIRADICAL (AND PSEUDO-QUADRIRADICAL)¹ PATTERNS

PATTERN *FəʕLaL*

ʔarnab 'rabbit'

baʕtrak 'patriarch'

xandaʔ 'ditch, trench'

ʕangal 'hook'

ʕadwal 'schedule'

waʕwaʕ 'bat'

Hollow: *bədar* 'threshing floor'

zəbaʔ 'quicksilver'

PATTERN *FəʕLaLe*

tarʕame 'translation'

ʕanʕara 'pot'

ʔarwaʕe 'noise, disturbance'

damdame 'murmur, mumbling'

maʕlase 'mockery'

Hollow: *zəbaʕa* 'storm'

ʕəʕane 'mischief'

ʕərabā 'soup'

ʔarmale 'widow' has a secondary radical ʔ, being related to the root *r-m-l*; *taʕkara* 'ticket' has a secondary radical *t*, being related to the root *s-k-r*; *waldane* 'childishness', on the other hand, is a true triradical noun on the pattern *FəʕLane*, the *n* being a verb formative (*twaldan* 'to be childish'). [p. 110]

Pattern *FəʕLaLe*, and the pseudo-quadriradical patterns *FəʕLane*, *Farəʕale*, *Fəʕəʕale*, and *Fəʕwale* are used for gerunds of quadriradical and pseudo-quadriradical verbs [p. 295].

PATTERN *FəʕLoL*

məʕmoʕ 'apricots'

bərgol 'wheat grits'

bərnaʕ 'burnoose, bathrobe'

bəlbol 'oriental nightingale'

ʕənʕor 'element'

ʔəsʔof 'bishop'

fəstoʔ 'pistachio'

xənfos 'beetles' (coll.)

¹ See p. 107.

PATTERN *FəE(ə)LLə*

<i>zəlʔʔa</i> 'wasp'	<i>xənʔfse</i> 'beetle'
<i>məʃʔmʃe</i> 'apricot'	<i>ʒəmʔʒme</i> 'crane'
<i>məstke</i> 'chewing gum'	<i>zəlʔhfe</i> 'tortoise'
<i>sənsle</i> 'chain, series'	<i>ʔəmble</i> 'bomb'

On the use of the helping vowel *ə*, see p. 31.

PATTERN *FaELāL*

<i>saɛdān</i> 'monkey'	<i>waɥwāɥ</i> 'bat' (also <i>waɥwaɥ</i>)
<i>rafrāf</i> 'fender'	<i>ʔalmās</i> 'diamond(s)'

Hollow: *ʃeɥtān* 'devil'

PATTERN *FəELāL*

<i>fənʒān</i> '(coffee)cup'	<i>ʔastāz</i> 'professor, teacher'
<i>kərbāʒ</i> 'whip'	<i>bərhān</i> 'proof'
<i>bəstān</i> 'garden'	<i>ɛənwān</i> 'address'
<i>ʔəbʔāb</i> 'clog, wooden sandal'	<i>resmāl</i> 'capital' ¹

With final radical semivowel (*y*), the suffix *-e/-a* is added:

<i>fərʃāye</i> 'brush'	<i>bərdāye</i> '(window) shade'
------------------------	---------------------------------

PATTERN *FaELīL*

<i>ʔaʃdīr</i> 'tin'	<i>barmīl</i> 'barrel'
<i>ʒanzīr</i> 'chain'	<i>darwīʃ</i> 'dervish'
<i>ɛafrīt</i> 'demon'	<i>maskīn</i> 'poor thing, wretch'

PATTERN *FəELīL*

<i>təlmīz</i> 'student'	<i>maskīn</i> (or <i>maskīn</i>) 'poor wretch'
<i>kəbrīt</i> 'matches'	<i>ɛafrīt</i> (or <i>ɛafrīt</i>) 'demon'
<i>təʃrīn</i> 'October/November'	

Defective:

<i>kərsi</i> 'chair'	<i>bərgi</i> 'screw'
----------------------	----------------------

PATTERN *FaELūL(e)*

<i>ɛaʃfūr</i> '(passerine)bird'	<i>ɛanʔūd</i> 'bunch of grapes'
<i>raɛbūn</i> '(bank)deposit'	<i>ɥarbūʃ</i> 'tarboosh, fez'
<i>sandūʔ</i> 'box, chest'	<i>gandūr</i> 'dandy, fop'

Hollow: *ʔēlūl* 'September'

With the *-e/-a* suffix: *ʃaxtūra* 'boat', *ʒarmūɥa* 'prostitute'

PATTERN *FəELēLe*

<i>ɛərtēle</i> 'spider' (tarantulas and similar kinds)
<i>bərnēɥa</i> 'hat'
<i>ɛənzēʔa</i> 'swing'
<i>wəʃwēʃe</i> 'a whisper'

Miscellaneous Quadriradical

<i>ɥəfɥaɛa</i> 'frog'
<i>təʒmān</i> 'interpreter, dragoman'
<i>ʒəmhūr</i> 'public, people, crowd' (also <i>ʒəmhūr</i>)
<i>zmərrod</i> 'emeralds'
<i>ɥarabēza</i> 'table'
<i>banadōra</i> 'tomatoes' (coll.)

Miscellaneous Quinquiradical

<i>sfaržel</i>	'quince'	<i>ʔarnabīṭ</i>	'cauliflower'
<i>ʔranfol</i>	'carnations'	<i>baṛdʔān</i>	'oranges'
<i>banafsaž</i>	'violets'	<i>bētānžān</i>	'eggplant' (also <i>baḍānžān</i>)
<i>baʔdūnes</i>	'parsley'	<i>ʔaṭramīz</i>	'large glass jar'
<i>baṛnāmež</i>	'program'	<i>šaḥšabōn</i>	'cobweb'
<i>šaṭranž</i>	'chess'	<i>baṇṭalōn</i>	'trousers'

Biradical Nouns

Very few nouns in Syrian Arabic qualify definitely as having a biliteral root; note, however: *fiʔa* 'class, group, bracket', *riʔa* 'lung', *sane* 'year', *mara* 'woman'.

All these nouns have an *-e/-a* suffix. The noun *mara*, if compared to the classicism *marʔa*, might be analyzed as a defective triradical. Note the variant forms *riyye* (for *riʔa*) and *fīʔa* (for *fiʔa*), in which these words conform to triradical patterns. (Cf. *damm* 'blood', *vis-à-vis* Classical *dam*; *ʔīd* and *yadd* 'hand' *vis-à-vis* Classical *yad*.)

Inconformable Nouns

Unlike verbs and adjectives, Arabic nouns include many words which do not conform to any recognizable pattern, or whose root and pattern cannot be analyzed due to lack of paronyms. Most such nouns are modern foreign loan-words. For example:

<i>kīlo</i>	'kilogram'	<i>ʔotēl</i>	'hotel'
<i>sbētro</i>	'alcohol'	<i>vaṛanda</i>	'balcony, terrace'
<i>prōva</i>	'rehearsal'	<i>ṭrambe</i>	'pump'
<i>žagrāfiya</i>	'geography'	<i>bēbē</i>	'baby'

CONSTRUCT FORMS

Certain kinds of nouns — mainly those ending in the *-e/-a* suffix [p.138] — appear in a special form when standing IN CONSTRUCT with a following term. [See Annexion, p.455.]

The *-e/-a* suffix of a noun in construct takes the form *-et*, *-st*, or *-t*, depending mainly on the form of the following term. Compare, for instance,

the absolute form (i.e. non-construct form) of the noun *ḥāle* (as in *ḥāle mīṭha* 'good condition') with the construct forms in *ḥālet ʔš-šarke* 'the condition of the company', *ḥālštna* 'our condition', *ḥālto* 'his condition'; similarly, absol. *zyāra* 'visit': constr. *zyāret ʔaxi* 'my brother's visit', *zyārātḥon* 'your (pl.) visit', *zyārtak* 'your (m.) visit'.

The *t* in these construct forms is called CONNECTIVE *t* (*tāʔ marbūṭa*).¹

Connective *t* in Non-suffixing Forms

The connective *t* of a noun in construct with a separate word or phrase is in most cases preceded by the vowel *e*: *ḥālet ʔaxi* 'my brother's condition'. The vowel is normally *e* even though the absolute form ends in *a*: absol. *ḥāra* 'neighborhood, quarter': constr. *ḥāret ʔahli* 'my family's neighborhood'. Further examples:

Absolute Form	Construct Form (with Following Term)
<i>ḥafle</i>	'party', 'show'..... <i>ḥaflet mūsīqa</i> 'concert'
<i>ʔašša</i>	'story, account'..... <i>ʔaššet ḥaz-zalame</i> 'that fellow's story'
<i>xzāne</i>	'closet'..... <i>xzānet ʔūḍṭi</i> 'the closet of my room'
<i>masʔale</i>	'matter, question'..... <i>masʔalet žadd</i> 'a matter of concern'
<i>ʔūḍa</i>	'room'..... <i>ʔūḍet ʔl-ʔaḥde</i> 'sitting room'

The suffix vowel *e* is often elided, however, when the following term begins with a vowel (which is usually the helping vowel *ʔ* [p.30]): *ʔūḍet ʔn-nōm* 'the bedroom' (cf. *ʔūḍet nōm* 'a bedroom'). The *e* is most apt to be dropped if the leading term is very commonly used in construct, or if the whole construct is a set phrase. Examples:

<i>wažīft ʔl-fīziya</i>	'the physics assignment'	(absol. <i>wažīfe</i>)
<i>dōxt ʔt-ṭayyāra</i>	'airsickness'	(absol. <i>dōxa</i> 'nausea')
<i>ʔuqūbt ʔl-ʔaḥdām</i>	'the death penalty'	(absol. <i>ʔuqūbe</i>)
<i>ḥāžt ʔš-šagʔal</i>	'the work requirements'	(absol. <i>ḥāže</i>)
<i>makīnt ʔhlāʔa</i>	'shaver' or 'clippers'	(absol. <i>makīne</i>)
<i>ḥas-sallt ʔl-ward</i>	'this basket of flowers'	(absol. <i>salle</i>) [SAL-193]
<i>žarītt ʔl-yōm</i>	'today's paper'	(absol. <i>žarīde</i>) [p.26]

¹The dropping of connective *t* from almost all absolute forms in Colloquial Arabic is, of course, a much broader and more consistent practice than the dropping of *tāʔ marbūṭa* in the pronunciation of Classical "pause forms".

Note that the elision of *e* changes the accentuation in nouns of certain patterns: *madrāst* ^{al}-*walad* 'the boy's school' (absol. *mādrase*). In the case of Pattern *FāLe* [145], a suffix-supporting vowel *á* appears before the last radical: *nāʔált* ^{az}-*zēt* 'the oil tanker' (absol. *nāʔle*). See Accentuation [p.17]. Cf. Suffixing Forms [165].

The elision of *e* in nouns ending in *-iyye* results in construct forms ending in *-īt*: *barrānīt* ^{al}-*bināye* 'the outside of the building' (absol. *barrāniyye*), *ʕaḍwīt* ^{an}-*nādi* 'the membership of the club' (absol. *ʕaḍwiyye*).

Sometimes *e* is elided even when the following term begins with a consonant: *baʔīt dēni* 'the remainder of my debt' (absol. *baʔiyye*), *mʔaddāmt l-ʔktāb* 'the introduction of the book' (absol. *mʔāddame*), *b-wāšāṭṭ ʔaxi* 'through my brother ('s mediation)' (absol. *wāšṭa*).

e is never elided in the non-suffixing construct forms of sound words on Patterns *FāLe* [140] or *FāLe* [142]: *ḥaflet* ^{al}-*mūsīqa* 'the concert' (not *ḥafʔlt...*); *šarket* ^{az}-*zēt* 'the oil company' (not *šarʔkt...*). Cf. Suffixing Forms [166].

Nouns ending in *ā* (which are mostly defective gerunds of Pattern *mFāLe* [p.293]) generally have construct forms in *āt*: *mlāʔāt* ^{al}-*ṭarīʔ* 'finding the way' (absol. *mlāʔā*), *msāwāt* ^{al}-*fāxxār* 'the making of pottery' (absol. *msāwā*).

The *-t* is sometimes kept in the absolute form of *mubārā(t)* 'match, competition', and almost always in the absolute forms of *ḥayāt* 'life' (Root *ḥ-y-y*), *ṣalāt* (or *ṣala*) 'prayer' (Root *ṣ-l-y*), *wafāt* 'death, demise' (Root *w-f-y*).¹

It should be noted that a number of plural patterns [p.218] incorporate the *-e/-a* suffix and therefore have construct forms with *t* just as singular nouns have. Pattern *FēūLe*: *šsūret* ^{al}-*madīne* 'the bridges of the city' (abs. *šsūra*); Patterns *ʔaFāLe*, *ʔaFēiLe*: *ʔaḍʔwyet* ^{al}-*bēt* 'the lights of the house' (abs. *ʔaḍʔwyē*), *ʔasʔilet l-ʔmʕallem* 'the teacher's questions' (abs. *ʔasʔile*); Pattern *FēūLe*: *byār(e)t* ^{al}-*balad* 'the wells of the town' (abs. *byāra*); *ʔasātzet* ^{al}-*madrase* 'the teachers of the school' (abs. *ʔasātze*), *malāyket* ^{as}-*sama* 'the angels of heaven' (abs. *malāyke*); *ḥaramiyyet* ^{al}-*madīne* 'thieves of the city' (abs. *ḥaramiyye*).

There are many defective words [p.43] ending in *a* and a few ending in *e*; these endings are not to be confused with

the *-e/-a* suffix, and their construct forms do not have connective *t*¹: *ḡaṭa ṭ-ṭāwle* 'the table cloth', *maʕna ḥal-kālme* 'the meaning of this word', *ḡare samak* 'fish glue'.

There is also a formative suffix *-a* (which never takes the form *-e*) to be found in some words; this suffix does not develop a connective *t* in construct forms: *šakwa š-šīrān* 'the neighbors' complaint', *mūsīʔa r-rādyo* 'radio music'.²

Connective *t* before Suffixes *-i*, *-o*, *-ak*, and *-ek*

A short vowel *e* or *o* before a final consonant is dropped when any suffix beginning with a vowel is added (except *-a* 'her' and *-on* 'them, their' [p.28]).³ Thus with the pronoun suffixes *-i* 'me, my', *-ak* 'you, your(m.)', *-ek* 'you, your(f.)', *-o* 'him, his, it, its': *šāḥeb* 'friend' + *-i* → *šāḥbi* 'my friend', *mʕallem* 'teacher' + *-o* → *mʕallmo* 'his teacher', *ṭašarrof* 'behavior' + *-ak* → *ṭašarrfak* 'your(m.) behavior', etc.

In accordance with this rule, the *-et* of a construct form loses its vowel *e* when the following term is a pronoun suffix *-i*, *-o*, *-ak*, or *-ek*:

<i>šūra</i> : <i>šūret</i> 'picture(of)'	+ <i>-i</i> 'me'	→ <i>šūrti</i> 'my picture'
<i>ʕāde(t)</i> 'custom(of)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'him'	→ <i>ʕādo</i> 'his custom'
<i>sayyāra</i> : <i>sayyāret</i> 'automobile(of)'	+ <i>-ak</i> 'you(m.)'	→ <i>sayyārtak</i> 'your car'
<i>kānne(t)</i> 'daughter-in-law(of)'	+ <i>-ek</i> 'you(f.)'	→ <i>kānntek</i> 'your daughter-in-law'

Note the shift in accentuation caused by these suffixes with nouns that have short *a* between the last two radicals:

<i>dāraže(t)</i> 'degree(of)'	+ <i>-i</i> 'me'	→ <i>dardāžti</i> 'my degree'
<i>māḥrame(t)</i> 'handkerchief(of)'	+ <i>-ek</i> 'you(f.)'	→ <i>maḥrāmtek</i> 'your handkerchief'
<i>tāzkara</i> : <i>tāzkaret</i> 'ticket(of)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'him'	→ <i>tāzkārto</i> 'his ticket'
<i>msāʕade(t)</i> 'help(of)'	+ <i>-ak</i> 'you(m.)'	→ <i>msāʕāttak</i> 'your help'

¹Though there is a tendency on the part of native speakers themselves to reinterpret some of these words in terms of the *-e/-a* suffix, thus the construct form *maʕnet* 'meaning of...' is sometimes heard, as well as the suffixing form *maʕnāt*- [169].

²This formative generally corresponds to *ʔalif maqṣūra* in Classical Arabic.

³There are a few other exceptions. See pp. 29, 169.

¹The words *bant* 'daughter' and *ʔaxt* 'sister' also theoretically have connective *t* in the absolute forms (cf. the diminutives *bnayye*, *xayye*).

When these suffixes are used with sound nouns of Patterns *FaLe* and *FəLe*, the helping vowel *ə* [p.31] is usually inserted to break the potential three-consonant cluster resulting from loss of *e*: *FdɛəLt* - *FəɛəLt* -:

<i>šagle(t)</i> 'job(of)'	+ -o 'him'	→ <i>šdǵəltə</i> 'his job'
<i>kəlme(t)</i> 'word(of)'	+ -i 'me'	→ <i>kəlməti</i> 'my word'
<i>farše(t)</i> 'bed(of)'	+ -ak 'you(m.)'	→ <i>fārəštak</i> (or <i>farštak</i>) 'your bed'
<i>dawra:</i> <i>dawret</i> 'circulation(of)'	+ -ek 'you(f.)'	→ <i>dāwərtek</i> (or <i>dawrtek</i>) 'your circulation'
<i>nəʔta:</i> <i>nəʔteʔ</i> 'point(of)'	+ -o 'it(m.)'	→ <i>nəʔəʔtə</i> 'its point'

If the last radical is *y*, however, it occurs in its vocalic form *i* before connective *t* when these suffixes are added:

<i>ləhye(t)</i> 'beard(of)'	+ -ak 'you'	→ <i>ləhitak</i> 'your beard'
<i>hanye(t)</i> 'bow, bending(of)'	+ -o 'him'	→ <i>hānito</i> 'his bow'

If the last radical is *w*, it may remain consonantal with the helping vowel before it (-*əw*-), but may also be vocalized as *u*. (The distinction is subtle and non-significant):

<i>kəlwe(t)</i> 'kidney(of)'	+ -i 'me'	→ <i>kəlwəti</i> (or <i>kəlutu</i>) 'my kidney'
<i>xatwe(t)</i> 'pace, step(of)'	+ -o 'his'	→ <i>xəʔwəto</i> (or <i>xəʔuʔə</i>) 'his step'

Nouns ending in -*iy* or -*uw* have -*it*- and -*ut*-, respectively, before these suffixes:

<i>ʔuwwe(t)</i> 'strength(of)'	+ -o 'him'	→ <i>ʔūto</i> 'his strength'
<i>niyye(t)</i> 'intention(of)'	+ -ak 'you'	→ <i>nītak</i> 'your intention'
<i>ʔadiyye(t)</i> 'case(of)'	+ -ek 'you'	→ <i>ʔādītek</i> 'your case'
<i>ʔamalīyye(t)</i> 'operation(of)'	+ -i 'me'	→ <i>ʔamalīti</i> 'my operation'

Nouns that have a double dental stop (*tt*, *dd*, *ʔt*, *ʔd*) before the -*e*/*a* suffix have *ə* before the connective *t*:

<i>mxadde(t)</i> 'pillow(of)'	+ -o 'him'	→ <i>mxəddəto</i> 'his pillow'
<i>ʔaʔta:</i> <i>ʔaʔtet</i> 'cat(of)'	+ -i 'me'	→ <i>ʔaʔtəʔti</i> 'my cat'
<i>fədda:</i> <i>fəddeʔ</i> 'silver(of)'	+ -ak 'you'	→ <i>fəddəʔak</i> 'your silver'

Some nouns involve a sequence of three consonants (with or without *ə* between the first two) before the ending -*e(t)*, as in *sənsle(t)* 'chain (of)'; or a sequence of a long and a short consonant, as in *mɛallme(t)* 'teacher (f.) (of)'; or a sequence of a long vowel plus two consonants, as in *ʔawle(t)* 'table(of)'. When the *e* in these nouns is dropped, then the last radical consonant stands immediately before the connective *t*, and is separated from the preceding consonant by the insertion of *ə* (which is accented, according to the general rule [p.18]): *sənsəltə* 'his chain', *mɛəlləmti* 'my teacher(f.)', *ʔawəltak* 'your table'. Further examples:

<i>šāhbe(t)</i> 'friend(f.) (of)'	+ -ek	→ <i>šāhəbtek</i> 'your(f.) friend(f.)'
<i>šāmɛa:</i> <i>šāmɛet</i> 'university(of)'	+ -ak	→ <i>šāməɛtak</i> 'your(m.) university'
<i>fāyde(t)</i> 'utility(of)'	+ -o	→ <i>fāyədto</i> 'its(m.) utility'
<i>mtaršme(t)</i> 'translator(f.) (of)'	+ -o	→ <i>mtaršəmtə</i> 'its(m.) translator(f.)'
<i>məšklet(t)</i> 'problem(of)'	+ -i	→ <i>məškəlti</i> 'my problem'
<i>məɛrfe(t)</i> 'knowledge(of)'	+ -ak	→ <i>məɛrəftak</i> 'knowing you'
<i>zmərrde(t)</i> 'emerald(of)'	+ -ek	→ <i>zmərrədtek</i> 'your(f.) emerald'
<i>ʔəhəʔne(t)</i> 'horses(of)'	+ -i	→ <i>ʔəhəʔnti</i> 'my horses'

If, however, the last consonant before -*e(t)* is *y*, then the suffixing form ends in -*it*- (since *ə* + *y* automatically → -*i*-):

<i>hāšye(t)</i> 'margin(of)'	+ -o	→ <i>hāšitə</i> 'its margin'
<i>zāwe(t)</i> 'corner(of)'	+ -ak	→ <i>zāwītak</i> 'your corner'
<i>nāhye(t)</i> 'environs(of)'	+ -o	→ <i>nāhitə</i> 'its environs'
<i>ʔəʔwye(t)</i> 'lights(of)'	+ -o	→ <i>ʔəʔwītə</i> 'its lights'

Note that while in their non-suffixing forms *mašye(t)* 'walk, walking' and *māšye(t)* 'livestock' differ only in the length of their first vowel, the suffixing forms differ also in the length of their second vowel and in accentuation: *māšito* 'his walk': *māšitə* 'his livestock'.

Connective *t* before Suffixes -*na*, -*kon*, -(*h*)*a*, -(*h*)*on*

A short vowel *e* or *o* before a final consonant is changed to *ə* when accented [p.28]. Thus with the pronoun suffixes -*na* 'us, our', -*kon* 'you, your(pl.)', -(*h*)*a* 'her, it, its', -(*h*)*on* 'them, their' [539]: *šāheb* 'friend' + -*na* → *šāhəbna* 'our friend', *ʔašarrof* 'behavior' + -(*h*)*a* → *ʔašərrəf(h)a* 'her behavior', *mɛallem* 'teacher' + -*kon* → *mɛəlləmkon* 'your (pl.) teacher'.

In accordance with this rule, the *-et* of a construct form usually becomes *-āt-* when the following term is a pronoun suffix *-na*, *-kon*, *-(h)a*, or *-(h)on*:

<i>šūra</i> : <i>šūret</i> 'picture(of)'	+ <i>-na</i> → <i>šūrātna</i>	'our picture'
<i>ʿāde(t)</i> 'custom(of)'	+ <i>-on</i> → <i>ʿādāton</i>	'their custom'
<i>sayyāra</i> : <i>sayyāret</i> 'car(of)'	+ <i>-kon</i> → <i>sayyārātton</i>	'your(pl.) car'
<i>daraʒe(t)</i> 'degree(of)'	+ <i>-a</i> → <i>daraʒāta</i>	'her degree'
<i>msāʿade(t)</i> 'help(of)'	+ <i>-na</i> → <i>msāʿadātna</i>	'our help'
<i>raḥle(t)</i> 'trip(of)'	+ <i>-hon</i> → <i>raḥlāthon</i>	'their trip'
<i>ḡaltā</i> : <i>ḡaltet</i> 'mistake(of)'	+ <i>-ha</i> → <i>ḡaltātha</i>	'her mistake'
<i>ʿaṣṣa</i> : <i>ʿaṣṣet</i> 'story(of)'	+ <i>-on</i> → <i>ʿaṣṣāton</i>	'their story'
<i>ḥanye(t)</i> 'bow, bending(of)'	+ <i>-a</i> → <i>ḥanyāta</i>	'her bow'
<i>ʿumwe(t)</i> 'strength(of)'	+ <i>-a</i> → <i>ʿumwāta</i>	'her strength'
<i>niyye(t)</i> 'intention(of)'	+ <i>-on</i> → <i>niyyāton</i>	'their intention'
<i>ʿūda</i> : <i>ʿūdet</i> 'room(of)'	+ <i>-kon</i> → <i>ʿūdātton</i>	'your(pl.) room'
<i>mḥaṭṭa</i> : <i>mḥaṭṭet</i> 'station(of)'	+ <i>-na</i> → <i>mḥaṭṭātna</i>	'our station'

In many cases, however, the construct form used with these suffixes is the same as that used with *-i*, *-o*, *-ak* and *-ek*: *ʿarabītha* 'her car' (rather than *ʿarabiyyātha*), *ṣānāʿtina* 'our maid' (rather than *ṣānāʿātina*). These forms are predominant among many nouns ending in *-iyye*, or of Pattern *FāʿLe*, or others of the type described on p. 167 above. (Compare the similar elision of *e* in non-suffixing construct forms described on p. 163.) Further examples:

<i>ʿaḍiyye(t)</i> 'case(of)'	+ <i>-(h)on</i> → <i>ʿaḍīt(h)on</i>	'their case'
<i>ḡanniyye(t)</i> 'song(of)'	+ <i>-(h)a</i> → <i>ḡannīt(h)a</i>	'her song'
<i>bāxra</i> : <i>bāxret</i> 'ship(of)'	+ <i>-na</i> → <i>bāxartna</i>	'our ship'
<i>ṭāyfe(t)</i> 'sect; congregation(of)'	+ <i>-kon</i> → <i>ṭāyftton</i>	'your(pl.) congregation'
<i>dāḥye(t)</i> 'suburb(of)'	+ <i>-na</i> → <i>dāḥītina</i>	'our suburb'
<i>ʿaḍṭwe(t)</i> 'lights(of)'	+ <i>-(h)a</i> → <i>ʿaḍṭwīt(h)a</i>	'its lights'

Miscellaneous Irregularities with Connective *t*

The construct forms of *mara* 'woman, wife' and *sane* 'year' are always *mart* and *sant*, respectively: *mart ʿaxi* 'my brother's wife', *sant settin* 'the year (19)60'.

The classicism *ḥiqa* (or *siqa*) 'trust, faith' generally keeps the *a* in all construct forms: *ḥiqato* 'his faith', *ḥiqat ṣāḥbo* 'his friend's faith'. Similarly, *riʿa* 'lung' and *luḡa* 'language' generally keep the *a* in suffixing forms: *riʿato* 'his lung', *luḡati* 'my language'; but in non-suffixing forms *a* is usually changed to *e* in the regular way: *riʿet ʿs-ṣabi* 'the boy's lung', *luḡet ʿš-ṣaʿb* 'the people's language'. The word *ṣiḥa* 'direction' has suffixing forms with long *i*: *ṣiḥto*, *ṣiḥāta* 'its direction'.

A few nouns have connective *t* in construct forms but no *-e/-a* suffix in the absolute forms. *ʿarūs* 'bride' and *ṣakkīn* 'knife', for instance: *ṣakkīnet ʿabni* 'my son's knife', *ʿarūset ʿabni* 'my son's bride', *ṣakkīnto* 'his knife', *ʿarūsto* 'his bride'. *dakkān* 'shop' and *madām* 'wife' must have *t* in the suffixing form: *dakkānto* 'his shop', *madāmta* 'his wife', but it is optional in the non-suffixing form: *madām(et) ṣāḥbo* 'his friend's wife', *dakkān(et) ʿahmad* 'Ahmed's shop'. With *faraṣ* 'mare', connective *t* is optional in the suffixing form also: *faraṣo* or *farʿsto* 'his mare'. (Note the loss of the last stem vowel *a* in the latter form.)

ḥamāye 'mother-in-law' has construct form *ḥamāt*, though the latter is sometimes also used as an absolute form (cf. *ḥayāt* 'life', *ṣalāt* 'prayer').

The plurals *rafaʿa* 'companions' and *ṣaraka* 'partners' have suffixing forms ending in *-āt-*: *rafaʿāti* 'my companions', *ṣarakātina* 'our partners', though the non-suffixing construct form is like the absolute: *rafaʿa l-madrise* 'school companions', *ṣaraka ʿammi* 'my uncle's partners'. The word *maʿna* 'meaning' also has an optional suffixing form in *-āt-*: *maʿnātto* 'its meaning' (for *maʿnā*). *daʿwa* 'claim' (legal) has an optional suffixing form with *t*: *daʿwto* 'his claim', *daʿwāta* 'her claim' (for *daʿwā* 'his claim', *daʿwāha* 'her claim').

Other Irregular Construct Forms

The nouns *ʿabb* 'father' and *ʿaxx* 'brother' have non-suffixing construct forms *ʿabu* and *ʿaxu* (though sometimes the forms *ʿabb* and *ʿaxx* are also used in construct): *ʿabu ṣ-ṣabi* 'the boy's father' (or *ʿabb ʿs-ṣabi*), *ʿaxu ʿali* 'Ali's brother' (or *ʿaxx ʿali*). The suffixing forms are *ʿabū-* and *ʿaxū-*: *ʿabūk* 'your(m.) father', *ʿaxūkton* 'your(pl.) brother', *ʿabūna* 'our father', *ʿaxū* 'his brother'. With the first-person singular *-i*, however, many speakers (e.g. in Damascus) use only the suffixing forms *ʿab-* and *ʿax-*: *ʿabi* 'my father', *ʿaxi* 'my brother'. Some speakers, on the other hand, also say *ʿabūyi* 'my father' and *ʿaxūyi* 'my brother'.¹

¹ There are certain differences in the uses of the different construct forms; (ya)ʿaxi, for instance, is commonly used in addressing someone as 'my friend', while *ʿaxūyi* always means literally 'my brother'. (Note also the difference between *ʿaxx ʿali* 'Ali's brother' and *l-ʿaxx ʿali* 'Brother Ali'; the latter is an appositive phrase, not a construct phrase [p. 506].) The form *ʿabu* is also used to mean 'owner of' or 'one who has': *ʿabu d-daʿn* 'the one with the beard'; (also in names: *ʿabu nawwās* 'Abu Nawwas') while *ʿabb* as a construct form always means literally 'father of'.

The (pseudo-dual) plurals [p. 367] *ēnēn* 'eyes', *īdēn* 'hands, arms', *ʔašrēn* (or *rašlēn*) 'feet, legs', and *ʔadanēn* 'ears' have suffixing forms without *n*: *ēnēki* 'your(f.)eyes', *īdēk* 'your(m.)hands'. *ʔadanē* 'his ears', *ʔašrēna* 'our legs'. With the first-person singular *-i*, *ē* is changed to *-ayy-*: *ʔašrayyi* 'my feet', *īdayyi* 'my hands'.

Some speakers also have suffixing forms with *n*: *īdēno* 'his hands', *ʔašrēnak* 'your feet'.

NUMERAL CONSTRUCT FORMS

The cardinal numerals between three and nineteen have special kinds of construct forms. (On numeral constructs, see p. 471.)

Absolute	Construct
<i>tlāte</i> 'three'.....	<i>tlatt</i> (Pal. and Leb.: <i>tlatt</i>)
<i>ʔarbēa</i> 'four'.....	<i>ʔarbaē</i>
<i>xamse</i> 'five'.....	<i>xams</i>
<i>satte</i> 'six'.....	<i>satt</i>
<i>sabēa</i> 'seven'.....	<i>sab(ʔ)ē</i>
<i>tmānye</i> or <i>tmāne</i> 'eight' (Pal. <i>tmānye</i>)..	<i>tmānn</i> (Leb. <i>tmann</i> , Pal. <i>tam(ʔ)n</i>)
<i>tasēa</i> 'nine'.....	<i>tas(ʔ)ē</i>
<i>ēašara</i> 'ten'.....	<i>ēaš(ʔ)r</i>
<i>ʔidaē(ʔ)š</i> or <i>hdaē(ʔ)š</i> 'eleven'.....	<i>ʔidaēšar</i> , <i>hdaēšar</i>
<i>ʔnaē(ʔ)š</i> 'twelve'.....	<i>ʔnaēšar</i>
<i>tləʔʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'thirteen'.....	<i>tləʔʔaēšar</i>
<i>ʔarba(ē)ʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'fourteen'.....	<i>ʔarba(ē)ʔaēšar</i>
<i>xamʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'fifteen'.....	<i>xamʔaēšar</i>
<i>ʔəʔʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'sixteen'.....	<i>ʔəʔʔaēšar</i>
<i>saba(ē)ʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'seventeen'.....	<i>saba(ē)ʔaēšar</i>
<i>tmənʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'eighteen'.....	<i>tmənʔaēšar</i>
<i>tasa(ē)ʔaē(ʔ)š</i> 'nineteen'.....	<i>tasa(ē)ʔaēšar</i>

Though the numerals from three through ten have the *-e/-a* suffix in their absolute forms, they drop the *-e* or *-a* in (non-suffixing) construct forms, instead of taking on a connective *t*¹.

The connective *t* is used, however, when a numeral (3-10) stands in construct with any one of a handful of noun plurals that begin with a vowel² after these numerals (but with *ʔ* otherwise): *ʔiyyām* 'days': *xamstʔiyyām* 'five days'; *ʔəšhor* 'months': *ʔārbaētʔəšhor* 'four months'; *ʔālāf* 'thousands': *sabʔēlʔālāf* 'seven thousand'; *ʔānfos* 'persons, souls': *tmāntʔānfos* 'eight persons'; *ʔərʔḡfe* 'loaves': *ēašʔrtʔərʔḡfe* 'ten loaves'. (*tlatt* and *satt* do not add another *t* since three *t*'s would in any case be reduced to two: *sattʔiyyām* 'six days'; *tlattʔālāf* 'three thousand'.) The connective *t* is also sometimes used with fractions: *ʔārbaētʔxmās* 'four fifths'. See pp. 222, 223.

Another special construct form is used for *tlāte* and *tmāne* before *miyye* 'hundred': *tlāt miyye* 'three hundred', *tmān miyye* 'eight hundred'.

The construct form of *miyye* 'hundred' is always *mīt*: *mīt səne* 'a hundred years'.

The numerals from three through ten have suffixing forms used with the plural pronouns *-na* 'us', *-kon* 'you', and *-hon* 'them'. The suffixing forms are generally regular with respect to the absolute forms (changing *-e* or *-a* to *-āt-*): *tlātātna* 'the three of us', *xamšātkon* 'the five of you', *ēašrāton* 'the ten of them'. The numeral *tnēn* 'two', however, has suffixing forms *tnēnāt-* or *tnēnāt-*: *tnēnātkon* (or *tnēnātkon*) 'the two of you'. *ʔarbēa* 'four' has the suffixing form *ʔarbēāt-*: *ʔarbēātna* 'the four of us'.

¹The second *t* in *tlatt* 'three...' might be considered "connective *t*", but note the similar doubling of *n* in *tmānn* 'eight...'. In some transcriptions these numerals are written 'tlat', 'tmān', at least before a single consonant; but before *ʔ* + two consonants they are clearly pronounced long: *tlattʔwlād* 'three children', *tmānnʔrūs* 'eight piastres'. (Note, however, *tmānnʔsnīn* 'eight years', more often heard than *tmānnʔsnīn*.)

²From the point of view of word-phonology, the *t* is better analyzed as a part of the following term: *xamstʔiyyām*, *ʔarbaētʔəšhor*, etc. This analysis seems to go against the grain of many speakers' intuition, however.

CHAPTER 6: VERB INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Syrian Arabic verbs are inflected for:

Tense: Perfect, Imperfect [319]

Person: First, Second, Third [363]

Number/Gender: Masculine, Feminine, Plural [366, 420]

Mode: Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative [343]

There is no mode inflection in the perfect tense, no person inflection in the imperative mode, and no gender inflection in the plural or in the first person singular. There are, in all, twenty-seven inflected forms.

Sample Conjugation: Inflections of the verb ʔakal 'to eat'

This verb is chosen to illustrate the affixes (set off by hyphens), all of which appear in their basic forms. The stem, however, is exceptional: the initial radical ʔ appears only in the perfect tense. See p.55.

PERFECT	3rd p. Masc.	ʔakal	'he ate'
	Fem.	ʔakl-et	'she ate'
	Pl.	ʔakal-u	'they ate'
	2nd p. Masc.	ʔakdl-t	'you(m.) ate'
	Fem.	ʔakdl-t-i	'you(f.) ate'
	Pl.	ʔakdl-t-u	'you(pl.) ate'
	1st p. Sing.	ʔakdl-t	'I ate'
	Pl.	ʔakdl-na	'we ate'

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE	3rd p. Masc.	y-ākol	'(that) he eat'
	Fem.	t-ākol	'(that) she eat'
	Pl.	y-ākl-u	'(that) they eat'
	2nd p. Masc.	t-ākol	'(that) you (m.) eat'
	Fem.	t-ākl-i	'(that) you (f.) eat'
	Pl.	t-ākl-u	'(that) you (pl.) eat'
	1st p. Sing.	ʔ-ākol	'(that) I eat'
	Pl.	n-ākol	'(that) we eat'
IMPERFECT INDICATIVE	3rd p. Masc.	b-y-ākol	'he eats'
	Fem.	b-t-ākol	'she eats'
	Pl.	b-y-ākl-u	'they eat'
	2nd p. Masc.	b-t-ākol	'you (m.) eat'
	Fem.	b-t-ākl-i	'you (f.) eat'
	Pl.	b-t-ākl-u	'you (pl.) eat'
	1st p. Sing.	b-ākol	'I eat'
	Pl.	m-n-ākol	'we eat'
IMPERATIVE	Masc.	kōl	'eat (m.)'
	Fem.	kāl-i	'eat (f.)'
	Pl.	kāl-u	'eat (pl.)'

All types of verb conjugation are illustrated in Ch. 3.

Expression of the Inflectional Categories

TENSE:

The perfect tense has person suffixes, while the imperfect has person prefixes: ʔakal-t 'you (m.) ate': t-ākol '(that) you (m.) eat'. The form of the stem is also different in most cases (pf. ʔakal-: impf. -ākol). (See p. 185.)

PERSON:

The first person is expressed in the perfect by the suffixes -t (sing.) and -na (pl.): ʔakalt 'I ate', ʔakalna 'we ate'; and in the imperfect by the prefixes ʔ- (sing.) and n- (pl.): ʔākol '(that) I eat', nākol '(that) we eat'. (ʔ- disappears after the indicative prefix b-: bākol 'I eat'.)

The second person is expressed by the suffix -t in the perfect and the prefix t- in the imperfect: ʔakalt 'you ate', tākol '(that) you eat'.

The third person is expressed by the prefix y- in the masculine and plural imperfect: yākol '(that) he eat', yākl-u '(that) they eat', and by t- in the feminine: tākol '(that) she eat'. In the perfect, there is no third person affix: ʔakal 'he ate'; (but the feminine ending -et is used only in the third person: ʔaklet 'she ate'). For some verbs, the third person perfect also contrasts with the first and second persons in the form of the stem: nām-et 'she slept': nām-ti 'you (f.) slept'. See p. 193.

Note that in the imperfect the third person feminine form is the same as the second person masculine; thus the form tākol can mean either '(that) she eats' or '(that) you (m.) eat'.

In the perfect, on the other hand, the second-person masculine form is the same as the first-person singular: ʔakalt 'you(m.) ate' or 'I ate'.

NUMBER/GENDER:

Feminine (/singular) is expressed by a suffix -i in the second person: tākli '(that) you (f.) eat', kāl-i 'eat (f.)!'; in the perfect, -i comes after the person suffix -t: ʔakalti 'you (f.) ate'. In the third person, feminine is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by t- (imperfect) and -et (perfect): tākol '(that) she eat', ʔaklet 'she ate'.

Feminine and masculine are not distinguished in the first person: ʔakalt 'I(m. or f.) ate', ʔākol '(that) I(m. or f.) eat'.

Plural is expressed in the second and third persons by the suffix *-u*: *tāklū* '(that) you (pl.) eat', *yāklū* '(that) they eat', *ʔakalū* 'they ate'; in the second person of the perfect, *-u* comes after the suffix *-t*: *ʔakaltu* 'you (pl.) ate'. In the first person, the plural is expressed (simultaneously with the person) by the prefix *n-* in the imperfect and the suffix *-na* in the perfect: *nākol* '(that) we eat', *ʔakalna* 'we ate'.

Masculine (/singular) is expressed by the lack of any feminine or plural affix.

MODE:

The **indicative** mode is expressed by the prefix *b-* which precedes the person prefixes: *byākol* 'he eats', *btākol* 'you (m.) eat', *bākol* 'I eat' [p.179].

In the first person plural it is generally pronounced *m-*: *mākol* 'we eat'. [p.180]. The *b-* disappears, after the particle of anticipation *raḥa-* [322] and often also after the particle of actuality *ʔam-* [320], though verbs with these proclitics are counted as indicative rather than subjunctive.

The **subjunctive** is expressed by the lack of the prefix *b-*: *yākol* '(that) he eat', *tākol* '(that) you (m.) eat', *ʔākol* '(that) I eat' [p.343].

Note that there is no mode inflection in the perfect tense; all verbs in the perfect may be counted as indicative.

The **imperative** is expressed by lack of both *b-* and the person-prefix; also, in many cases, by modification of the imperfect stem: *kōl* 'eat' (m.). [p.198].

Formally speaking, the imperative belongs to the imperfect tense and lacks person, while functionally speaking, it belongs to the second person and lacks tense.

VARIATIONS IN AFFIX FORM

The Prefixes with Supporting Vowel. Each inflectional prefix in its basic form consists of a single consonant (*b-*, *y-*, *t-*, *ʔ-*, *n-*). Since most imperfect stems (unlike *-ākol*, above) themselves begin with one or two consonants, prefixation of these basic forms would sometimes result in a pile-up of three or four consonants at the beginning of a word—an allowable state of affairs in Syrian Arabic. See Sound Combinations [25]. Such consonant congestion is avoided by inserting a "supporting vowel", [Cf. p.32] usually *a*, before the last two consonants in the sequence:

b- + *t-* + *-ktob* → *btāktob* 'you (m.) write'

b- + *t-* + *-šūf* → *batšūf* 'you (m.) see'

ʔ- + *-ftaḥ* → *ʔāftaḥ* '(that) I open'

See, however, Vocalic Variant of the Prefix *y-*, below.

Using this rule, the supporting vowel's place in the sequence must be determined for the stem without suffixes, because when certain suffixes are added to stems like *-ktob* [p.28], the stem vowel disappears, creating a longer consonant sequence: *byāktbu* (or *byāktʔtbu*) 'they write'. In such cases, the prefix-supporting vowel is inserted before the last three consonants, while a "helping vowel" (*ə*) may also be heard before the last two.

The prefix-supporting vowel in verbs of Patterns I [p.55] and IV [82] is accented,¹ except in hollow [p.56] and geminate [p.63] verbs (e.g. *batšūf* 'you see', *bathābb* 'you like'), (or unless the accent is shifted back by a pronoun suffix [539]: *byāftāḥ-lak* 'he opens...for you'). See Accentuation [19].

The supporting vowel is *a* (rather than *ə*) with the verbs *ʔaṭa* 'to give', *ʔaref* 'to know', and commonly also *ʔamel* 'to do': *byāṭi* 'he gives'; *btāref* 'you know', *btāref* 'I know', *ʔāref* '(that) I know'; *byāʔmel* (or *byāʔmel*) 'he does', etc.²

Vocalic Variant of the Prefix *y-*. After a consonant, with stems that begin with a single consonant, the third-person prefix appears as *i-*: *b-i-šūf* 'he sees', *b-i-rīd i-šūf* 'he'd like to see'.

¹Also Pattern VII and VIII verbs in parts of Lebanon and Palestine: *byāštgel* (instead of *byāštāgel* 'he works'), *byānkser* 'instead of *byānkāser* 'It gets broken'). [p.20]

²With the verbs *ʔakal* 'to eat' and *ʔaxad* 'to take', the imperfect tense forms *byākol*, *byāxod*, etc. may be analyzed as consisting of the prefixes *b-*, *y-* etc. with a supporting vowel *a*, added to the stems *-akol*, *-axod* (initial-weak alterations of a theoretical *-ʔxod*). Thus *bya-* + *akol* → *byākol* (since *ā* = *aa*).

All these forms would seem to be remnants of a tendency to use supporting vowel *a* generally before *ʔ* and *ʔ*, which has since been swamped by the tendency to use *a* as supporting vowel before any consonant: *btāʔni* 'you mean' *btāʔmor* 'you order'. (The form *yāʔni* 'that is to say' is a Classicism. Cf. *byāʔni* 'it means'.)

The theoretical combination *-ay-* does not normally occur in Syrian Arabic ("bayrīd 'ayšūf") but is replaced by the simple vowel *i*.

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the third-person prefix always appears as *-i-* (or *-a-* [13]) after *b-*, even when the stem begins with two consonants: *bīktob* (or *bāktob*) 'he writes'. This form is not confused with the first person because the latter has the vowel *a* in these areas: *bāktob* 'I write'. [179].

The Suffix *-t* with Helping Vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, the 'you/I' suffix of the perfect has an optional variant *-at* that is commonly used at the end of a phrase or before a word beginning with a simple consonant: *šafat raššāl* (or *šaft raššāl*) 'I saw a man'; *wēn kənāt?* (or *wēn kənt?*) 'Where were you?'; *ʔiza kən matat* (or *matt*) 'If I died...'. [179].

The helping vowel is not used before *-t* if a following word (in the same phrase) begins with two consonants, because in that case the four-consonant sequence is broken by a helping vowel between the words: *šaft ʔktāb* 'I saw a book'. The helping vowel is also generally not used with this suffix before a suffixed pronoun: *šaftna* 'you (m.) saw us', *šaftkən* 'I saw you (pl.)'. See p.32.

Velarization of Affixes. The suffixes *-t* and *-et* have velarized forms *-ṭ* and *-eṭ*, respectively, with stems ending in a velarized sound [p.26]:

xaldṣ-ṭ (or *xaldṣ-ʔṭ*) 'you finished'
xālṣ-eṭ 'she finished'

The prefix *t-* has a velarized form *ṭ-*, used with stems that begin with a velarized sound, or with a sound that is conducive to velarization from a subsequent sound:

bā-ṭ-šīr 'it becomes'
b-ṭā-ḡrob 'she hits'
bā-ṭ-ḡānn 'you suppose'
bā-ṭ-xāṣṣ 'it concerns'

Before stems beginning with a single consonant *ḡ*, however, the prefix has the form *ḡ-* rather than *ṭ-*. (See below, Voicing...).

bā-ḡ-dāll 'She stays'

The affixes *b-*, *n-*, *ʔ-*, and *-na* are likewise velarized in the neighborhood of velarized consonants, but this velarization is not separately indicated in our transcription [p.7].

[Ch. 6]

Voicing and Spirantization of the Prefix *t-*. The voiced form *d-* is used with stems that begin with a single consonant *d*, *z*, or *ḡ*, and the form *ḡ-* before a single consonant *ḡ*:

bā-d-zīd 'it increases'
bā-d-ḡīb 'you bring'
bā-d-dāll 'it indicates'
bā-ḡ-dāll 'it remains'

The prefix *t-* is sometimes totally assimilated to a following sibilant *z*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *s*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*):

bā-z-zīd 'it increases' (= *bādzīd*)
bā-ḡ-ḡīb 'you bring' (= *bāḡḡīb*)
bā-ḡ-ṣūf 'you see' (= *bāṣṣūf*)
bā-ṣ-ṣabb 'you pour' (= *bāṣṣabb*)

Assimilation of the Prefix *n-*. The first-person plural prefix has optional variants: *m-* before a single consonant *m* or *b*, *l-* before a single consonant *l*, and *r-* before a single consonant *r* [p.27]:

mā-m-būs (or *mā-n-būs*) 'we kiss'
mā-m-mūt (or *mā-n-mūt*) 'we die'
mā-l-lūm (or *mā-n-lūm*) 'we blame'
mā-r-rūḥ (or *mā-n-rūḥ*) 'we go'

The First Person Singular Prefix. The prefix *ʔ-* disappears after the indicative prefix *b-*, and also in the subjunctive before any stem that begins with a single consonant:

Indicative

Subjunctive

bā-ktob 'I write'.....*ʔā-ktob* '(that) I write'
bā-tēdīllam 'I learn'.....*ʔā-tēdīllam* '(that) I learn'
bā-stāmel 'I use'.....*ʔā-stāmel* '(that) I use'
b-šūf 'I see'.....*šūf* '(that) I see'
b-dābber 'I prepare'.....*dābber* '(that) I prepare'
b-ḡaṭṭ 'I put'.....*ḡaṭṭ* '(that) I put'

In the north and the south of the Syrian area (viz. Aleppo, Jerusalem), the first singular affix is not *ʔ-*, but rather *ʔa-* (*-a-* after *b-*): *bāktob* 'I write', *ʔāktob* '(that) I write'; *bāšūf* 'I see', *ʔāšūf* '(that) I see'.

In certain classicisms, *ʔa-* is used instead of *b-* in the first singular indicative: *ʔāškurak* 'I thank you' (instead of *bāškrak*), *ʔaʕānn* 'I think...' (instead of *bʕānn*).

The Indicative Prefix. The prefix *b-* has an alternate form *m-* which is used with the first-person plural prefix: *m-nā-ktob* 'we write', *mā-n-šūf* 'we see', *mā-m-bīʕ* 'we sell'.

In the Palestinian area, however, the form *b-* is generally used before all the prefixes, including *n-*: *bnāktob* 'we write', *bānšūf* 'we see'.

b- also has an optional variant *f-* used before *f*: *f-fūt* 'I enter' (= *bfūt*), *f-fakker* 'I think' (= *bfakker*).

Suffixes Ending in a Vowel. The vowels of the suffixes *-na* 'we', *-i* (fem.), and *-u* (pl.) are lengthened and accented [p. 27] when they occur with suffix pronouns [p. 539]:

<i>šāf-na</i> 'we saw'	+ <i>-hon</i> 'them' → <i>šāf-nā-hon</i> 'we saw them'
<i>ʔāxad-u</i> 'they took'	+ <i>-ha</i> 'her' → <i>ʔāxad-ū-ha</i> 'they took her'
<i>zār-u</i> 'they visited'	+ <i>-k</i> 'you(m.)' → <i>zār-ū-k</i> 'they visited you'
<i>t-šūf-i</i> '(that) you(f.) see'	+ <i>-na</i> 'us' → <i>t-šūf-ī-na</i> '(that) you(f.) see us'
<i>ftāḥ-u</i> 'open (pl.)'	+ <i>-lna</i> 'for us' → <i>ftāḥ-ū-lna</i> 'open...for us'
<i>xād-i</i> 'take(f.)'	+ <i>-o</i> 'it(m.)' → <i>xād-ī</i> 'take it' (-o disappears after vowels [p. 540].)

The Suffix -et. The basic form *-et* of the third-person feminine suffix occurs always, and only, when no suffix pronoun follows. With following pronouns, the alternants *-āt-*, *-et-*, and *-t-* occur (with *t* replacing *t* after velarized sounds [p. 26]).

The factors that determine which alternate form is to be used are rather complicated. These complications are lessened considerably for Palestinian Arabic, in which the forms *-at* (and *-āt-*) are generally used throughout.

The differences among the various local dialects in the forms of this suffix are also complicated; the forms described here are those of Damascus.

The form *-āt-* occurs:

1.) Before any suffix beginning with a consonant:

<i>šāf-et</i> 'she saw'	+ <i>-ni</i> 'me' → <i>šāf-āt-ni</i> 'she saw me'
	+ <i>-kon</i> 'you (pl.)' → <i>šāf-āt-kon</i> 'she saw you'
	+ <i>-ha</i> 'her' → <i>šāf-āt-ha</i> 'she saw her'
	+ <i>-lo</i> 'for him' → <i>šāf-āt-lo</i> 'she saw...for him'

Also before the suffixes *-a* 'her' and *-on* 'them' which are optional variants of *-ha* and *-hon* respectively [p. 541]: *šāf-āt-a* 'she saw her' (= *šāf-āt-ha*), *šāf-āt-on* 'she saw them' (= *šāf-āt-hon*).

The change of *e* to *a* is automatic, since short *e* does not normally occur accented [p. 22]. For those varieties of Arabic speech in which there is no contrast between *e*, *a*, and *i* in these positions [p. 13], the form of the suffix here does not change except for the accentuation.

2.) The form *-āt-* also occurs before the suffix pronouns *-o* 'him', *-ak* 'you (m.)', and *-ek* 'you (f.)' with certain kinds of verb stems, namely: all sound augmented and quadriradical stems except those of Patterns VII, VIII, and IX. (See pp. 182-183 below.) For example:

- (II) *ʕallam-et* 'she taught' + *-ak* 'you (m.)' → *ʕallam-āt-ak* 'she taught you'
- (III) *kātab-et* 'she wrote (to)' + *-ek* 'you (f.)' → *kātab-āt-ek* 'she wrote you'
- (IV) *ʔakram-et* 'she favored' + *-ek* 'you (f.)' → *ʔakram-āt-ek* 'she favored you'
- (V) *tʕāllam-et* 'she learned' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *tʕallam-āt-o* 'she learned it'
- (VI) *tnāwal-et* 'she obtained' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *tnāwal-āt-o* 'she obtained it'
- (X) *stāʕmal-et* 'she used' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *stāʕmal-āt-o* 'she used it'

(Quad.) *tārʕam-et* 'she translated' + *-o* 'it (m.)' → *tārʕam-āt-o* 'she translated it'

Optionally, the accented form *-āt-* may also be used with geminate [p. 42] and defective [43] augmented verbs whose last consonant is a dental stop (*d*, *ḏ*, *t*, *ṭ*): *staradd-āt-o* 'she got it back' (or *starādd-āt-o*); *ṭhadd-āt-o* 'she challenged him' (or *ṭhādd-āt-o*) (*ṭhadda* 'to challenge, provoke'). See p. 182, below.

The unaccented form *-at-* is used before suffix pronouns *-o*, *-ak*, and *-ek* with certain kinds of verb stems, namely:

1.) With simple defective *a*-stems [pp.60,67]:

<i>haka</i> 'to tell':	<i>hāk-et</i> 'she told' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>hāk-at-o</i> 'she told it'
<i>ʔara</i> 'to read':	<i>ʔār-et</i> 'she read' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>ʔār-at-o</i> 'she read it'
<i>kafa</i> 'to suffice:	<i>kāf-et</i> 'it(f.) + <i>ak</i>	→ <i>kāf-at-ak</i> 'it sufficed you(m.)'
	sufficed'	
<i>ʔaša</i> 'to come (to):	<i>ʔāš-et</i> 'she came' + <i>-ek</i>	→ <i>ʔāš-at-ek</i> 'she came to you(f.)'

See p.

2.) With defective Pattern VIII stems [p.96]:

štara 'to buy': *štār-et* 'she bought' + *-o* → *štār-at-o* 'she bought it'

3.) with geminate stems [p.63] ending in dental stops (*-dd*, *-dd*, *-tt*, *-tt*):

<i>madd</i> 'to stretch':	<i>mādd-et</i> 'she stretched' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>mādd-at-o</i> 'she stretched it'
<i>ʕadd</i> 'to bite':	<i>ʕādd-et</i> 'she bit' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>ʕādd-at-o</i> 'she bit it'
<i>fatt</i> 'to crumble:	<i>fātt-et</i> 'she crumbled' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>fātt-at-o</i> 'she crumbled it'
<i>haṭṭ</i> 'to put':	<i>hāṭṭ-et</i> 'she put' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>hāṭṭ-at-o</i> 'she put it'
<i>staradd</i> 'to get back':	<i>starādd-et</i> 'she got...back' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>starādd-at-o</i> 'she got it back'

Augmented verbs, however, may also use the accented form *-āt-*: *starādd-āt-o* 'she got it back'.

Optionally, defective augmented verbs with a dental stop as middle radical may use the unaccented form: *thādda* 'to challenge, provoke': *thādd-et* 'she provoked' + *-o* 'him' → *thādd-at-o*.

Except for those whose last stem consonant is a dental stop, geminate verbs and augmented defective verbs use the vowelless form *-t-* before these suffixes (see below). It would seem that the vowel is preserved before *dd*, etc., to avoid sequences like *-ddt-*, (usually reduced to *-dt-* or even *-tt-* [p.26]), which might obscure the composition of the verb form.

The vowelless form *-t-* is used before *-o*, *-ak*, and *-ek* with all kinds of verb stems except those specified above in connection with the vowelless forms. Namely, *-t-* is used:

1.) With all simple triradical stems that are sound, geminate (other than dental stops), or hollow:

<i>fataḥ</i> 'to open':	<i>fāth-et</i> 'she opened' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>fāt(ʔ)-t-o</i> 'she opened it'
<i>šareb</i> 'to drink':	<i>šārb-et</i> 'she drank' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>šār(ʔ)-t-o</i> 'she drank it'
<i>xalaṣ</i> 'to finish':	<i>xāls-et</i> 'she finished it' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>xāl(ʔ)-t-o</i> 'she finished it'
<i>hazz</i> 'to shake':	<i>hāzz-et</i> 'she shook' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>hāzz-t-o</i> 'she shook it'
<i>šāf</i> 'to see':	<i>šāf-et</i> 'she saw' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>šāf-t-o</i> 'she saw it'

2.) With sound Pattern VIII stems:

<i>ḥamal</i> 'to tolerate':	<i>ḥtāml-et</i> 'she tolerated' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>ḥtām^o-t-o</i> 'she tolerated it'
<i>xtaraʕ</i> 'to invent':	<i>xtārʕ-et</i> 'she invented' + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>xtār^o-t-o</i> 'she invented it'

If there were any transitive verbs of Patterns VII and IX, they would presumably be like Pattern VIII, but only transitive verbs, of course, take pronoun suffixes.

3.) With simple defective *i*-stems [pp.70,72]: *naṣi* 'to forget': *naṣy-et* 'she forgot' + *-o* → *naṣi-t-o* 'she forgot it'.

Defective *a*-stems [p.60] sometimes have a variant stem with *-y-* before the third person suffixes, hence also *hāky-et* 'she told' + *-o* → *hāki-t-o* 'she told it'. Some verbs only have this variant before *-t-* with a pronoun suffix: *ʔāri-t-o* (= *ʔār-et-o*) 'she read it' (but not *ʔāry-et*, only *ʔār-et* 'she read').

4.) with all augmented verb stems that are geminate, hollow, or defective – except Pattern VIII defectives, and geminates and defectives with stem-final dental stops [p.182]:

<i>xalla</i> 'to allow':	<i>xāll-et</i> + <i>-ak</i>	→ <i>xāll-t-ak</i> 'she allowed you'
<i>hāka</i> 'to talk to':	<i>hāk-et</i> + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>hāk-t-o</i> 'she talked to him'
<i>stanna</i> 'to wait for':	<i>stānn-et</i> + <i>-ek</i>	→ <i>stānn-t-ek</i> 'she waited for you(f.)'
<i>farša</i> 'to brush':	<i>fārš-et</i> + <i>-o</i>	→ <i>fārš-t-o</i> 'she brushed it'

<i>htall</i>	'to take over':	<i>htdll-et</i>	+ -o →	<i>htdll-t-o</i>	'she took it over'
<i>htāš</i>	'to need':	<i>htāš-et</i>	+ -o →	<i>htāš-t-o</i>	'she needed it'
<i>staha??</i>	'to deserve':	<i>stahd??-et</i>	+ -o →	<i>stahd??-t-o</i>	'she deserved it'
<i>stašār</i>	'to consult':	<i>stašār-et</i>	+ -ak →	<i>stašār-t-ak</i>	'she consulted you'

The vowelless alternant *-t-* is a regular consequence of the general rule [p. 28] that a post-tonic *e* (or *o*) before a final consonant is dropped when any suffix beginning with a vowel (except *-a*, *-on*) is added. For example *byāhmel* 'he carries' + *-o* → *byāh(ə)mlo* 'he carries it', *haflet* 'party' (construct form) + *-o* → *háf(ə)lto* 'his party'; by the same token *šarfet* 'she spent' + *-o* → *šár(ə)fto* 'she spent it'.

This vowelless form of the *-et* suffix, however, is used only with verbs that have a different stem form with the *-t* 'you/I' suffix; thus the two suffixes are not confused: *šāf-t-o* 'she saw him' vs. *šóf-t-o* 'you (or I) saw him'; *hāzz-t-o* 'she shook him' vs. *hazzē-t-o* 'you (or I) shook him', *xāl(ə)š-t-o* 'she finished it' vs. *xalāš-t-o* 'you (or I) finished it'.

With verbs which have the same stem form (not counting the accent) before *-et* 'she' and *-t* 'you/I', the inflections are kept apart by using *-št-* instead of *-t-* for 'she': *taršam-št-o* 'she translated it' vs. *taršām-t-o* 'you (or I) translated it', *ʿallam-št-ek* 'she taught you (f.)' vs. *ʿallām-t-ek* 'I taught you (f.)'.

INFLECTIONAL VARIATION IN STEMS

Most verbs undergo changes in the form of their stems depending on their inflection.

The most complex stem variation is that of tense. The section on tense variation is limited to a comparison of the 'he'-inflections (3rd p. masc./sing.) of the perfect and imperfect.

The stem forms determined by person, number/gender, and mode variation are all deducible from one or the other of these 'he'-inflections.

Tense Variation in Simple Triradical Verb Stems

Sound Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has two short vowels, *a-a* or *a-e*, between the three radicals: *dāras* 'he studied', *hāmal* 'he carried', *šārax* 'he shouted'; *sāmeʿ* 'he heard', *nāzel* 'he descended'.

In the imperfect there is only one stem vowel *o*, *e*, or *a*, which comes between the last two radicals: *byā-dros* 'he studies', *byā-hmel* 'he carries', *byā-šrax* 'he shouts', *byā-smaʿ* 'he hears', *byā-nzel* 'he descends'.

Verbs with *a-e* in the perfect stem almost all have *a* in the imperfect [p. 71]:

<i>kāseb</i>	'he earned':	<i>byā-ksab</i>	'he earns'
<i>rākeb</i>	'he mounted':	<i>byā-rkab</i>	'he mounts'
<i>fāhem</i>	'he understood:	<i>byā-fham</i>	'he understands'

Several, however, have *a-e* in the perfect and *e* in the imperfect [p. 69]:

<i>nāzel</i>	'he descended':	<i>byā-nzel</i>	'he descends'
<i>māsek</i>	'he took hold':	<i>byā-msek</i>	'he takes hold'

(See p. 69 for others)

None with *a-e* in the perfect has *o* in the imperfect.

Of verbs with *a-a* in the perfect, many have *o* in the imperfect [p. 55]:

<i>dāras</i>	'he studied':	<i>byā-dros</i>	'he studies'
<i>ʿādʿad</i>	'he sat down':	<i>byā-ʿʿod</i>	'he sits down'
<i>bālaḡ</i>	'he attained':	<i>byā-bloḡ</i>	'he attains'

Many have *e* in the imperfect [p.57]:

<i>ḥāmal</i> 'he carried':	<i>byā-ḥmel</i> 'he carries'
<i>ḡāsal</i> 'he washed':	<i>byā-ḡsel</i> 'he washes'
<i>ʔāsam</i> 'he divided':	<i>byāʔsem</i> 'he divides'

Quite a few may have either *o* or *e* [p.63]:

<i>ʔatal</i> 'he killed':	<i>byā-ʔtol</i> or <i>byā-ʔtel</i> 'he kills'
<i>tārak</i> 'he left':	<i>byā-trok</i> or <i>byā-trek</i> 'he leaves'
<i>lāfat</i> 'he turned':	<i>byā-lfot</i> or <i>byā-lfet</i> 'he turns'

Quite a few have *a* in the imperfect [p.65]:

<i>tābaʕ</i> 'he printed':	<i>byā-tbaʕ</i> 'he prints'
<i>sāmaḥ</i> 'he allowed':	<i>byā-smaḥ</i> 'he allows'
<i>bāʕat</i> 'he sent':	<i>byā-bʕat</i> 'he sends'

Those with *a-a* in the perfect and *a* also in the imperfect almost all have a back consonant (*x*, *ḡ*, *q*, *ḥ*, *ʕ*, *h*, or *ʔ*) as second or third radical. An exception: *ḥāfaḡ* 'he kept': *byā-ḥfaḡ* 'he keeps'.

Defective Verbs. The vowelling of the perfect stem is *a-a* or *a-e*: *kāfa* 'it sufficed', *ʔāra* 'he read'; *bāʔi* 'he stayed', *māši* 'he walked'. The imperfect has *a* or *i*: *byā-kfi* 'it suffices', *byā-ʔra* 'he reads', *byā-bʔa* 'he stays', *byā-mši* 'he walks'.

Almost all which have *a-a* in the perfect have *i* in the imperfect [p.60]:

<i>bāna</i> 'he built':	<i>byā-bni</i> 'he builds'
<i>tāfa</i> 'he extinguished':	<i>byā-tfi</i> 'he extinguishes'
<i>kāwa</i> 'he ironed':	<i>byā-kwi</i> 'he irons'

A few, however, have *a-a* in the perfect and *a* also in the imperfect [p.67]:

<i>bāda</i> 'he began':	<i>byā-bda</i> 'he begins'
<i>ʔāra</i> 'he read':	<i>byā-ʔra</i> 'he reads'

For others, see p.67.

Almost all with *a-i* in the perfect have *a* in the imperfect [p.72]:

<i>nāsi</i> 'he forgot':	<i>byā-nsa</i> 'he forgets'
<i>rāḍi</i> 'he was satisfied':	<i>byā-rḍa</i> 'he is satisfied'
<i>bāʔi</i> 'he remained':	<i>byā-bʔa</i> 'he remains'

Only two have *a-i* in the perfect and *i* also in the imperfect [p.70]:

<i>bāki</i> 'he cried':	<i>byā-bki</i> 'he cries'
<i>māši</i> 'he walked':	<i>byā-mši</i> 'he walks'

Initial-Weak Verbs. Simple triliteral verbs whose first radical is *w* or *y* have imperfect stems beginning with *ū* or *ī*, respectively: *wāṣaf* 'he described': *by-ūṣef* 'he describes', *wāfa* 'he fulfilled': *by-ūfi* 'he fulfills'; *yāʔes* 'he despaired': *by-īʔas* 'he despairs'.

Two verbs with initial radical *ʔ* have imperfect stems beginning with *ā*: *ʔākal* 'he ate': *by-ākol* 'he eats'; *ʔāxad* 'he took': *by-āxod* 'he takes'.

All others with initial radical *ʔ* are sound: *ʔāmar* 'he ordered': *byā-ʔmor* 'he orders'.

Some verbs with imperfect stem vowel *a* may lose their initial radical *w* in the imperfect [p.74]:

<i>wāṣel</i> 'he arrived':	<i>byā-ṣal</i> (or <i>by-ūṣal</i>) 'he arrives'
<i>wāʔeʕ</i> 'he fell':	<i>byā-ʔaʕ</i> (or <i>by-ūʔaʕ</i>) 'he falls'
<i>wāled</i> 'he was born':	<i>byā-lad</i> (or <i>by-ūlad</i>) 'he is born'

In some parts of the Syrian area, however, notably in Lebanon and Palestine, these forms without *-ū-* are seldom or never used.

The initial radical *y* of *yābes* 'it dried up', may also be lost in the imperfect: *byā-bas* (or *by-ības*) 'it dries up'.

The initial radical *ʔ* or the anomalous verb *ʔāša* 'he came' is lost in the imperfect in many parts of the Syrian area (including Damascus): *byā-ši* 'he comes'. In other parts (e.g. Palestine), the form *b(y)-īši* is generally used. [p.76].

All initial-weak verbs with stem vowels *a-e* (or defective *a-i*) in the perfect have *a* in the imperfect:

<i>wāret</i> 'he inherited':	<i>by-ūrat</i> 'he inherits'
<i>wāṣeʕ</i> 'it was painful':	<i>by-ūṣaʕ</i> (or <i>byā-ṣaʕ</i>) 'it is painful'
<i>wāṭi</i> 'it was low':	<i>by-ūṭa</i> 'it is low'

Almost all initial-weak verbs with stem vowels *a-a* in the perfect have *e* (or *i* for defective) in the imperfect [p.59]:

<i>wāʿad</i> 'he promised':	<i>by-ūʿed</i> 'he promises'
<i>wāʿaʿ</i> 'he hurt(someone)':	<i>by-ūʿeʿ</i> 'he hurts...' (cf. <i>wāʿeʿ</i> above)
<i>wāḥa</i> 'he inspired':	<i>by-ūḥi</i> 'he inspires'

Two exceptions, with imperfect vowel *a*, are *wādaʿ* 'he placed': *by-ūdaʿ* 'he places', and *wādaʿ* 'he entrusted, deposited': *by-ūdaʿ* 'he entrusts, deposits' [p.66].

Hollow Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has a long vowel *ā* between the first and last radicals: *lām* 'he blamed', *zād* 'it increased', *nām* 'he slept'; while the imperfect stem has *ū*, *ī*, or *ā* between the radicals: *bi-lūm* 'he blames', *bi-zīd* 'it increases', *bi-nām* 'he sleeps'.

Examples with imperfect vowel *ū* [p.56]:

<i>rāḥ</i> 'he went':	<i>bi-rūḥ</i> 'he goes'
<i>šāf</i> 'he saw':	<i>bi-šūf</i> 'he sees'
<i>māt</i> 'he died':	<i>bi-mūt</i> 'he dies'

With imperfect vowel *ī* [p.59]:

<i>fāʾ</i> 'he woke up':	<i>bi-fīʾ</i> 'he wakes up'
<i>šāl</i> 'he picked up':	<i>bi-šīl</i> 'he picks up'
<i>šāb</i> 'he brought':	<i>bi-šīb</i> 'he brings'

Only a few have imperfect vowel *ā* [p.66]:

<i>xāf</i> 'he was afraid':	<i>bi-xāf</i> 'he is afraid'
<i>bāt</i> 'he spent the night':	<i>bi-bāt</i> 'he spends the night'

(For others, see p.66.)

Geminate Verbs. The base ('he') inflection of the perfect has a short vowel *a* between the first radical and the fused second and third radicals: *hāzz* 'he shook', *ʿaḏḏ* 'he bit'; while the imperfect stem has *a* or *ā* in the same position: *bi-hāzz* 'he shakes', *bi-ʿaḏḏ* 'he bites'.

Almost all simple geminate verbs have *a* in the imperfect [p.63]:

<i>radd</i> 'he gave back':	<i>bi-rādd</i> 'he gives back'
<i>dall</i> 'he showed':	<i>bi-dāll</i> 'he shows'
<i>ḥaff</i> 'he put':	<i>bi-ḥāff</i> 'he puts'

Several, however, have *a* in the imperfect [p.68]:

<i>ḏall</i> 'he remained':	<i>bi-ḏāll</i> 'he remains'
<i>tamm</i> 'he remained':	<i>bi-tāmm</i> 'he remains'

The verb *ʿaḏḏ* 'he bit', has imperfect *a* in much of the Syrian area, though in Palestine, for example, one hears *bi-ʿaḏḏ* 'he bites'; while on the other hand, the form *bi-ṣāḥḥ* 'it is all right' is heard in Palestine, while elsewhere it is usually *bi-ṣāḥḥ*.

Tense Variation in Augmented and Quadriradical Verb Stems

In the perfect ('he' inflection), the last vowel of the stem is always *a* (or *ā* for hollow triradicals): *ḥmarr* 'he blushed', *barṭal* 'he bribed' *stafād* 'he benefitted', *tāllam* 'he learned', *ʿāḥda* 'he gave' (a gift), *stahābb* 'he liked'.

In the imperfect, there are two kinds of vowelism, depending on the pattern and its alterations. For some types of verb, the imperfect stem is just like the perfect, its last vowel remaining *a*: *bya-ḥmārr* 'he blushes', *bya-tāllam* 'he learns'.

For other types, the last vowel is changed in the imperfect to what may be called an *i*-type vowel, namely: *e* (for sound verbs), *i* (for defective), *ī* (for hollow) or *ā* (for geminate): *bi-bārṭel* 'he bribes', *byā-ḥdi* 'he gives', *bya-stfīd* 'he benefits', *bya-stḥābb* 'he likes'.

Verbs with No Tense Variation in the Stem include:

All verbs with the stem-formative prefix *t-* [p.85]:

Pattern V:	<i>tḡāyyar</i> 'it changed':	<i>bya-tḡāyyar</i> 'it changes' [p.87]
	<i>txābba</i> 'it was hidden':	<i>bya-txābba</i> 'it is hidden' [87]
Pattern VI:	<i>tšāʾam</i> 'he was pessimistic':	<i>bya-tšāʾam</i> 'he is pessimistic' [89]
	<i>trāxa</i> 'he was easy-going':	<i>bya-trāxa</i> 'he is easygoing' [89]

Quadriradical (and Pseudo-quadriradical):

tšárbak 'it became complicated': *byə-tšárbak* 'it becomes complicated' [p.121]

tfárša 'it was brushed': *byə-tfárša* 'it is brushed' [122]

Also the verbs of hybrid pattern V/X [107]: *stánna* 'he waited': *byə-stánna* 'he waits'; *stmánna* 'he wished': *byə-stmánna* 'he wishes'.

All unsound verbs of Pattern VII, geminate and hollow verbs of Pattern VIII, and all verbs of Pattern IX:

Pattern VII Geminate: *nhabb* 'he was loved': *byə-nhabb* 'he is loved' [p.94]

Hollow: *nʔāl* 'it was said': *byə-nʔāl* 'it is said' [94]

Defective: *nʔdra* 'it was read': *byə-nʔdra* 'it is read' [93]

Many defective verbs of this pattern, however, also have the i-type imperfect vowel: *nʔawa* 'it was folded': *byə-nʔáwi* (or *byə-nʔáwa*) 'it is folded' [p.92].

Pattern VIII Geminate: *štadd* 'it increased': *byə-štadd* 'it increases' [p.99]

Hollow: *htāž* 'he needed': *byə-htāž* 'he needs' [99]

The defective verbs *ltáʔa* 'to be found' and *ntála* 'to be filled' have a-type imperfect vowel: *byə-ltáʔa*, *byə-ntála*, but other defective Pattern VIII's have the i-type [p.97].

Pattern IX: *swadd* 'it turned black': *byə-swadd* 'it turns black'

hmarr 'he blushed': *byə-hmarr* 'he blushes' [101]

Verbs with an i-Type Imperfect Vowel include all other types, namely:

Patterns II, III, and simple quadriradicals (and pseudo-quadriradicals)¹:

II. *fássar* 'he explained': *bi-fásser* 'he explains' [p.77]

máyyaz 'he distinguished': *bi-máyyez* 'he distinguishes'

xábbá 'he hid' (trans.): *bi-xábbi* 'he hides' [78]

¹In sum, all verbs whose stem consists of one consonant + short vowel + two consonants + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCCV(C), or one consonant + long vowel + one consonant + short vowel + (optional) one consonant: CVCVC(C).

III: *sāfar* 'he travelled': *bi-sāfer* 'he travels' [80]

ʔāšaš 'he punished': *bi-ʔāšeš* 'he punishes' [81]

sāwa 'he made': *bi-sāwi* 'he makes' [81]

Quadr.: *táržam* 'he translated': *bi-táržem* 'he translates' [118]

báxwaš 'he drilled a hole': *bi-báxweš* 'he drills a hole' [118]

bōdar 'he powdered': *bi-bōder* 'he powders' [119]

farša 'he showed': *bi-fárži* 'he shows' [120]

Pattern IV verbs have a stem-formative prefix *ʔa-* in the perfect, and no vowel between the first and second radicals: *ʔáelan* 'he announced'. In the imperfect the formative *ʔa-* disappears,¹ and the vowel after the second radical is changed to an i-type [p.189]: *byáelen* 'he announces'.

Sound: *ʔášbaḥ* 'it became': *byá-šbeḥ* 'it becomes' [p.83]

Defective: *ʔdhda* 'he gave': *byá-hdi* 'he gives' [83]

Geminate: *ʔašárr* 'he insisted': *bi-šárr* 'he insists' [84]

Hollow: *ʔahāl* 'he transformed': *bi-ḥīl* 'he transforms' [84]

Sound verbs of Patterns VII and VIII have i-type imperfect stems, in which the next-to-last vowel is changed to *ə* (and the last vowel, to *e*):

Pattern VII: *nkásar* 'it was broken': *byə-nkéser* 'it is broken'

nsáhab 'he withdrew': *byə-nsáheb* 'he withdraws' [p.91]

mbášaṭ 'he had a good time': *byə-mbášeṭ* 'he has a good time'

Pattern VIII: *ftákar* 'he thought': *byə-ftáker* 'he thinks'

štágal 'he worked': *byə-štágel* 'he works' [95]

In some parts of the Syrian area, the next-to-last vowel is dropped, the accent falling on the inflectional prefix: *byá-nkser*, *byá-štgel*.

¹But cf. pseudo-quadriradical Pattern *ʔaFəaL* [117]: *ʔaslam* 'he became a Muslim': *bi-ʔáslem* 'he becomes a Muslim'.

Some Pattern VII defective verbs (and in some areas, e.g. Lebanon, practically all of them) have i-type imperfect stems in addition to the a-type stems: *nṭāfa* 'it was extinguished': *bya-nṭāfi* 'it is extinguished'; *nkāra* 'it was rented': *bya-nkāri* 'it is rented' (also *byānṭāfa*, *byānkāra*) [p. 97].

The Pattern VIII defective verb *ltāʿa* 'to be found', 'to meet', has an i-type (as well as a-type) imperfect *byāltāʿi* (or *byāltāʿa*) 'he meets', but in the sense 'he is found', only the form *byāltāʿa* is used.

The anomalous Pattern VIII (or VII) verb *ntāla* 'it was filled' has an i-type imperfect *byāntāli* 'it is filled', as well as the a-type *byāntāla* [98].

Pattern X imperfect stems are all i-type:

Sound:	<i>stāʿmal</i> 'he used':	<i>bya-stāʿmel</i>	'he uses'
	<i>stāfham</i> 'he inquired':	<i>bya-stāfhem</i>	'he inquires' [102]
	<i>stāʿṣwab</i> 'he questioned':	<i>bya-stāʿṣweb</i>	'he questions' [103]
Defective:	<i>stāḥla</i> 'he liked':	<i>bya-stāḥli</i>	'he likes' [103]
Hollow:	<i>stašār</i> 'he consulted':	<i>bya-stašīr</i>	'he consults' [105]
Geminate:	<i>stamārr</i> 'he continued':	<i>bya-stamārr</i>	'he continues' [105]
Initial-weak:	<i>stāhal</i> 'he deserved':	<i>bya-stāhel</i>	'he deserves' [106]

The Hollow-defective verb *stāḥa* 'he was embarrassed' [p. 106] has the next-to-last imperfect vowel *a*, just like Pattern VIII verbs (from which it is indistinguishable in form [97]): *bya-stāḥi* 'he gets embarrassed'.

On the other hand, the anomalous Pattern X verb *zdall* 'he concluded' [107] keeps *a* in the imperfect, like Pattern VIII geminates: *bya-zdāll* 'he concludes'.

The hybrid Pattern III/X verb *snāwal* (or *stnāwal*) 'he caught' has an i-type imperfect: *bya-snāwel* 'he catches' [p. 108].

Quadriradical Pattern *ʔEaLaLL* verbs [p. 124] (like Pattern X geminates) have *a* as the last stem vowel of the imperfect:

<i>šmaʔāzz</i> 'he was disgusted':	<i>bya-šmaʔāzz</i>	'he gets disgusted'
<i>qšaʿārr</i> 'he shuddered':	<i>bya-qšaʿārr</i>	'he shudders'

Person Variation in Verb Stems.

In the first and second persons of the perfect, i.e. before the suffixes *-t* 'you/I' and *-na* 'we', the base ('he') form is altered as follows:

In simple sound verbs with vowels *a-e*, the first vowel (*a*) is dropped and the last vowel (*e*) is changed to *ə*:

<i>sāmeʿ</i> 'he heard':	<i>smāʿ-t</i>	'you (m.)/I heard'
	<i>smāʿ-t-i</i>	'you (f.) heard'
	<i>smāʿ-t-u</i>	'you (pl.) heard'
	<i>smāʿ-na</i>	'we heard' [p. 71]

<i>ʿāmel</i> 'he did':	<i>ʿmāl-t</i>	'you (m.)/I did'
	<i>ʿmāl-t-i</i>	'you (f.) did'
	<i>ʿmāl-t-u</i>	'you (pl.) did'
	<i>ʿmāl-na</i>	'we did' [p. 70]

The change from *e* to *ə* is an automatic consequence of sound combination rules [p. 28].

Stem vowels *a* remain unaltered except in accentuation: *kātab* 'he wrote': *katāb-t* 'you/I wrote'; *tʿdillam* 'he learned': *tʿallām-na* 'we learned'. See Accentuation [p. 18].

In simple defective verbs with vowels *a-i*, the first vowel (*a*) is dropped and the last vowel (*i*) is lengthened to *ī*:

<i>nāsi</i> 'he forgot':	<i>nsī-t</i>	'you (m.)/I forgot', etc.
	<i>nsī-na</i>	'we forgot' [p. 72]
<i>bāki</i> 'he cried':	<i>bkī-t</i>	'you/I cried', etc.
	<i>bkī-na</i>	'we cried' [70]

See p. 27.

In defective verbs stem-final *a* is changed to *ē*:

<i>ʔdra</i>	'he read':	<i>ʔarē-t</i>	'you/I read'
		<i>ʔarē-na</i>	'we read' [p.68]
<i>Édʔa</i>	'he gave':	<i>Éaʔē-t</i>	'you/I gave'
		<i>Éaʔē-na</i>	'we gave' [61]
<i>sámma</i>	'he named':	<i>sammē-t</i>	'you/I named'
		<i>sammē-na</i>	'we named' [78]
<i>stánna</i>	'he waited':	<i>stannē-t</i>	'you/I waited'
		<i>stannē-na</i>	'we waited' [108]
<i>štára</i>	'he bought':	<i>štarē-t</i>	'you/I bought'
		<i>štarē-na</i>	'we bought' [97]
<i>stáʔfa</i>	'he resigned':	<i>staʔfē-t</i>	'you/I resigned'
		<i>staʔfē-na</i>	'we resigned' [103]

Verb stems ending in a double consonant add *ē*:

<i>sabb</i>	'he cursed':	<i>sabbē-t</i>	'you/I cursed'
		<i>sabbē-na</i>	'we cursed' [p.64]
<i>ħaʔʔ</i>	'he put':	<i>ħaʔʔē-t</i>	'you/I put'
		<i>ħaʔʔē-na</i>	'we put'
<i>ħtamm</i>	'he cared':	<i>ħtammē-t</i>	'you/I cared'
		<i>ħtammē-na</i>	'we cared' [99]
<i>ħmarr</i>	'he blushed':	<i>ħmarrē-t</i>	'you/I blushed'
		<i>ħmarrē-na</i>	'we blushed' [101]
<i>staħabb</i>	'he liked':	<i>staħabbēt</i>	'you/I liked'
		<i>staħabbē-na</i>	'we liked' [105]
<i>ʔmaʔánn</i>	'he felt secure':	<i>ʔmaʔannē-t</i>	'you/I felt secure'
		<i>ʔmaʔannē-na</i>	'we felt secure' [124]

In hollow triradical verbs (excepting some of those in Pattern X), the *a* is changed to *ə*:

<i>šəf</i>	'he saw':	<i>šəf-t</i>	'you/I saw'
		<i>šəf-na</i>	'we saw' [p.57]
<i>nām</i>	'he slept':	<i>nām-t</i>	'you/I slept'
		<i>nām-na</i>	'we slept' [67]
<i>šəb</i>	'he brought':	<i>šəb-t</i>	'you/I brought'
		<i>šəb-na</i>	'we brought' [60]
<i>ħtāš</i>	'he needed':	<i>ħtāš-t</i>	'you/I needed'
		<i>ħtāš-na</i>	'we needed' [99]
<i>nšəf</i>	'he was seen':	<i>nšəf-t</i>	'you/I was seen'
		<i>nšəf-na</i>	'we were seen' [94]
<i>starāħ</i>	'he rested':	<i>strāħ-t</i>	'you/I rested'
		<i>strāħ-na</i>	'we rested' [104]

In hollow verbs of Pattern X the first stem vowel *a* tends to disappear both in the first and second persons of the perfect and in the imperfect stem: *byə-strīħ* 'he rests'. In some verbs, however, the first *a* tends to remain in all forms, and the last *a* does not change to *ə*: *stašār* 'he consulted': *stašār-t* 'you/I consulted', *byə-stašār* 'he consults' [p.105].

On the assimilation of voiced obstruents to the suffix *-t* (e.g. *ʔaxad* 'he took': *ʔaxdt-t* 'you/I took'), see p.26.

Number/Gender Variation in Verb Stems

In the imperfect, the final vowel (*a* or *i*) of a defective stem is dropped before the feminine and plural suffixes *-i* and *-u*:

3rd person: *byánsa* + *-u* → *byáns-u* 'they forget'

2nd person: *btánsa* + *-u* → *btáns-u* 'you (pl.) forget'

btánsa + *-i* → *btáns-i* 'you (f.) forget' [p.72]

3rd person: *bisámmi* + -u → *bisámm-u* 'they name'

2nd person: *batsámmi* + -u → *batsámm-u* 'you (pl.) name'

batsámmi + -i → *batsámm-i* 'you (f.) name' [p.78]

If the stem vowel is *i*, its replacement by the feminine suffix -*i* makes no distinction in form between masculine and feminine: *batsámmi* 'you (m. or f.) name'.

In the third-person perfect, the final *a* of a defective stem is dropped before the feminine and plural suffixes -*et* and -*u*:

ʔára + -*et* → *ʔár-et* 'she read'

ʔára + -*u* → *ʔár-u* 'they read' [p.68]

fárša + -*et* → *fárš-et* 'she brushed'

fárša + -*u* → *fárš-u* 'they brushed' [120]

But stem-final *i* is generally retained as *y*:

máši + -*et* → *mášy-et* 'she walked'

máši + -*u* → *mášy-u* 'they walked' [70]

nási + -*et* → *násy-et* 'she forgot'

nási + -*u* → *násy-u* 'they forgot'

Or again as *i*, before the feminine suffix (-*t-*) followed by a pronoun suffix -*o*, -*ak*, or -*ek* [p.183]: *násy-et* 'she forgot' + -*o* 'him' → *nási-t-o* 'she forgot him', + -*ak* → *nási-t-ak* 'she's forgotten you'.

See also p.166.

Before the suffix -*et* only, sound *a*-stems of Patterns I, VII, and VIII drop their second *a*:

Pattern I: *fátah* + -*et* → *fátḥ-et* 'she opened' [p.65]

dáras + -*et* → *dárs-et* 'she studied' [55]

Pattern VII: *nkásar* + -*et* → *nkásr-et* 'it (f.) was broken' [91]

Pattern VIII: *ftákar* + -*et* → *ftákr-et* 'she thought' [95]

In many parts of the Syrian area, however (e.g. Palestine, southern Lebanon), this *a* is not dropped: *fátahet* (or *fátahat*), *nkásaret* (or *nkásarat*), etc.

Certain other stem changes occur before -*i*, -*u*, and -*et* as before all suffixes beginning with a vowel (except -*a* 'her', -*on* 'them' [541]):

Stem vowels *e* and *o* are dropped [p.28]:

btádroš + -*i* → *btád(ʔ)rs-i* 'you (f.) study' [p.55]

byámsek + -*u* → *byámsk-u* 'they hold' [69]

másek + -*u* → *másk-u* 'they took hold'

másek + -*et* → *másk-et* 'she took hold'

bisákker + -*u* → *bisákk-r-u* 'they close' [77]

btəstáḏmel + -*i* → *btəstáḏ(ʔ)ml-i* 'you (f.) use' [102]

Note, however, that Pattern II verbs with middle and last radicals alike do not generally lose the *e*, but rather change it to *ə*: *bisábbēb* + -*u* → *bisábbəb-u* 'they cause'. If the *e* is lost in such cases, a theoretical triple-consonant sequence ("bisábbbu") is normally reduced to a double consonant [p.27]. These reduced forms may be heard in some parts of the Syrian area (with some verbs, at least,) but note that a Pattern II verb then takes on the form of a geminate Pattern I, and in some cases homophony would result (cf. *bisábbu* 'they curse'), which is avoided by retaining the stem vowel (*bisábbəbu* 'they cause').

As before all suffixes, *ā* in the imperative of simple sound triradical verbs is shortened to *a*, and *ē* and *ō* are both changed to *ə* [p.198]:

ftāh + -*u* → *ftáh-u* 'open' (pl.)

msēk + -*i* → *msək-i* 'hold' (f.)

drōš + -*u* → *drəs-u* 'study' (pl.)

Mode Variation in Verb Stems: Imperative Forms

The imperative may be formed by dropping the person prefix (shown here as 2nd p.) from the imperfect stem and modifying the stem in certain ways:

In simple sound triradical stems, the vowel is lengthened when no suffix follows:

(tā)-ftaḥ: ftāḥ 'open' (m.) [p.65]

(tā)-mseḥ: msēḥ 'hold' (m.) [69]

(tā)-ktob: ktōb 'write' (m.) [55]

But if there is a suffix of any kind, the stem vowel remains short:

(tā)-ftaḥ-i: ftāḥ-i 'open' (f.)

(tā)-ftaḥ-o: ftāḥ-o 'open (m.) it (m.)'

(tā)-msāk-on: msāk-on 'hold (m.) them'

(tā)-ktāb-a: ktāb-a 'write (m.) it (f.)'

And if the suffixing stem has no vowel between the last two radicals, a is inserted there:

(tā)-msk-i: msāk-i 'hold (f.)'

(tā)-msk-o: msāk-o 'hold (m.) it (m.)'

(tā)-k(ʔ)tbū: ktāb-ū 'write (pl.) it (m.)'

In non-defective verbs whose first radical is a semivowel (w, y), the initial vowel (ū, ī)¹ is shortened to w or y, respectively:

(t)-ūṣef: wṣēf 'describe' (m.) [p.59]

(t)-ūṣal: wṣāl 'arrive' (m.) [75]

(t)-ības: ybās 'dry up'² (m.) [75]

The stem-initial ā in the imperfect of ʔakal 'to eat' and ʔaxad 'to take' is dropped in the imperative [p.56]:

(t)-ākōl: kōl 'eat' (m.); (t)-āxod: xōd 'take(m.)'

(t)-ākli: kālī 'eat' (f.); (t)-āxdu: xādu 'take(pl.)'

¹ Imperatives in Syrian Colloquial are not formed from the imperfect stem in which the initial radical is lost (e.g. tā-ṣal) [p.75].

² An unlikely command; the translation is not meant in the slang sense, but literally. Good examples with initial radical y are hard to find.

In simple defective verbs with no pronoun suffix, the imperative stem usually has ʔā- before the first radical; and the final vowel is unaltered:

(tā)-nsa: ʔānsa 'forget' (m.) [p.72]

(tā)-nsi: ʔānsi 'forget' (f.)

(tā)-nsu: ʔānsu 'forget' (pl.)

In the first radical is w, however, the imperative begins with ʔū-:

(t)-ūfi: ʔūfi 'fulfill' (m. or f.) [p.62]

(t)-ūfu: ʔūfu 'fulfill' (pl.)

But when the final vowel is lengthened and accented (viz. before a suffix pronoun), the first syllable is reduced as it is with non-defective verbs (see above):

(tā)-nsā-ha: nsā-ha 'forget (m.) it (f.)'

(tā)-nsī-ha: nsī-ha 'forget (f.) it (f.)'

(t)-ūfī-ha: wfī-ha 'fulfill it'

In the Palestinian area and to some extent elsewhere, the imperative with ʔ- is commonly used instead of the vowel lengthening, in sound verbs as well as defectives: ʔāftaḥ instead of ftāḥ, ʔāmsek instead of msēḥ, etc.

In Lebanon and to some extent elsewhere, on the other hand, vowel lengthening is commonly used in defective verbs as well as sound: nsā instead of ʔānsa, wfī instead of ʔūfi, etc.

With all other types of verb – namely, with augmented verbs and with hollow, geminate, and quadriradical simple verbs – there are no mode variations in the stem at all:

(t)-sākker: sākker 'close' (m.) [p.77]

(t)-sākkri: sākkri 'close' (f.)

(t)-sākkru: sākkru 'close' (pl.)

(tā)-stdēmel: stdēmel 'use' (m.) [102]

(tā)-stdē(ʔ)mlo: stdē(ʔ)mlo 'use (m.) it (m.)'

(t)-tarēmū-li: tarēmū-li 'translate (pl.) for me' [118]

(t)-ḥətt: ḥətt 'put' (m.) [64]

(t)-šīl: šīl 'take away' (m.) [60]

(t)-nām: nām 'sleep' (m.) [67]

(tā)-tēdīllam: tēdīllam 'learn' (m.) [87]

(tā)-tēallamī: tēallamī 'learn (f.) it (m.)'

Note that augmented and simple hollow verbs with stem vowels *a* (or *ā*) in the imperfect have masculine and plural imperatives with the same form as the third person perfect: *nām* 'he slept' and 'sleep (m.)', *nāmu* 'they slept' and 'sleep (pl.)'; *tādillam* 'he learned' and 'learn (m.)', *tādillamu* 'they learned' and 'learn (pl.)'.

Irregular Imperatives. The verb *ʔəṣa* 'to come' [p.76] has no imperative of its own but is supplanted by the forms *tāṣa* 'come' (m.), *tāṣi* (f.), *tāṣu* (pl.) (or sometimes *taṣāl*, *taṣāli*, *taṣālu*).

The verb *ṣaṭa* 'to give' (Impf. (*ṭ*)-*dṣṭi*) has an imperative form *ṣṭi* (m., f.), *ṣṭu* (pl.), commonly used instead of the regular forms *ṣṣṭi*, etc. [p.61].

The imperative of the verb *ʔaṣad* 'to sit' (Impf. (*ṭ*)-*ʔod*) [p.55] commonly loses its initial radical *ʔ* in the imperative: *ṣod* 'sit down', *ṣodi* (f.), *ṣodu* (pl.).

The exclamation *ʔoṣa* 'watch out!' is generally used instead of the regular imperative form *ʔuṣa* (of *wəṣi*, Impf. *ṭ*-*uṣa* 'to be aware, wide awake'), and the form *ʔəṣḥak* 'take care (lest...)', for *ʔəṣḥa* plus pronoun suffix -*k* (the expected form would be "*ṣḥāk*") (imperative of *ṣəḥi*, Impf. *ṭ*-*əṣḥa* 'to be wide awake').

The "demonstrative" [p.564] verb *hāt* 'give (it) here' (f. *hāti*, pl. *hātu*) has imperative only, while the form *xē* 'here, take (it)', is feminine imperative only.

CHAPTER 7: ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Adjectives have a three-way inflection for number/gender: masculine (/singular), feminine (/singular)¹, and plural. Masculine is the base inflection; the feminine is usually formed by suffixation of -*e*/-*a* [p.138]; the plural is usually formed by suffixation of -*in* or by a change in the base pattern.

It is the function of an adjectives's inflection to show agreement [p.420] with the term to which it is predicate [403] or attribute [501], or, in some cases, to show the "natural" number/gender of its referent [427].

While number and gender are separate categories with respect to nouns, they fall together in Syrian Arabic for verbs [p.175], for pronouns [539], and — less completely — for adjectives. Masculine and feminine are distinguished only in the singular, and dual is not distinguished from plural.

Adjectives, however, are not always clearly separable from nouns, especially in the case of personal adjectives that are often used substantively. The word *məslēm* 'Moslem', for instance, as a noun, has the plural *məsʔlmīn* and the femal derivative *məsʔlme*, which in turn has a plural *məsʔlmāt* 'Moslems (f.)'. The feminine plural may sometimes be used attributively: *nəswān məsʔlmāt* 'Moslem women' (more usual: *nəswān məsʔlmīn*), thus inviting analysis as a feminine plural adjective (or alternatively, an appositive noun [506]).

Some adjectives may be heard with the -*āt* ending even when there is no question of substantivization, when attributive to a plural in -*āt* of a feminine count noun [p.425]: *banadōrayāt māwiyyāt* 'juicy tomatoes' (or, more usually, *banadōrayāt māwiyye*). Similarly, a dual adjective may sometimes be heard: *l-ṣəṣṣurēn ʔl-kimyāʔiyyēn* 'The two chemical elements' (or, more colloquially, *l-ṣəṣṣurēn ʔl-kimāwiyyīn*).

Generally speaking, these usages are rare enough to be treated as exceptional. It should be kept in mind, however, that adjectives, which are noun-like in base form, are at least potentially also noun-like in inflection, to the extent of an occasional feminine plural (-*āt*) or, rarely, a dual.

A few adjectives are uninflected. See Agreement [p.428].

¹Feminine "singular" only in the sense that it stands in contrast to the plural form. Functionally speaking, the feminine form is used as much in agreement with plurals as with singulars [p.423].

Regular Inflection: Feminine -e/-a, plural -īn.

At least some of the adjectives in every pattern except $\text{Fa}^{\text{F}}\text{e}^{\text{L}}$ [p.130] — and all of the adjectives in most patterns — are inflected only with the suffixes -e/-a and -īn.

On the alteration of -e with -a, see p.138.

Examples of regular adjective inflection:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>ṭamūh</i>	<i>ṭamūha</i>	<i>ṭamūhīn</i>	'ambitious'
<i>našīṭ</i>	<i>našīṭa</i>	<i>našīṭīn</i>	'active, energetic'
<i>kazzāb</i>	<i>kazzābe</i>	<i>kazzābīn</i>	'lying, liar'
<i>sakkīr</i>	<i>sakkīre</i>	<i>sakkīrīn</i>	'drunkard'
<i>marr</i>	<i>marra</i>	<i>marrīn</i>	'bitter'
<i>ḥalu</i>	<i>ḥalwe</i>	<i>ḥalwīn</i>	'sweet', 'pretty'
<i>fāḍi</i>	<i>fāḍye</i>	<i>fāḍyīn</i>	'empty, free'
<i>fax^m</i>	<i>faxme</i>	<i>faxmīn</i>	'stately, elegant'
<i>lammīḥ</i>	<i>lammīḥa</i>	<i>lammīḥīn</i>	'shiny'
<i>malān</i>	<i>malāne</i>	<i>malānīn</i>	'full'
<i>saḥlān</i>	<i>saḥlāne</i>	<i>saḥlānīn</i>	'displeased'
<i>mašḡūl</i>	<i>mašḡūle</i>	<i>mašḡūlīn</i>	'busy'
<i>mḥamm</i>	<i>mḥamme</i>	<i>mḥammīn</i>	'important'
<i>mṭīḥ</i>	<i>mṭīḥa</i>	<i>mṭīḥīn</i>	'obedient'
<i>mufīd</i>	<i>mufīde</i>	<i>mufīdīn</i>	'useful'
<i>mšawwaz</i>	<i>mšawwaze</i>	<i>mšawwazīn</i>	'married'
<i>mšarṭaṭ</i>	<i>mšarṭaṭa</i>	<i>mšarṭaṭīn</i>	'ragged'
<i>məṭmaʔənn</i> ..	<i>məṭmaʔəne</i> ..	<i>məṭmaʔənnīn</i>	'calm, secure'

Stem Modifications with the Suffixes

Adjectives whose base (masculine) forms end in *e* + consonant generally drop their *e* when the feminine or plural suffix is added [p.28]:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>raṭeb</i>	<i>raṭbe</i>	<i>raṭbīn</i>	'humid, moist'
<i>dayyeʔ</i>	<i>dayyʔa</i>	<i>dayyʔīn</i>	'narrow, cramped'
<i>ṭayyeb</i>	<i>ṭayybe</i>	<i>ṭayyebīn</i>	'good'
<i>Ḥāṭel</i>	<i>Ḥāṭle</i>	<i>Ḥāṭlīn</i>	'bad'
<i>mnāseb</i>	<i>mnāsbe</i>	<i>mnāsbebīn</i>	'suitable'
<i>məṭʔaxxer</i> ..	<i>məṭʔaxxra</i> ..	<i>məṭʔaxxerīn</i>	'late'
<i>məxtəʔlef</i> ..	<i>məxtəʔle</i> ...	<i>məxtəʔlīn</i>	'different'
<i>mfastek</i> ...	<i>mfastke</i>	<i>mfastekīn</i>	'depressed'

With anaptyxis [p.31] (cf. *fax^m*, above):

<i>māḍhen</i>	<i>māḍʔhne</i>	<i>māḍʔhnīn</i>	'greasy, fat'
<i>māzweʔ</i>	<i>māzəwʔa</i>	<i>māzəwʔīn</i>	'having good taste'

With vocalization of *y* [p.166] (cf. *ḥalu*, *fāḍi*, above):

<i>māhyeb</i>	<i>māhibe</i>	<i>māhibīn</i>	'awesome'
--------------------	---------------------	----------------	-----------

e is not dropped but is changed to *ə*, when it comes between a double and a single consonant which are alike [29, 77]:

<i>mšammem</i> ...	<i>mšamməme</i> ...	<i>mšamməmīn</i>	'determined, intent (on)'
--------------------	---------------------	------------------	---------------------------

If the base form (masculine) ends in -*i*, then in some cases this ending is lengthened to -*iyy*- before the feminine and plural suffixes, while in other cases it is reduced to a non-syllabic -*y*-. In relative adjectives [p.280], for instance, -*i* is always lengthened:

<i>ləbnāni</i> ...	<i>ləbnāniyye</i> .	<i>ləbnāniyyīn</i>	'Lebanese'
--------------------	---------------------	--------------------	------------

It is also lengthened in defective adjectives of Pattern *FaḥīL* [128]:

<i>sāxi</i>	<i>saxiyye</i>	<i>saxiyyīn</i>	'generous'
-------------------	---------------------	-----------------	------------

And in the defective version (*māFēi*) of Pattern *maFēūL* [p.133]:

<i>mānsi</i>	<i>mānsiyye</i> ...	<i>mānsiyyīn</i>	'forgotten'
<i>mākwī</i>	<i>mākwīyye</i> ...	<i>mākwīyyīn</i>	'ironed'

Even when adjectives of the defective pattern *māFēi* correspond to Pattern *māFēūL* [p.133] rather than *maFēūL*, their final *i* is still usually lengthened in the feminine or plural: *māʔzi* 'harmful': fem. *māʔziyye*, pl. *māʔziyyīn*;

mārđi 'satisfactory': *mārđiyye*, *mārđiyyīn*. There are a few exceptions, however, in which the *i* is reduced and the accentuation of the feminine is like that of the masculine (as in sound Pattern *māFēEL*): *māğri* 'alluring, enticing', fem. *māğʔrye*, pl. *māğʔryīn*; *māhwi* 'airy, draughty': fem. *māhuye* (with vocalization of the medial *w*).

The final *-i* of defective Pattern *FāEeL* adjectives [p. 131] is always reduced to non-syllabic form (*y*) with the suffixes:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>Ēāli</i>	<i>Ēālye</i>	<i>Ēālyīn</i>	'high'
<i>bāʔi</i>	<i>bāʔye</i>	<i>bāʔyīn</i>	'remaining'

Note the difference in stem modifications, then, between *Ēāli*: *Ēālye* 'high' and *Ēādi*: *Ēādiyye* 'usual, customary'. The latter is a relative adjective with the suffix *-i* (from *Ēāde* 'custom') and is not to be confused with Pattern *FāEeL* adjectives.

With some exceptions, defective adjectives of the augmented participial patterns [p. 134] have *-y-* (rather than *-iyy-*) before the suffixes; before *-īn*, furthermore, the *y* may disappear entirely:

<i>mrabbi</i> ...	<i>mrabbye</i>	<i>mrabb(y)īn</i>	'bringing up, having brought up'
<i>msāwi</i> ...	<i>msāwe</i>	<i>msāw(y)īn</i>	'making, having made'
<i>matxabbi</i> ..	<i>matxabbye</i>	<i>matxabb(y)īn</i>	'hiding, hidden'
<i>manṭāfi</i> ..	<i>manṭāfyē</i>	<i>manṭaf(y)īn</i>	'extinguished'
<i>maktāfi</i> ..	<i>maktāfyē</i>	<i>maktāf(y)īn</i>	'contented'
<i>mastakri</i> ..	<i>mastakʔrye</i>	<i>mastak(ʔ)r(y)īn</i>	'renting, having rented'
<i>mastanni</i> ..	<i>mastannye</i>	<i>mastannyīn</i>	'waiting'

On pronoun-suffixing forms of transitive feminine participles in *-ye*, cf. p. 168. E.g. *mrabbīto* '(f.) bringing him up', *msāwīto* '(f.) making it'.

There are some Pattern VIII participles, however, which usually (in some cases always) have *-iyy-* before the suffixes. For example:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>māstāwi</i> ..	<i>māstwiyye</i>	<i>māstwiyyīn</i>	'done, cooked, ripe'
<i>māštāhi</i> ..	<i>māsthīyye</i>	<i>māsthīyyīn</i>	'desirous, craving'
<i>māṣtāni</i> ..	<i>māṣtnīyye</i>	<i>māṣtnīyyīn</i>	'taking care'
	or <i>māṣtānye</i> ..	<i>māṣtan(y)īn</i>	
<i>māntāsi</i> ..	<i>māntsīyye</i>	<i>māntsīyyīn</i>	'forgotten'
	or <i>māntānye</i> ..	<i>māntas(y)īn</i>	

Note also the comments on Pattern *māFēEL*, above.

There is also vacillation between *-y-* and *-iyy-* in the rare defective quadriradicals [136]:

<i>mfarši</i> ...	<i>mfaršiyye</i>	<i>mfaršiyyīn</i>	'having brushed'
	or <i>mfaršye</i> ..	<i>mfarš(y)īn</i>	

If the masculine form of an adjective (defective passive participle) ends in *-a*, then the feminine has *-āye*, and the plural, *-āyīn* (or *-ayīn*):

<i>msamma</i> ...	<i>msammāye</i>	<i>msammāyīn</i>	'named'
<i>msāwa</i>	<i>msāwāye</i>	<i>msāwāyīn</i>	'made'
<i>mfarša</i> ...	<i>mfaršāye</i>	<i>mfaršāyīn</i>	'brushed'

Adjectives with Internal Plurals

Almost all adjectives of Pattern *FēiL* [p. 127] and many non-defective ones of Pattern *FāEiL* [127] form plurals on Pattern *FēāL*:

<i>nāḍf</i>	<i>nāḍfe</i>	<i>nāḍf</i>	'clean'
<i>mnīḥ</i>	<i>mnīḥa</i>	<i>mnāḥ</i>	'good'
<i>ktīr</i>	<i>ktīre</i>	<i>ktār</i>	'much, many'
<i>kbīr</i>	<i>kbīre</i>	<i>kbār</i>	'big, large'
<i>ḡīr</i>	<i>ḡīre</i>	<i>ḡār</i>	'little, small'
<i>tʔīl</i>	<i>tʔīle</i>	<i>tʔāl</i>	'heavy'
<i>ṭawīl</i>	<i>ṭawīle</i>	<i>ṭwāl</i>	'long, tall'
<i>xafīf</i>	<i>xafīfe</i>	<i>xfāf</i> (also <i>xafifīn</i>)	'light'
<i>ʔarīb</i>	<i>ʔarībe</i>	<i>ʔrāb</i> (also <i>ʔaribīn</i>)	'near'

The adjectives *šādīd* 'new' and *ʿatīʿ* 'old' form plurals on the pattern *FaʿāL* as well as *Fʿāl*: m. *šādīd*, f. *šādīde*, pl. *šādād* or *šādā*; m. *ʿatīʿ*, f. *ʿatīʿa*, pl. *ʿatāʿ* or *ʿatā*.

Many non-defective adjectives of Pattern *FaʿīL* applied to human beings have plurals formed on Pattern *FaʿāLa*:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>karīm</i>	<i>karīme</i>	<i>karama</i>	'generous'
<i>faʿīr</i>	<i>faʿīre</i> (or <i>faʿīra</i>)	<i>faʿara</i>	'poor'
<i>laṭīf</i>	<i>laṭīfe</i>	<i>laṭafa</i> (or <i>laṭīfīn</i>)	'nice, pleasant'
<i>baxīl</i>	<i>baxīle</i>	<i>baxala</i> (or <i>baxīlīn</i>)	'stingy, miser'
<i>saʿīd</i>	<i>saʿīde</i>	<i>saʿada</i>	'happy'

Some adjectives applied to human beings, mainly of Pattern *FaʿīL*, have plurals formed on pattern *FaʿāLa*:

<i>ʿawi</i>	<i>ʿawiyye</i>	<i>ʿawāya</i> (or <i>ʿawiyyīn</i>)	'strong'
<i>dani</i>	<i>daniyye</i>	<i>danāya</i>	'low, vile'
<i>ḥazīn</i>	<i>ḥazīne</i>	<i>ḥazāna</i>	'mournful, sad'
<i>hani</i>	<i>haniyye</i>	<i>hanāya</i> (or <i>haniyyīn</i>)	'happy'
<i>baṭrān</i>	<i>baṭrāne</i>	<i>baṭāra</i> (or <i>baṭranīn</i>)	'wasteful'
---	<i>ḥabīle</i>	<i>ḥabāla</i>	'pregnant'
<i>ʿatīl</i>	<i>ʿatīle</i>	<i>ʿatala</i>	'killed'
<i>šarīḥ</i>	<i>šarīḥa</i>	<i>šaraḥa</i>	'wounded'

Many defective adjectives of this same sort have plurals formed on Pattern *ʿaFʿāLa* or *ʿaFʿīLa*:

<i>ḡani</i>	<i>ḡaniyye</i>	<i>ʿaḡʿanya</i> or <i>ʿaḡʿniya</i>	'rich'
<i>taʿi</i>	<i>taʿiyye</i>	<i>ʿaṭʿiya</i>	'God-fearing'
<i>zaki</i>	<i>zakiyye</i>	<i>ʿazʿkya</i>	'bright, intelligent'

A number of other plural patterns are used for adjectives applicable to human beings, though they are more typical of nouns. They are, in fact, generally used substantivally, while plurals of the same word with *-īn*, if any, are more purely adjectival.

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>raṣīl</i>	<i>raṣīle</i>	<i>ʿarṣāl</i> (<i>raṣilīn</i> , <i>raṣāl</i>)	'vile, despicable'
<i>mayyet</i>	<i>mayyte</i>	<i>ʿamwāt</i> , <i>mawta</i> (<i>mayytīn</i>)	'dead'
<i>ḥayy</i>	<i>ḥayye</i>	<i>ʿaḥyāʿ</i>	'living, alive'
<i>ḥarr</i>	<i>ḥarra</i>	<i>ʿaḥrār</i> (<i>ḥarrīn</i>)	'free'
<i>ḡašīm</i>	<i>ḡašīme</i>	<i>ḡašʿm</i> or <i>ḡašama</i>	'naive'
<i>ʿadīm</i>	<i>ʿadīme</i>	<i>ʿadʿm</i> or <i>ʿadama</i> (inanimate <i>ʿdām</i>)	'ancient'
<i>ʿāšer</i>	<i>ʿāšra</i>	<i>ʿaššar</i> (<i>ʿāšrīn</i>)	'underage, minor'
<i>šāḥel</i>	<i>šāḥle</i>	<i>šāḥhal</i> (<i>šāḥlīn</i>)	'ignorant'
<i>šušāʿ</i>	<i>šušāʿa</i>	<i>šāšʿān</i>	'brave'
<i>šāzz</i>	<i>šāzzē</i>	<i>šawāzz</i> (<i>šāzzīn</i>)	'strange, odd'
<i>mašnūn</i>	<i>mašnūne</i>	<i>mašānīn</i>	'crazy'
<i>zangīl</i>	<i>zangīle</i>	<i>zanagīl</i> (<i>zangīlīn</i>)	'rich'
<i>marīḍ</i>	<i>marīḍa</i>	<i>marḍa</i> or <i>maraḍa</i>	'ill'
<i>ḍaʿfān</i>	<i>ḍaʿfāne</i>	<i>ḍaʿfa</i>	'ill'

Most noun/adjectives of the pattern *FaʿīL* [p.129] form feminine and plural both with the suffix *-e/-a*:

<i>šarrīb</i>	<i>šarrībe</i>	<i>šarrībe</i>	'heavy drinker'
<i>šaḡḡīl</i>	<i>šaḡḡīle</i>	<i>šaḡḡīle</i>	'(good) worker'

Adjectives of Pattern *ʔaʔʔaL* [p.130] form their feminine on Pattern *ʔaʔʔaL*, and their plural on Pattern *ʔaʔʔaL* or sometimes (animate only) *ʔaʔʔaL*:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural	Meaning
<i>ʔaʃʃar</i>	<i>ʃaʃra</i>	<i>ʃaʃʔar</i>	'yellow'
<i>ʔazraʔ</i>	<i>zarʔa</i>	<i>zarʔʔ</i>	'blue'
<i>ʔaʃʔar</i>	<i>ʃaʔra</i>	<i>ʃaʔʔar</i>	'blond'
<i>ʔabyaḍ</i>	<i>bēḍa</i>	<i>bīḍ</i>	'white'
<i>ʔaswad</i>	<i>sōda</i>	<i>sūd</i>	'black'
<i>ʔaʔwar</i>	<i>ʔōra</i>	<i>ʔūr</i>	'one-eyed'
<i>ʔaʔraʔ</i>	<i>ʔarʔa</i>	<i>ʔarʔān</i>	'bald'
<i>ʔaḥḍab</i>	<i>ḥaḍba</i>	<i>ḥaḍbān</i>	'hump-backed'
<i>ʔaʔma</i>	<i>ʔamyā</i>	<i>ʔamyān</i>	'blind'
<i>ʔaxras</i>	<i>xarsa</i>	<i>xars, xarsān</i>	'deaf-mute'
<i>ʔaʔʔar</i>	<i>zaʔra</i>	<i>zaʔrān</i>	'crooked, criminal, bandit'

The word *ʔaʔʔab* 'unmarried' has the expected feminine form *ʔaʔʔa*, but no plural (except the suppletive form *ʔaʔʔābīn*, which belongs more properly to the singular *ʔaʔʔābī* 'bachelor'). The word *ʔarmal* 'widowed', however, is inflected as a quadriradical: f. *ʔarmale*, pl. *ʔarāmel*.

CHAPTER 8: NOUN INFLECTIONAL FORMS

Many nouns have a three-way inflection for number: singular, dual, plural. Singular is the base inflection; the dual is formed by adding a suffix *-ēn*. The plural is formed in a variety of ways [211 ff], depending to some extent on the form of the singular, but to a large extent on the idiosyncrasy of individual nouns. Examples:

Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>kaff</i> 'glove'..... <i>kaffēn</i>	'two gloves'..... <i>kūf</i>	'gloves'
<i>kalme</i> 'word'..... <i>kalmtēn</i>	'two words'..... <i>kalmt</i>	'words'
<i>ʔarnab</i> 'rabbit'..... <i>ʔarnabēn</i>	'two rabbits'..... <i>ʔarāneb</i>	'rabbits'
<i>ʔasʔm</i> 'name'..... <i>ʔasmēn</i>	'two names'..... <i>ʔasāmi</i>	'names'
<i>daʔiʔa</i> 'minute'..... <i>daʔiʔtēn</i>	'two minutes'..... <i>daʔāyeʔ</i>	'minutes'
<i>mhandes</i> 'engineer'.... <i>mhandsēn</i>	'two engineers'.... <i>mhandsīn</i>	'engineers'
<i>saʔara</i> 'tree'..... <i>saʔartēn</i>	'two trees'..... <i>saʔarāt</i>	'trees'
<i>galʔa</i> 'mistake'..... <i>galʔtēn</i>	'two mistakes'..... <i>galʔāt</i>	'mistakes'
<i>tərki</i> 'Turk'..... <i>tərkiyyēn</i>	'two Turks'..... <i>ʔatrāk</i>	'Turks'
<i>ḥarāmi</i> 'thief'..... <i>ḥarāmiyyēn</i>	'two thieves'..... <i>ḥaramiyye</i>	'thieves'

The use of the number categories is treated in Chapter 14.

The Dual Suffix *-ēn*: Stem Modifications

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p.28], *e* and *o* before a stem-final consonant are dropped when *-ēn* is added: *ʃāḥeb* 'friend' + *-ēn* → *ʃāḥbēn* 'two friends', *sallom* 'ladder' + *-ēn* → *sallmēn* 'two ladders'.

In certain classicisms, however, *e* and *o* are not dropped but are changed to *i* and *u*, respectively: *malek* 'king' + *-ēn* → *malikēn*, *ʔansor* 'element' + *-ēn* → *ʔansurēn* (or, more colloquially, *ʔansrēn*).

The loss of *e* or *o* often involves compensatory anaptyxis [p.31]: *maʔles* 'chamber' + *-ēn* → *maʔʔlsēn*, *ʔasʔof* 'bishop' + *-ēn* → *ʔasʔʔfēn*.

The base-formative suffix *-e/-a* [p.138] takes the form *-t-* before *-ēn*, just as it does before the pronoun suffixes [p.165]:

<i>sayyāra</i> 'care'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>sayyārtēn</i> 'two cars'
<i>madrāse</i> 'school'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>madrastēn</i> 'two schools'
<i>marra</i> '(one)time'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>marrtēn</i> 'two times, twice'
<i>sane</i> 'year'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>santēn</i> 'two years'

With anaptyxis:

<i>badle</i> 'suit'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>bad^əltēn</i> 'two suits'
<i>dawle</i> 'nation, state'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>daw^əltēn</i> 'two nations'
<i>buhayra</i> 'lake'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>buhay^ərtēn</i> 'two lakes'

With other compensatory vocalizations [pp.31,166,167]:

<i>hanye</i> 'bow, bend'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>hanitēn</i> 'two bows, bends'
<i>xaṭwe</i> 'step, pace'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>xaṭutēn</i> 'two steps'
<i>hāšye</i> 'margin'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>hāšītēn</i> 'two margins'
<i>zāwye</i> 'corner'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>zāwītēn</i> 'two corners'
<i>ṭāwle</i> 'table'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>ṭāw^əltēn</i> 'two tables'
<i>māš^əmše</i> 'apricot'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>māš^əmštēn</i> 'two apricots'

With reduction of *-iyye(t)* to *-īt-* and *-uwwe(t)* to *-ūt-* [p.166]:

<i>ʕamalīyye</i> 'operation'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>ʕamalītēn</i> 'two operations'
<i>hdiyye</i> 'gift'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>hdītēn</i> 'two gifts'
<i>ʔuwwe</i> 'power'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>ʔūtēn</i> 'two powers'

Note also the following exceptional forms involving the base-formative *-e/-a*: *luḡa* 'language' + *-ēn* → *luḡatēn*, *riʔa* 'lung' + *-ēn* → *riʔatēn* 'two lungs', *šihā* 'direction' + *-ēn* → *šihatēn* or *ših^ətēn* [cf. p.169]; *mubārā* 'match, competition' + *-ēn* → *mubārāytēn*, *verānda* 'balcony' + *-ēn* → *verāndāytēn*.

Nouns ending in the suffix *-āt*, e.g. *šālāṭ* 'prayer' *ʔadāt* 'instrument', *ḥayāt* 'life', do not ordinarily have duals.

Feminine nouns that have no *-e/-a* suffix in the absolute (or non-suffixing) form but which have *-t-* in the suffixing form [p.169] also have *-t-* in the dual: *ʕarūs* 'bride' + *-ēn* → *ʕarūstēn*, *dakkān* 'shop' + *-ēn* → *dakkāntēn*, *ʕēn* 'eye' + *-ēn* → *ʕēntēn*. (The forms *ʕēnēn* 'eyes', *ʔəšrēn* 'feet', etc. are used as plurals, not as duals [p.367].)

Stem-final *i* or *u* in nouns of Patterns *FaEL* [p.140] and *FəEL* [142] become *y* or *w*, respectively, before *-ēn*:

<i>ʕaḍu</i> 'member'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>ʕaḍwēn</i> 'two members'
<i>šaru</i> 'pup, cub'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>šarwēn</i> 'two cubs'
<i>šadi</i> 'kid' (goat)	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>šadyēn</i> 'two kids'
<i>raʔi</i> 'opinion'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>raʔyēn</i> 'two opinions'
<i>šabi</i> 'boy'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>šabyēn</i> ¹ 'two boys'

With most other nouns ending in a vowel, *-y-* is added before *-ēn*; and a vowel *a* or *i* is usually lengthened (giving *-āy-*, *-iyy-*):

<i>kīlo</i> 'kilogram'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>kīloyēn</i> 'two kilograms'
<i>mastašfa</i> 'hospital'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>mastašfāyēn</i> 'two hospitals'
<i>šakwa</i> 'complaint'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>šakwāyēn</i> 'two complaints'
<i>karsi</i> 'chair'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>karsiyyēn</i> 'two chairs'
<i>wādi</i> 'valley'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>wādiyyēn</i> 'two valleys'
<i>maʕna</i> 'meaning'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>maʕnāyēn</i> 'two meanings'
<i>waši</i> 'guardian'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>wašiyyēn</i> 'two guardians'
<i>muddaʕi</i> 'claimant'	+ <i>-ēn</i> → <i>muddaʕiyyēn</i> 'two claimants'

Some defective nouns of active participial patterns [258ff] tend to have only *-y-* (rather than *-iyy-*) before *-ēn*: *rāʕi* 'shepherd, keeper' + *-ēn* → *rāʕyēn* (or *rāʕiyyēn*, *muḥāmi* 'lawyer, defense attourney' + *-ēn* → *muḥāmyēn* (or *muḥāmiyyēn*). [Cf. p.204.]

PLURAL SUFFIXES (*al-ḡamʕ s-sālim*, Sound or External Plurals)

There are three suffixes used in forming noun plurals: *-īn*, *-e/-a*, and *-āt*.

Stem Modifications. Attachment of a plural suffix changes the form of certain kinds of noun base:

If the singular ends in the formative *-e/-a* [p.138], this formative disappears when a plural suffix is added: *kālme* 'word' + *-āt* → *kālmāt*, *sāʕa* 'hour' + *-āt* → *sāʕāt*, *sane* 'year' + *-īn* → *snīn* [213].

¹Note that *šabi* is in some respects treated as a defective noun on Pattern *FaEL* [p.149]: the femal derivative [304] is *šabiyye* 'girl' (not "šabye"). One may also sometimes hear *šabiyyēn* 'two boys', *šabiḥon* 'their boy' (for *šabyēn*, *šabiḥon*).

If the singular of a defective [p.43] noun ends in *-a*, *-ā*, or *-āt*, these endings are changed to *-aw-* or *-ay-* when a plural suffix is attached: *sama* 'sky' + *-āt* → *samawāt*, *banna* 'builder' + *-īn* → *bannayīn*, *mubārā* 'match, competition' + *-āt* → *mubārayāt*, *ṣalāt* 'prayer' + *-āt*, → *ṣalawāt*. *-aw-* is used if the noun's pattern is simple [46] and the final radical is *w*: *ʔadāt* 'device' + *-āt* → *ʔadawāt*; *-ay-* is used otherwise: *wafāt* 'death, demise' + *-āt* → *wafayāt*, *muṣṣaṣfa* + *-āt* → *muṣṣaṣfayāt*.

If the singular ends in the formative *-i* [p.281], this formative is lengthened to *-iyy-* before a plural suffix: *lābnāni* 'Lebanese' + *-īn* → *lābnāniyyīn*, *ḥarāmi* 'thief' + *-e/-a* → *ḥaramiyye*.

Miscellaneous other kinds of nouns ending in a vowel also generally add *y* before a plural suffix, in some cases with further modification of the base: *manṭo* 'coat' + *-āt* → *manṭoyāt*, *ṣakra* 'remembrance' + *-āt* → *ṣakriyāt*, *babbu* or *bēbē* 'baby' + *-āt* → *babbīyāt* or *bēbīyāt* (respectively). More rarely, *h* is used instead of *y* before the suffix: *māyō* 'bathing suit' + *-āt* → *māyohāt* (or *māyoyāt*).

Examples of irregular base modifications: *ʕazzābi* 'batchelor' + *-īn* → *ʕazzābīn*; *ʕarḍ* 'bid, offer' + *-āt* → *ʕarḍāt*; *ʔamm* 'mother' + *-āt* → *ʔammahāt* (but also regular *ʔammāt*); *rḥī* 'companion' + *-āt* → *rḥafāt* (but absolute form [p.455] also *rḥafāʔa*); *ṭarī* 'road, way' + *-āt* → *ṭarṭāt* (but also *ṭarō*); *ʔaxx* 'brother' and *ʔaxt* 'sister' + *-āt* → *ʔaxwāt* 'brothers and/or sisters'.

As generally before suffixes beginning with a vowel [p.28], *e* or *o* before a stem-final consonant is dropped when a pluralizing suffix is added: *mʕallem* 'teacher' + *-īn* → *mʕallmīn*, *mnabbēh* 'alarm-clock' + *-āt* → *mnabbhāt*, *xānom* 'lady, miss' + *-āt* → *xānmāt*. There are certain classicisms, however, in which the vowel is not dropped, but is changed to *i* or *u* or *ə*: *kāʔen* 'being' + *-āt* → *kāʔināt*, *ṭaṣawwor* 'imagining, picturing' + *-āt* → *ṭaṣawwūrāt* or *ṭaṣawwarāt*. (All Pattern *taFaʕʕoL* or *taFāʕʕoL* gerunds are like *ṭaṣawwor* in this respect.)

If *e* or *o* comes between like consonants the first of which is double, it is not dropped in any case, but is retained as *i* or *u*, or *ə* (or sometimes *a*): *mubarrer* 'justification, excuse' + *-āt* → *mubarrirāt* (or *mubarrarāt*) [p.29].

The Suffix *-īn* is used with certain kinds of augmented [p.46] nouns whose singular designates a male person. (The plural, however, may refer to a group including both sexes):

1.) With substantivized participles [p.276], excepting most of those on Pattern *FāʕʕeL* [131]:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
mʕallem	'teacher'.....mʕallmīn	mulḥaq	'attaché'.....mulḥaqīn
mwazzaf	'employee'....mwazzafīn	mhandes	'engineer'.....mhandsīn
mlākem	'boxer'.....mlākmīn	mtarṣem	'translator'...mtarṣmīn
maslem	'Moslem'.....masʕlmīn	mandūb	'delegate'....mandūbīn

Most nouns of the simple active participial pattern *FāʕʕeL* have internal plurals [p.218]: *ʕāmel* 'worker', pl. *ʕammāl*; *ʔātel* 'killer', pl. *ʔatala*; *ʔādī* 'judge', pl. *ʔadāt*; *ṣāheb* 'friend', pl. *ṣḥāb*, etc. Some, however, have plurals in *-īn*, either exclusively or in addition to an external plural: *lāṣe* 'refugee', pl. *lāṣīn*; in general, the *-īn* plural with these bases is a sign of adjectival [207] or "true participial" [265] use, as opposed to true substantival use.

2.) With most occupational nouns of the pattern *FāʕʕeL* [p.305] (but see also *-e/-a*, (3), below):

naṣṣār	'carpenter'...naṣṣārīn	mallāk	'proprietor'...mallākīn
kazzāb	'liar'.....kazzābīn	fallāḥ	'peasant'.....fallāḥīn
ṭabbāx	'cook'.....ṭabbāxīn	ṣayyād	'hunter'.....ṣayyādīn
xayyāṭ	'tailor'.....xayyāṭīn	banna	'builder'.....bannāyīn

The suffix *-īn* is also used with a few nouns of other patterns: *sane* 'year', pl. *snīn*; *ʕaduwu* 'enemy', pl. *ʕaduwwīn*.

See also pseudo-dual *-ēn*, [p.367].

The Suffix *-e/-a* is used for the plural:

1.) With nouns ending in the suffix *-ṣi* [p.306]:

bōyaṣi	'bootblack'...bōyaṣiyye	ʔahwaṣi	'coffeehouse keeper'. ʔahwaṣiyye
xāḍarṣi	'greengrocer'. xāḍarṣiyye	ʕarbaṣi	'carriage driver'....ʕarbaṣiyye
kandarṣi	'cobbler'.....kandarṣiyye	ballorṣi	'glass maker'.....ballorṣiyye

2.) With many nouns ending in the formative *-i* [p.280], and a few ending in radical *i*:

<i>ḥarāmi</i> 'thief'..... <i>ḥaramiyye</i>	<i>ʕazzābi</i> 'batchelor'..... <i>ʕazzābiyye</i>
<i>sankari</i> 'tinsmith'..... <i>sankariyye</i>	<i>frānsāwī</i> 'frenchman'..... <i>frānsawīyye</i>
<i>bawāyki</i> 'chandler'..... <i>bawāykiyye</i>	<i>lābnāni</i> 'Lebanese'..... <i>lābnāniyye</i>
<i>taḥarri</i> 'detective'..... <i>taḥarriyye</i>	<i>wāwi</i> 'jackal'..... <i>wāwiyye</i>

Some of these may also have plural *-īn*: *frānsawīyyīn*, *lābnāniyyīn*, *ʕazzābīn* [213], etc.

A few nouns have no *-i* in the singular, but have *-iyye* in the plural: *ʔaxtyār* 'old man', pl. *ʔaxtyāriyye*; *ʕofōr* 'chaffeur', pl. *ʕofōriyye*.

3.) With many occupational nouns of the pattern *Faʕʕāl* [p.305]:

<i>dahhāh</i> 'painter'..... <i>dahhāne</i>	<i>ʕattāl</i> 'porter'..... <i>ʕattāle</i>
<i>sammān</i> 'grocer'..... <i>sammāne</i>	<i>baḥḥār</i> 'sailor'..... <i>baḥḥāra</i>
<i>farrāš</i> 'bellboy'..... <i>farrāše</i>	<i>šarrāf</i> 'moneychanger'... <i>šarrāfe</i>

4.) With substantivized adjectives of the pattern *Faʕʕīl* [p.129]:

<i>šagḡīl</i> '(good) worker'.. <i>šagḡīle</i>	<i>ballīf</i> 'bluffer'..... <i>ballīfe</i>
<i>šarrīb</i> 'heavy drinker'.. <i>šarrībe</i>	<i>rakkīd</i> '(good) runner'.... <i>rakkīde</i>

The Suffix *-āt* is the most common and productive of all noun pluralizers. It is regularly used with certain kinds of derivatives, and commonly also with other nouns of various patterns.

1.) With feminal derivatives [p.304]:

Singular	Plural	(Derived from:)
<i>xālē</i>	'(maternal) aunt'..... <i>xālāt</i>	<i>xāl</i> '(maternal) uncle'
<i>mʕallme</i>	'(female) teacher'..... <i>mʕallmāt</i>	<i>mʕallem</i> '(male) teacher'
<i>ʔaṅglīziyye</i>	'Englishwoman'..... <i>ʔaṅglīziyyāt</i>	<i>ʔaṅglīzi</i> 'Englishman'
<i>xayyāṭa</i>	'seamstress, dressmaker'.. <i>xayyāṭāt</i>	<i>xayyāṭ</i> 'tailor'
<i>kalbe</i>	'female dog, bitch'..... <i>kalbāt</i>	<i>kalb</i> 'dog'

The plural suffix *-āt* with human and animal designations is by no means reserved for the female sex, however. Note *ʔabbāt* 'fathers', *xawāšāt* 'gentlemen', *ʔamiralāt* 'admirals', *ʔaxwāt* 'brothers and/or sisters', *šbūnāt* 'customers (male and/or female)', etc. (The last example stands in spite of the derivative *šbūne* '(female) customer' from *šbūn* '(male) customer', and the alternative plural *šabāyen*.)

2.) With singulatives [p.297]:

Singular	Plural	(Derived from:)
<i>taffāḥa</i> 'an apple'..... <i>taffāḥāt</i>	Collective <i>taffāḥ</i>	'apple(s)'
<i>kūsāye</i> 'a (zucchini) squash'.. <i>kūsayāt</i>	Collective <i>kūsa</i>	'squash'
<i>šāše</i> 'a chicken, a hen'..... <i>šāšāt</i>	Collective <i>šāš</i>	'chicken(s)'
<i>ḍarbe</i> 'a blow, a stroke'..... <i>ḍarbāt</i>	Gerund <i>ḍarb</i>	'hitting, striking'
<i>ʕaṭša</i> 'a sneeze'..... <i>ʕaṭšāt</i>	Gerund <i>ʕaṭš</i>	'sneezing'
<i>maṭar</i> 'a rain'..... <i>maṭarāt</i>	Ger. (or Col.) <i>maṭar</i>	'rain'
<i>nabāt</i> 'a plant'..... <i>nabatāt</i>	Ger. (or Col.) <i>nabāt</i>	'vegetation'
<i>zyāra</i> 'a visit'..... <i>zyārāt</i>	Gerund <i>zyāra</i>	'visiting'

Some unit nouns also have internal plurals: *warde* 'a flower', pl. *wardāt* or *wūd(e)*; *ḥabbe* 'a pill'; pl. *ḥabbāt* or *ḥbūb*, etc. See p.367.

3.) With concretized gerunds [p.284] of Patterns III-X [293]:

	Singular	Plural	(Derived from:)
Pat. III	<i>mḡāmara</i> 'venture, adventure'.. <i>mḡāmarāt</i>	<i>tḡāmar</i>	'to venture'
IV	<i>ʔaʕlān</i> 'announcement, notice'.. <i>ʔaʕlānāt</i>	<i>ʔaʕlan</i>	'to announce'
IV	<i>ʔizāʕa</i> 'broadcast'..... <i>ʔizāʕāt</i>	<i>ʔazāʕ</i>	'to broadcast'
V	<i>ṭašawwor</i> 'visualization'..... <i>ṭašawwarāt</i>	<i>ṭšawwar</i>	'to visualize'
VI	<i>tašāwwoz</i> 'passing, exceeding'.. <i>tašāwwezāt</i>	<i>tšāwaz</i>	'to pass, exceed'
VII	<i>ʔaṣiḥāb</i> 'retreat, withdrawal'.. <i>ʔaṣiḥābāt</i>	<i>naṣḥab</i>	'to withdraw'
VIII	<i>ʔaxtirāʕ</i> 'invention'..... <i>ʔaxtirāʕāt</i>	<i>x taraʕ</i>	'to invent'
X	<i>ʔaṣṭasmār</i> 'investment, profit'.. <i>ʔaṣṭasmārāt</i>	<i>stasmar</i>	'to exploit, invest'

Plurals in *-āt* are also common with nouns of Gerundial Pattern II (*taFēiL*): *tašlīh* 'repair, correction', pl. *tašlīhāt*, etc., but some have internal plurals (Pattern *taFaēiL* [p. 228]): *tadbīr* 'preparation', pl. *tadabīr*.

4.) With inanimate nouns having any of the augmented participial patterns [p. 134]:

Singular	Plural
<i>mǧallaf</i> 'envelope'.....	<i>mǧallafāt</i>
<i>mnabbēh</i> 'alarm clock'.....	<i>mnabbhāt</i>
<i>māštālah</i> 'term, expression'.....	<i>māštalahāt</i>
<i>māntāzah</i> 'park'.....	<i>māntazahāt</i>
<i>māstašfa</i> 'hospital'.....	<i>māstašfayāt</i>

5.) With hollow [p. 44] and geminate [p. 42] nouns having other patterns with prefix *m* [pp. 153-156]:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>mašāl</i> 'space, room'.....	<i>mašālāt</i>	<i>maṭār</i> 'airport'.....	<i>maṭārāt</i>
<i>mamarr</i> 'passageway'.....	<i>mamarrāt</i>	<i>mḥaṭṭa</i> 'station'.....	<i>mḥaṭṭāt</i>
<i>mʾaṣṣ</i> 'scissors'.....	<i>mʾaṣṣāt</i>	<i>mrāye</i> 'mirror'.....	<i>mrāyāt</i>
<i>maḍafe</i> 'reception room'....	<i>maḍāfāt</i>		

6.) With most nouns in a variety of other patterns, e.g. *FaēaLe* [144], *FaēāLe* [146], *FaēēāLe* [152], *F(i)ēāl(e)* [147], *F(u)ēūLe* [151], *ēiLa* [158], etc.

<i>wakāle</i> 'agency'.....	<i>wakālāt</i>	<i>ʾyās</i> 'measurement'.....	<i>ʾyāsāt</i>
<i>šahāde</i> 'certificate'.....	<i>šahādāt</i>	<i>ḥsāb</i> 'account'.....	<i>ḥsābāt</i>
<i>ḥkūme</i> 'government'.....	<i>ḥkūmāt</i>	<i>xzāne</i> 'closet, cupboard'.....	<i>xzānāt</i>
<i>sēūbe</i> 'difficulty'.....	<i>sēūbāt</i>	<i>wilāye</i> 'state'.....	<i>wilāyāt</i>
<i>barake</i> 'blessing'.....	<i>barakāt</i>	<i>sayyāra</i> 'automobile'.....	<i>sayyārāt</i>
<i>ṭabaʾa</i> 'class, level'....	<i>ṭabaʾāt</i>	<i>maḥḥāye</i> 'eraser'.....	<i>maḥḥāyāt</i>
<i>sāʿa</i> 'hour'.....	<i>sāʿāt</i>	<i>šiha</i> 'direction'.....	<i>šihāt</i>
<i>ṭābe</i> 'ball'.....	<i>ṭābāt</i>	<i>šila</i> 'connection'.....	<i>šilāt</i>

7.) With most nouns ending in *-iyye*:

	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>ʿamaliyye</i> 'operation'...	<i>ʿamaliyyāt</i>	<i>ḥanafiyye</i> 'faucet'.....	<i>ḥanafiyyāt</i>
<i>šamhuriyye</i> 'republic'...	<i>šamhuriyyāt</i>	<i>tamsiliyye</i> 'play, drama'...	<i>tamsiliyyāt</i>
<i>kalliyye</i> 'college'....	<i>kalliyyāt</i>	<i>niyye</i> 'aim, goal'....	<i>niyyāt</i>

Some nouns of the patterns *FaēLiyye* and *FāēLiyye*, however, have plurals of Pattern *FaēāLi* [p. 224], either exclusively or in addition to the external plural.

8.) With most modern foreign "loan-words" which do not fit the more common noun patterns:

<i>bābor</i> 'steamship'.....	<i>bāborāt</i>	<i>ʾotēl</i> 'hotel'.....	<i>ʾotēlāt</i>
<i>ʾamirāl</i> 'admiral'.....	<i>ʾamirālāt</i>	<i>xawāša</i> 'gentleman'...	<i>xawāšāt</i>
<i>ʾadrēs</i> 'address'.....	<i>ʾadrēsāt</i>	<i>trēn</i> 'train'.....	<i>trēnāt</i>
<i>bēbē</i> 'baby'.....	<i>bēbiyāt</i>	<i>baṇṭalōn</i> 'trousers'....	<i>baṇṭalōnāt</i>
<i>bāsʾklēt</i> 'bicycle'.....	<i>bāsʾklētāt</i>	<i>bānyo</i> 'bathtub'.....	<i>bānyoyāt</i>

In addition to the types of nouns listed above, the plural suffix *-āt* is used with many nouns of many other types. For example:

<i>nahfe</i> 'joke'.....	<i>nahfāt</i>	<i>ʾabb</i> 'father'.....	<i>ʾabbāt</i>
<i>marra</i> 'a time'.....	<i>marrāt</i>	<i>ʾāḡān</i> 'water heater'..	<i>ʾāḡānāt</i>
<i>šāmʿa</i> 'university'.....	<i>šāmʿāt</i>	<i>bīkār</i> 'compass'.....	<i>bīkarāt</i>
<i>buḥayra</i> 'lake'.....	<i>buḥayrāt</i>	<i>taškār</i> 'souvenir'.....	<i>taškārāt</i>
<i>taršame</i> 'translation'.....	<i>taršamāt</i>	<i>tayyār</i> 'current'.....	<i>tayyarāt</i>
<i>kōme</i> 'pile, heap'.....	<i>kōmāt</i>	<i>ḥēwān</i> 'animal'.....	<i>ḥēwānāt</i>
<i>māʿšize</i> 'miracle'.....	<i>māʿšizāt</i>	<i>sabaʾ</i> 'race'.....	<i>sabaʾāt</i>
<i>ḡāl</i> 'lock'.....	<i>ḡālāt</i>	<i>kāʾen</i> 'being'.....	<i>kāʾināt</i>

INTERNAL PLURAL PATTERNS

(al-ḡamē l-mukassar, Broken or Internal Plurals)

A large proportions of Arabic nouns are pluralized by changing the base pattern, for example sg. *kalb* 'dog': pl. *klāb* 'dogs'; sg. *hdiyye* 'gift': pl. *hadāya* 'gifts'; sg. *ktāb* 'book': pl. *katob* or *katob* 'books'.

There are many different pluralizing patterns. Some of them are used more or less exclusively for plurals (e.g. Patterns *FəʕoL*, as in *katob*), while others are common also as singular patterns (e.g. Pattern *FəʕāL*, as in pl. *klāb* 'dogs' and in sg. *ktāb* 'book').

In most cases it is not possible to deduce the plural pattern from the singular – or vice versa – with any high degree of certainty; the plurals of most nouns must be learned individually.

PATTERN *FəʕāL*

Most nouns with this plural pattern have singular patterns *FəʕL*, *FəʕL*, or *FəʕāL*.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>kaʕʕb</i> 'heel'.....	<i>kʕāb</i>	<i>katʕf</i> 'shoulder'.....	<i>ktāf</i>
<i>ḡabʕ</i> 'hyena'.....	<i>ḡbāʕ</i>	<i>rəbʕ</i> 'fourth, quarter'.....	<i>rbāʕ</i>
<i>waʕʕt</i> 'time'.....	<i>wʕāt</i>	<i>kəbʕš</i> 'ram'.....	<i>kbāš</i>
<i>šōʕ</i> 'voice, sound'.....	<i>šwāʕ</i>	<i>zərr</i> 'button'.....	<i>zār</i>
<i>tōr</i> 'bull, ox'.....	<i>twār</i>	<i>sənn</i> 'tooth'.....	<i>snān</i>
<i>raʕbe</i> 'neck'.....	<i>rʕāb</i>	<i>kūʕ</i> 'elbow'.....	<i>kwāʕ</i>
<i>ḡaffe</i> 'bank, side'.....	<i>ḡfāf</i>	<i>kīs</i> 'bag'.....	<i>kyās</i>

Singular	Plural
<i>walad</i>	'children'..... <i>wlād</i>
<i>ʕalam</i>	'pencil, pen'..... <i>ʕlām</i>
<i>šabal</i>	'mountain'..... <i>šbāl</i>
<i>bāb</i>	'door'..... <i>bwāb</i>
<i>waraʕ(a)</i>	'paper, leaf' [p.369]..... <i>wrāʕ</i>
<i>šāḡeb</i>	'friend'..... <i>šḡāb</i>
<i>rəššāl</i>	'man'..... <i>ršāl</i>

Pattern *FəʕāL* is not generally used for nouns with a final radical semivowel. Note, however, the modifications of this pattern in *ʕuḡāʕ* 'judges' (sg. *ʕāḡi*) and *ḡuzāt* 'conquerors' (sg. *ḡāzi*), and *ləḡe* (suf. form *ləḡā-*) 'beards' (sg. *ləḡye*). [Cf. p.147.]

This pattern is not used for nouns with medial radical *y* whose singular is on Pattern *FəʕL* (e.g. *ṭēr* 'bird').

Colloquial plurals in *FəʕāL* correspond to Classical Patterns *FəʕāL* and *ʕaFəʕāL*. The latter, however, also occurs in Colloquial (see below).

PATTERN *ʕaFəʕāL*

Almost all nouns with this plural have singular patterns *FəʕL*, *FəʕL*, or *FəʕāL*.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>šaxš</i> 'person'.....	<i>ʕaxšāš</i>	<i>ḡəzb</i> '(political) party'...	<i>ʕḡəzāb</i>
<i>waḡʕ</i> 'situation'.....	<i>ʕawḡāʕ</i>	<i>xabar</i> 'news'.....	<i>ʕaxbār</i>
<i>səʕʕr</i> 'price'.....	<i>ʕasʕār</i>	<i>sabab</i> 'cause'.....	<i>ʕasbāb</i>
<i>šəʕʕ</i> 'part'.....	<i>ʕaššāʕ</i>	<i>ʕamal</i> 'work, deed'.....	<i>ʕaʕmāl</i>
<i>māl</i> 'wealth, property'...	<i>ʕamwāl</i>	<i>ʕīd</i> 'holiday'.....	<i>ʕaʕyād</i>
<i>ḡāl</i> 'situation'.....	<i>ʕaḡwāl</i>	<i>šīl</i> 'generation'.....	<i>ʕašyāl</i>
<i>lōn</i> 'color'.....	<i>ʕalwān</i>	<i>nūr</i> 'light'.....	<i>ʕanwār</i>

Unlike Pattern *FəʕāL* (above), Pattern *ʕaFəʕāL* is used for some nouns that have a final radical semivowel, represented in this pattern by *ʕ*: *ʕaʕḡāʕ* 'members': sg. *ʕəḡu*; *ʕašwāʕ* 'atmosphere, air': sg. *šaww*. Note also *ʕasmāʕ* 'names': Root *s-m-y* but singular *ʕasʕm*. The plural of *šī* 'thing' is generally defective: *ʕašya* 'things' (but there is also the sound form *ʕašyāʕ* (and singular *šēʕ*)).

Quite a few nouns have plurals that vacillate between *ʕaFəʕāL* and *FəʕāL*: *ʕawʕāt* or *wʕāt* 'times', *ʕašwāʕ* or *šwāʕ* 'voices, noises', etc. Pattern *ʕaFəʕāL* in such cases sounds more "Classical", and *FəʕāL*, more dialectal.

The word *yōm* 'day' has a classifying plural *ʕayyām*, and the more colloquial *ʕiyyām* (which loses its *ʕ* after a numeral: *xamst iyyām* 'five days' [p.171]).

The plural of *raʕi* 'opinion' is *ʕārāʕ*, and one plural of *ḡīr* 'well' is *ʕābār*. (The first *a* is lengthened, instead of there being *ʕ* or *y* before the second *ā*.)

PATTERN *FēūL*

Most nouns of this pattern have singular patterns *FāEL* or *FāEL*.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ʔaš ^ə l 'origin'.....ʔšūl		kaff 'glove'.....kfūf	
šah ^ə d 'effort'.....šhūd		xat ^t 'line'.....xtūt	
šaf ^ə n 'eyelid'.....šfūn		xēt 'thread'.....xyūt	
ʔar ^ə š 'piastre'.....ʔrūš		ēn 'eye'.....ēyūn	
dam ^ə a 'tear'.....dmūē		šēbe 'pocket'.....šyūb	
malek 'king'.....mlūk			

This pattern is not used for nouns with final radical semivowels, nor with medial *w*. The noun *rās* 'head' has the hollow plural form *rūs* 'heads'. The singular of *wšūh* 'faces, surfaces', is generally pronounced *wāšš* in the sense 'face', though the classicising form *wāšš* is generally used for 'surface'.

The classicising Pattern *FwēūL* is used for some nouns: *huʔūʔ* 'rights' (sg. *haʔʔ*), *šuyūš* 'armies' (sg. *šēš*), *ēušūr* 'ages' (sg. *ēašʔr*).

PATTERN *FēūLe*

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns *FāEL* or *FāEL*. Most may also have the plural without *-e/-a*: *FēūL*.

baṅk 'bank'.....bnūk(e)	ward(e) 'flower[]'.....wrūd(e)
baḥ ^ə r 'sea'.....bḥūr(a)	nas ^ə r 'vulture'.....nsūr(a)
šas ^ə r 'bridge'.....šsūr(a)	ḥall 'solution'.....ḥlūl(e)
ʔann 'chicken coop'.....ʔnūne	dīk 'cock, rooster'.....dyūk(e)
māh ^ə r 'colt'.....mhūra	tēs 'billy goat'.....tyūs(e)

Like Pattern *FēūL*, this pattern is not used with final radical semivowel or medial *w*.

On construct forms, see p. 164.

PATTERN *FāEL*

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially Patterns *F(a)ēīL(e)* and *FēāL(e)*.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ʔšāt 'belt'.....ʔaš ^ə t		ḥašīre 'mat'.....ḥaš ^ə r	
ḥāf 'blanket'.....lāḥ ^ə f		safīne 'ship'.....saḥ ^ə n	
ktāb 'book'.....kat ^ə b		gdīš 'horse, nag'...gād ^ə š	
ēašāye 'stick, cane'...ēaši		zalame 'man'.....zāl ^ə m	
ēabāye 'abaya'.....ēabi		walad 'children, descendant'....wāld	

PATTERN *FāēoL*

Nouns with this pattern have various singular patterns, especially *FēāL* and *FāēīL(e)*:

bšāt 'rug'.....bašoṭ	ṭarīʔ 'road'.....ṭaroʔ
ʔasās 'foundation'.....ʔasos	sabīl 'way'.....səbol
niṣām 'system'.....naṣom	madīne 'city'.....madon
ktāb 'book'.....katob	rasūl 'apostle'.....rašol

Some nouns (e.g. *ktāb* 'book', *safīne* 'ship') vacillate between Patterns *FāēoL* and *FāEL* in the plural. With suffixes the difference between the two patterns disappears, since *o* is dropped or changed to *ə* [p. 28].

PATTERN *FāēaL*

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern *FāēLe*:

nəʔṭa 'point'.....nəʔaṭ	ḥīle 'trick'.....ḥiyal
bərke 'pools'.....bərak	līfe 'fiber brush'....liyaf
rətbe 'rank'.....rətab	šūra 'picture'.....šuwar
šaffe 'lip'.....šafaf	ʔūda 'room'.....ʔuwaḍ

The first pattern vowel (*ə*) becomes *i* before *y*, and *u* before *w* and in certain classicisms: *ʔumam* 'nations' (sg. *ʔumme*).

This pattern is also used for some nouns (especially hollow ones) of singular pattern *FaLe*:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>xēme</i> 'tent'..... <i>xiyam</i>	<i>šōke</i> 'fork'..... <i>šuwak</i>		
<i>dawle</i> 'nation, state'.. <i>duwal</i>	<i>šanta</i> 'bag, suitcase'.. <i>šanat</i>		

PATTERN *FaLa*

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings. Many are substantivized adjectives [Cf. p. 206], and most have the singular pattern *F(a)LeL*.

<i>šrīk</i> 'partner'..... <i>šaraka</i>	<i>faʔir</i> 'poor, indigent'..... <i>faʔara</i>
<i>raʔīs</i> 'chief, head'... <i>raʔasa</i>	<i>ʔadīb</i> 'literary scholar'.... <i>ʔadaba</i>
<i>baxīl</i> 'miser'..... <i>baxala</i>	<i>šāʔer</i> 'poet'..... <i>šāʔara</i>
<i>xabīr</i> 'expert'..... <i>xabara</i>	<i>ʔālem</i> 'scholar, scientist'.. <i>ʔalama</i>
<i>wazīr</i> 'minister'..... <i>wazara</i>	

Pattern *FaLa* is not used with medial or final radical semivowel. Note, however, the form *mudara* 'directors' (sg. *mudīr*, root *d-w-r*).

PATTERNS *ʔaFēoL*, *ʔaFēoL*

Most nouns with these patterns have singular pattern *FaLeL*.

<i>šahʔr</i> 'month'..... <i>ʔašhor</i> , <i>ʔašhor</i>	<i>šaʔʔr</i> 'line' (of writing)... <i>ʔašʔor</i>
<i>sahʔm</i> 'share' (of stock)... <i>ʔašhom</i> , <i>ʔašhom</i>	<i>nafs</i> 'persons, selves'.... <i>ʔanfōs</i>
<i>nahʔr</i> 'river'..... <i>ʔanhor</i> , <i>ʔanhor</i>	<i>qarʔ</i> 'cubits'..... <i>ʔaqrōʔ</i>
<i>harf</i> 'letter'..... <i>ʔahrof</i> , <i>ʔahrof</i>	<i>lsān</i> 'tongue, talk'..... <i>ʔalson</i>

(alphabet)

The *ʔaFēoL* forms (but not the *ʔaFēoL* forms) commonly lose their initial *ʔ* after the numerals, and the numerals have connective *t*: *xamst-ānhor* 'five rivers' (or *xams ʔanhor*, *xams ʔanhor*). The forms without *ʔ* (and with connective *t*) are obligatory after numerals for *ʔašhor*, *ʔanfōs*, and *ʔaqrōʔ*. See p. 171.

PATTERNS *ʔaFʔLe*, *ʔaFēiLe*

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>		<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
<i>rġīf</i>	'loaf'.....	<i>ʔarʔġfe</i>		<i>wisām</i>	'medal'.....	<i>ʔawsime</i>
<i>ḥṣān</i>	'horse'.....	<i>ʔaḥʔṣne</i>		<i>niṣām</i>	'system'.....	<i>ʔanṣime</i>
<i>ṣahʔr</i>	'brother-in-law'...	<i>ʔaṣʔhra</i>		<i>suʔāl</i>	'question'.....	<i>ʔasʔile</i>
<i>dawa</i>	'medicine'.....	<i>ʔadʔwe</i>		<i>dmāġ</i>	'brain'.....	<i>ʔadmiġa</i>
<i>ḍaww</i>	'light'.....	<i>ʔaḍʔwe</i>		<i>raṣīd</i>	'balance, re- mainder'.....	<i>ʔarṣide</i>
<i>ʔanāye</i>	'irrigation ditch'.	<i>ʔaʔʔnye</i>		<i>ʔimām</i>	'imam'.....	<i>ʔaʔimme</i>
<i>hawa</i>	'air, breeze'.....	<i>ʔahuye</i>		<i>šēāē</i>	'ray'.....	<i>ʔašiēēa</i>

Note also: *ʔaṭabba* or *ʔaṭabba* 'physicians' (sg. *ṭabīb*), *ʔadalle* 'indications' (sg. *dalīl*).

Pattern *ʔaFēiLe* is the classicising version of the more colloquial *ʔaFʔLe*.

Some plurals of pattern *ʔaFʔLe* lose their initial *ʔ* after numerals (with connective *t*) [p. 171]; obligatorily in the case of *ʔarʔġfe*: *xamst-ārʔġfe* 'five loaves'; optionally for *ʔaḥʔṣne*, *ʔaṣʔhra*, *ʔaṣʔhze* (pl. of *ṣihāz* 'set') *ʔaṣʔfe* (pl. of *rṣīf* 'sidewalk').

On construct forms, see p. 164.

PATTERN *FaLeL*

Nouns with this pattern designate human beings; almost all have the singular pattern *FāLeL*.

<i>tāšer</i> 'merchant'..... <i>tāššār</i>	<i>zāyer</i> 'visitor'..... <i>zuwwār</i>
<i>ʔāmel</i> 'worker'..... <i>ʔāmmāl</i>	<i>nāʔeb</i> 'representative'.. <i>nuwwāb</i>
<i>rākeb</i> 'passenger'..... <i>rākkāb</i>	<i>ḥāyek</i> 'weaver'..... <i>ḥiyyāk</i>
<i>ṣābet</i> 'officer'..... <i>ṣabbāṭ</i>	<i>sāyes</i> 'groom'..... <i>siyyās</i>
<i>ḥakam</i> 'umpire'..... <i>ḥakkām</i>	<i>ḥažž</i> , 'pilgrim' (Msl.)... <i>ḥažžāž</i> <i>ḥažžī</i>

The first pattern vowel (*a*) becomes *u* before medial radical *w*, and *i* before *y*.

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowels.

PATTERN *FaELān*

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>ʔamīṣ</i> 'shirt'..... <i>ʔəmṣān</i>		<i>gadaʕ</i> 'brave fellow'.... <i>gaḍʕān</i>	
<i>ṣabi</i> 'boys'..... <i>ṣabyān</i>		<i>ṣār</i> 'neighbor'..... <i>ṣīrān</i>	
<i>xalīṣ</i> 'gulf'..... <i>xalṣān</i>		<i>fār(a)</i> 'mouse'..... <i>fīrān</i>	
<i>rāʕi</i> 'shepherd'..... <i>rāʕyān</i>		<i>sāʔ</i> 'leg'..... <i>sīʔān</i>	
<i>rāheb</i> 'monks'..... <i>rāhbān</i>		<i>ṣūṣ</i> 'chick'..... <i>ṣīṣān</i>	
<i>blād</i> 'country'..... <i>baldān</i>		<i>ḡūl</i> 'ghoul'..... <i>ḡīlān, ḡūlān</i>	
<i>ḡazāl</i> 'gazelle'..... <i>ḡazlān</i>		<i>xēṭ</i> 'thread'..... <i>xīṭān</i>	
<i>wādi</i> 'valley'..... <i>wadyān</i>		<i>hēṭ</i> 'wall'..... <i>hīṭān</i>	

The first pattern vowel (*a*) generally combines with a medial radical semivowel to produce *i*; note, however, the form *ḡūlān* (also *ḡīlān*), and the shortened *i* in *hīṭān* (and optionally also in *xīṭān/xīṭān*).

The singular patterns of these nouns are various, but do not include sound patterns *FaEL* and *FaEL*.

PATTERN *FaEāLi*

Most nouns with pattern have singular stem pattern *FaEL* or *FaEL*, usually plus a suffix *-e/-a, -a, -āye, or -iyye*.

<i>ʔarḍ</i> 'land'..... <i>ʔarāḍi</i>	<i>ṣakwa</i> 'complaint'..... <i>ṣakāwi</i>
<i>ʔaḥʔl</i> 'family'..... <i>ʔahāli</i>	<i>ṣanta</i> 'suitcase'..... <i>ṣanāti</i>
<i>ʔasʔm</i> 'name'..... <i>ʔasāmi</i>	<i>ʔantāye</i> 'female'..... <i>ʔanāti</i>
<i>lēl(e)</i> 'night'..... <i>layāli</i>	<i>ṣamsiyye</i> 'umbrella'..... <i>ṣamāsi</i>
<i>ʔahwe</i> 'cafe'..... <i>ʔahāwi</i>	<i>barriyye</i> 'desert, country'..... <i>barāri</i>
<i>ʔərne</i> 'corner, part'... <i>ʔarāni</i>	<i>ṣaḍriyye</i> 'vest'..... <i>ṣaḍāri</i>
<i>ʕərwe</i> 'buttonhole'..... <i>ʕarāwi</i>	<i>ḡanniyye</i> 'song'..... <i>ḡanāni</i>
<i>kəlwe</i> 'kidney'..... <i>kalāwi</i>	

Note also *maṣāri* 'money', whose singular *maṣriyye* is seldom used.

When the final radical is *y*, the last pattern vowel is *a* instead of *i*:

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>hdiyye</i> 'gift'..... <i>hadāya</i>		<i>zāwe</i> 'corner'..... <i>zawāya</i>	
<i>xatīyye</i> 'sin'..... <i>xatāya</i>		<i>ḥayye</i> 'snake'..... <i>ḥayāya</i>	
<i>ʔaḍiyye</i> 'case'..... <i>ʔaḍāya</i>		<i>ṣadi</i> 'kid'..... <i>ṣadāya</i>	

The noun *ḡanniyye* 'song', however, has the plural *ḡanāni*, as if its root were *ḡ-n-n* and its pattern *FaELiyye* (whereas its root is actually *ḡ-n-y* and its pattern *FaEELi*).

QUADRILITERAL-TYPE PLURAL PATTERNS

The true quadriradical patterns are *FaEāLeL*, *FaEāLLe*, and *FaEāLiL*¹. The pseudo-quadriradical patterns are *FaEāyeL*, *FawāLeL*, *maFāLeL*, *ʔaFāLeL*, *FawaEiL*, *FaEāEiL*, *maFāEiL*, *taFāEiL*, and *ʔaFāEiL*.

All these patterns reduce to three (as represented by the true quadriradicals, or by the formulae $C_1aC_2āC_3eC_4$, $C_1aC_2āC_3C_4e$, and $C_1aC_2aC_3iC_4$). In general, the pattern with *i* in the last syllable is used for quadriradical or augmented triradical nouns which also have a long vowel before the last radical in the singular. The pattern with *e* in the last syllable is used for most other quadriradicals and other triradicals of several kinds.

PATTERN *FaEāyeL*

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long vowel before the last consonant and a short vowel or none at all before the middle consonant. The majority have the *-e/-a* suffix in the singular.

<i>bḍāʕa</i> 'merchandise'..... <i>baḍāyeʕ</i>	<i>ʕaṣūz</i> 'old person'..... <i>ʕaṣāyez</i>
<i>xzāne</i> 'closet'..... <i>xazāyen</i>	<i>fḍīḥa</i> 'scandal'..... <i>faḍāyeḥ</i>
<i>ḍfīre</i> 'braid'..... <i>ḍafāyer</i>	<i>natīze</i> 'result'..... <i>natāyez</i>
<i>knīse</i> 'church'..... <i>kanāyes</i>	<i>sigāra</i> 'cigarette'..... <i>sagāyer</i>
<i>ḥaʔiʔa</i> 'truth'..... <i>ḥaʔāyeʔ</i>	<i>ṣnēne</i> 'garden'..... <i>ṣanāyen</i>
<i>xarīṭa</i> 'map'..... <i>xarāyeṭ</i>	<i>kānne</i> 'sister-in-law'..... <i>kanāyen</i>
<i>zḥūn</i> 'customer'..... <i>zabāyen</i>	<i>wāṣṭa</i> 'mediator'..... <i>waṣāyeṭ</i>

This pattern is not used with medial or final radical semivowels.

¹As in all the quadriradical formulae, the use of *L* to represent both the third and fourth radical does not mean they are the same.

PATTERN *FawāʿeL*

Most nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long vowel (usually *ā*) after the first radical, and a short vowel or none at all after the second.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
šāmeʿ 'mosque'.....	šawāmeʿ	bāyke 'sheepfold'.....	bawāyek
bāʿes 'motive'.....	bawāʿes	šāyze 'prize'.....	šawāyez
hāšeb 'eyebrow'.....	hawāšeb	ṭāyfe 'sect'.....	ṭawāyef
šāreʿ 'street'.....	šawāreʿ	rīḥa 'smell'.....	rawāyeh
bāxra 'steamship'.....	bawāxer	hāšye 'margin'.....	hawāši
ʔāʿde 'base'.....	ʔawāʿed	xābye 'jar'.....	xawābi
hādse 'accident'.....	hawādes	ḍāḥye 'outskirt, suburb'.....	ḍawāḥi
ʔādami 'nice person'....	ʔawādem	nādi 'club'.....	nawādi
yāxūr 'stable'.....	yawāxer	ʔamʔr 'order'.....	ʔawāmer

Geminate forms: *mawādd* 'materials' (sg. *mādde*), *hawāss* 'senses' (sg. *hāsse*), *dawābb* 'pack animals' (sg. *dābbe*), *ʿawāmm* 'masses' (sg. *ʿāmme*)

PATTERN *FawaʿiL* (and *FawāʿiL*)

Nouns with this pattern have singulars with long vowels after both the first and middle consonants.

xārūf 'lamb'.....	xawarīf	bābōr 'steamship'.....	bawabīr
šākūš 'hammer'.....	šawakīš	māʿōn 'container'.....	mawāʿīn
xāzūʔ 'stake, pole'....	xawazīʔ	tārīx 'date'.....	tawarīx
ṭāḥūn 'mill'.....	ṭawahīn	šākēt 'jacket'.....	šawākīt
nāʿūra 'water-wheel'....	nawāʿīr	ḥewān 'animal' (fig.) ¹	hawawīn
ʔiwān 'sitting room'...	ʔawawīn	šārūx 'rocket'.....	šawārīx

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

¹In the literal sense of 'animal', the plural *ḥewānāt* is used; *hawawīn* is only used as a derogatory term for people.

PATTERN *FaʿaʿiL* (and *FaʿāʿiL*)

Almost all nouns with this pattern have singulars with a long middle consonant followed by a long vowel.

Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
tānnūra 'skirt'.....	tanānīr	sannāra 'fish-hook'.....	sanānīr
ḥammām 'bath'.....	ḥamamīm	šabbāk 'window'.....	šababīk
dakkān 'shop'.....	dakakīn	šabbāṭ 'pair of shoes'....	šababīṭ
ḡannār 'belt'.....	ḡananīr	ṭarrāḥa 'cushion'.....	ṭararīḥ
sakkīn 'knife'.....	sakakīn	kabbūt 'coat'.....	kababīt

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel.

The plural *danānīr* 'dinars' is anomalous, since the singular *dīnār* has a long *ī*, not a long *n*.

The rare pattern *FaʿāʿeL* is found in *salālem* 'ladders', whose singular is *sallom* (also a rare pattern: *FaʿʿeL*).

PATTERN *maFāʿeL*

Most nouns with this pattern have singular pattern *maFʿaL(e)*.

mablag 'amount, sum'.....	mabāleḡ	madxane 'chimney'.....	madāxen
maxbaz 'bakery'.....	maxābez	mamša 'corridor'.....	mamāši
madfaʿ 'cannon'.....	madāfeʿ	maʔwa 'shelter'.....	maʔāwi
maṭraḥ 'place'.....	maṭāreh	mənʔol 'sifter, sieve'.....	manāxel
maʿlaʔa 'spoon'.....	maʿāleʔ	mūsem 'season'.....	mawāsem
maʿraka 'battle'.....	maʿārek	mawhibe 'talent'.....	mawāheb
masʔale 'matter'.....	masāʿel	məkwāye '(flat) iron'.....	makāwi
mašlaḥa 'interest'.....	mašāleḥ	mašlāye 'trap'.....	mašāli

A number of nouns with this pattern have no singular: *malāmeḥ* '(facial) expression', *mašāhel* 'unknown regions', *maʿālem* 'salient features', *manāfeʿ* 'utilities', *maxāweḥ* 'fears', *maḥāsen* 'advantages', etc. Note also *mašāyex* 'sheikhs' (cf. sg. *šēx*, regular pl. *šuyūx*).

PATTERN *maFaēīL* (and *maFāēīL*)

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns *maFēūL*, *maFēāl*.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<i>maktūb</i> 'letter'.....	<i>makatīb</i>	<i>maftāḥ</i> 'key'.....	<i>mafatiḥ</i>
<i>mašrūʿ</i> 'project'.....	<i>mašarīʿ</i>	<i>maḥrāt</i> 'plow'.....	<i>mašrūʿ</i>
<i>mašrūf</i> 'expenditure'.....	<i>mašarīf</i>	<i>mašrāb</i> 'gutter'.....	<i>mašarīb</i>
<i>mawḏūʿ</i> 'topic'.....	<i>mawāḏīʿ</i>	<i>maṣtār</i> 'elder'.....	<i>maṣatīr</i>
<i>mīʿād</i> 'appointment'.....	<i>mawāʿīd</i>		
<i>mīzān</i> 'scale balance'...	<i>mawāzīn</i> or <i>mayazīn</i>		

PATTERN *taFaēīL*

Nouns with this pattern have singulars of the patterns *taFēīL* or *taFēāl*.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<i>tadbīr</i> 'arrangement, preparation'.....	<i>tadabīr</i>
<i>tašrīḥ</i> 'declaration'.....	<i>tašarīḥ</i>
<i>taqrīr</i> 'report'.....	<i>taqarīr</i>
<i>tašmīm</i> 'design'.....	<i>tašamīm</i>
<i>tamsāl</i> 'statue'.....	<i>tamasāl</i>

PATTERNS *ʔaFāēeL* and *ʔaFāēīL*

<i>ḏafʔ</i> '(finger)nail'.....	<i>ʔaḏāfer</i>
<i>swāra</i> 'bracelet'.....	<i>ʔasāwer</i>
<i>waʿa</i> 'garment'.....	<i>ʔawāʿi</i> 'clothes'
<i>brīʔ</i> 'jug'.....	<i>ʔabarīʔ</i>
<i>sbūʿ</i> 'week'.....	<i>ʔasābīʿ</i>

Note, however, that *ʔabarīʔ* and *ʔasābīʿ* would be considered quadriliteral pattern *FaʿaLiL* if compared with the singular forms *ʔasbūʿ*, *ʔabrīʔ*.

PATTERN *FaʿāLeL*

Most nouns with this pattern have singular patterns *FaʿLaL*, *FaʿLaLe*, *FaʿLoL*, or *FaʿʔLLe*.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<i>ʔarnab</i> 'rabbit'.....	<i>ʔarāneb</i>	<i>ʿanṣor</i> 'element'.....	<i>ʿanāṣer</i>
<i>xanṣar</i> 'dagger'.....	<i>xanāṣer</i>	<i>ʔanfod</i> 'hedgehog'.....	<i>ʔanāfed</i>
<i>daftar</i> 'notebook'.....	<i>dafāter</i>	<i>qanṣol</i> 'consul'.....	<i>qanāṣel</i>
<i>šaršaf</i> 'sheet'.....	<i>šarāšef</i>	<i>falfol</i> 'pepper' [p. 368]....	<i>falāfel</i>
<i>tazkara</i> 'ticket'.....	<i>tazāker</i>	<i>ḏafḏaʿa</i> 'frog'.....	<i>ḏafāḏeʿ</i>
<i>ṭanšara</i> 'pot'.....	<i>ṭanāšer</i>	<i>zalʔḥfe</i> 'tortoise'.....	<i>zalāḥef</i>
<i>ʔarmal(e)</i> 'widow(er)'.....	<i>ʔarāmel</i>	<i>žamʔžme</i> 'skull'.....	<i>žamāžem</i>
<i>bēdar</i> 'threshing floor'..	<i>bayāder</i>	<i>kārsi</i> 'chair'.....	<i>karāsi</i>
<i>faršāye</i> 'brush'.....	<i>farāši</i>	<i>ʔašbaʿa</i> 'finger'.....	<i>ʔašābeʿ</i>

Note also *barāmež* 'programs', whose five-consonant singular *barāmež* loses its third radical in the plural.

PATTERN *FaʿāLLe*

(Pattern *FaʿāLLe* consists of *FaʿāLeL* plus the *-e/-a* suffix [p. 28]).

This pattern is used only with certain nouns designating human beings. The singular patterns are various.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<i>doktōr</i> 'doctor'.....	<i>dakātra</i>
<i>ʔastāz</i> 'professor, teacher'.....	<i>ʔasātze</i>
<i>teržmān</i> 'interpreter-guide'.....	<i>tarāžme</i>
<i>gāndūr</i> 'dandy'.....	<i>gānādra</i>
<i>bērūti</i> 'Beirut'.....	<i>bayārte</i>
<i>dimašqi</i> 'Damascene'.....	<i>damāšqa</i>
<i>mārūni</i> 'Maronite'.....	<i>mawārne</i>

SingularPlural

<i>fōʔāni</i>	'upper'.....	<i>fawāʔne</i>	'people living upstairs'
<i>taḥtāni</i>	'lower'.....	<i>taḥātne</i>	'people living downstairs'
<i>xūri</i>	'priest'.....	<i>xawārne</i>	
<i>ʔasʔof</i>	'bishop'.....	<i>ʔasāʔfe</i>	
<i>baṭrak</i>	'patriarch'.....	<i>baṭārke</i>	
<i>maṭrān</i>	'metropolitan, archbishop'....	<i>maṭārne</i>	

Note that *xūri* 'priest' takes on another consonant (n) in the plural, while *tarḥmān* 'dragoman' loses its ending -ān.

Note that the plural *malāyke* 'angels' (sg. *malak* or *malāk*) fits this pattern, but since its root (theoretically, at least) is l-ʔ-k, the plural pattern would have to be analyzed as *maʔāʔLe*. (In any case the forms of this word are anomalous in one way or another).

On construct forms, see p.164.

PATTERN FaʔaLīL

Almost all nouns with this pattern have a singular pattern with a long vowel before the last consonant.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<i>ṣarṣūr</i>	'cricket'.....	<i>ṣaraṣīr</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>baṣḡūt</i>	'flea'.....	<i>baraḡīt</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>dastūr</i>	'constitution'....	<i>dasatīr</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>sandūʔ</i>	'box, chest'.....	<i>sanadīʔ</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>ʔaṣfūr</i>	'bird'.....	<i>ʔaṣafīr</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>ʔanwān</i>	'address'.....	<i>ʔanawīn</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>fanṣān</i>	'cup'.....	<i>fanāṣīn</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>karbāṣ</i>	'whip'.....	<i>karabīṣ</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>
<i>raṣmāl</i>	'capital' []...rasamīl	<i>niṣān</i>	<i>baṣātīn</i>

Some nouns have a long second a (usually optional):
baṣātīn 'gardens', *fanāṣīn* 'cups', *ṣayāṣīn* 'devils'.

Note also the optional forms *ʔaṣābīʔ* (/ʔaṣābeʔ) 'fingers' (sg. *ʔaṣbaʔ* or *ʔaṣbaʔa*), *baraniṣ* (/barāneṣ) 'burnoose, bathrobe' (sg. *barnoṣ*).

This pattern is not used with final radical semivowel (see Pattern *FaʔāLeL*, above).

UNCOMMON PATTERNS

Pattern *FaʔīL*: *ḥamīr* 'donkeys' (sg. *ḥmār*), *ʔabīd* 'slaves' (sg. *ʔabd*)

Pattern *FāʔāL* (F = ʔ): *ʔādāb* 'culture, arts' (sg. *ʔadab*), *ʔāfāʔ* 'horizons' (sg. *ʔafʔʔ*), *ʔālāf* 'thousands' (sg. *ʔalf*), *ʔāmāl* 'hopes' (sg. *ʔamal*)

Pattern *FēʔāLe*: *fēʔāle* 'laborer' (sg. *fāʔel*), *byāra* 'wells' (sg. *bīr*)

Pattern *FēʔLāt*: *rṣūḥāt* 'colds' (sg. *raṣḥ*), *wṣūlāt* 'receipts' (sg. *waṣḥ*), *ḥūmāt* 'meat hors-d'oeuvres' (no sing.)

CHAPTER 9: VERB DERIVATION

Index of Categories¹

Passive	p. 234
True Passive	236
Mediopassive	238
Causative	240
Ascriptive	243
Estimative	244
Eductive	244
Conative	245
Participative	246
Reciprocatative	248
Simulative	249
Inchoative	250
Descriptive	251
Abstractive	252
Augmentative	253
Applicative	256

Not all of these categories are equally clear-cut. While some (e.g. causative) include many verbs showing a high degree of semantic and syntactic consistency among themselves, others (e.g. eductive) encompass relatively wide deviations from the norm. (See p. 49 ff.)

There are, furthermore, many augmented verbs whose meanings do not allow for inclusion in any of the derivational categories.

¹These categories are related to one another in several dimensions and degrees. The structure of this system is not made explicit here, but may be inferred from the way some of the categories are defined and described relative to others.

PASSIVE VERBS

In this book the term 'passive' is used to subsume both the true passive and the mediopassive. On the distinction between these two categories, see p. 238.

Formation

The passive of simple triradical verbs is most commonly formed on Pattern VII (*nFaEaL*) [p. 91]:

Active		Passive
<i>ġalab</i> 'to beat, win'	<i>nġalab</i>	'to be beaten, to lose'
<i>sameċ</i> 'to hear'	<i>nsamaċ</i>	'to be heard'
<i>šāf</i> 'to see'	<i>nšāf</i>	'to be seen'
<i>ċaša</i> 'to disobey'	<i>nċaša</i>	'to be disobeyed'

Pattern VIII (*FtaEaL*) [95] forms the passive of quite a few simple verbs.

<i>rata</i> 'to mend'	<i>rtata</i>	'to be mended'
<i>naʔal</i> 'to transfer'	<i>ntaʔal</i>	'to be transferred, to move'
<i>naši</i> 'to forget'	<i>ntaša</i>	'to be forgotten'

For true passives, Pattern VIII is most often used with initial radical *n* or *r*; for mediopassives, it is used regardless of the initial radical: *xtanaʔ* 'to choke' (intrans.), from *xanaʔ* 'to choke' (trans.).

Some active verbs of Patterns *FaEaL*, *byaʔEeL* [p. 57] or *FaEaL*, *byaʔEeL* [55] have passives on the pattern *FaEeL*, *byaʔEaL* [71]:¹

<i>ʔatal</i> , <i>byaʔtol</i> 'to kill'	<i>ʔatel</i> , <i>byaʔtal</i>	'to be killed'
<i>taEab</i> , <i>byatEeb</i> 'to tire'	<i>tāEeb</i> , <i>byatEab</i>	'to get tired' (trans.)
<i>raċa</i> , <i>byarċi</i> 'to please, satisfy'	<i>rāċi</i> , <i>byarċa</i>	'to be pleased, satisfied'

¹In the case of *ʔatel*, *byaʔtal* 'to be killed', this colloquial pattern corresponds to a true internal passive in Classical Arabic: *qutila*, *yuqtalu*. (Note also the "impersonal" passive *ġami ċalē* 'he's fainted': Cl. *ġumiya ċalayhi*.) Most of these colloquial passives, however, correspond to Classical verbs of Pattern *FaEiLa*, *yaʔEaLu*.

The passives of Pattern II (*FaEeLaL*), Pattern III (*FāEaL*), quadriradical (*FaELaL*), and pseudo-quadriradical verbs is formed by prefixation of *t* [p. 85] resulting in verbs of Patterns V (*tFaEeLaL*) [86], VI (*tFāEaL*) [88], *tFaELaL* [121], etc.:

Active		Passive
<i>kannas</i> 'to sweep'	<i>tkannas</i>	'to be swept'
<i>ʔāšaš</i> 'to punish'	<i>tʔāšaš</i>	'to be punished'
<i>taržam</i> 'to translate'	<i>ttaržam</i>	'to be translated'
<i>sōdan</i> 'to depress'	<i>tsōdan</i>	'to be depressed'

The irregular initial-weak verbs *ʔakal* 'to eat' and *ʔaxad* 'to take' [p. 56] have passives formed on Pattern VI: *ttākal* 'to be eaten', *ttāxad* 'to be taken' [90].¹ (Regular Pattern VII forms *nʔakal* and *nʔaxad* also exist.)

Generally speaking, active verbs that are formed on Patterns IV through X have no passives (except in their participles [p. 260]).

A few augmented verbs have passives formed on Pattern VII or VIII: *štara* 'to buy' → *nšara* 'to be bought'; *sawwa* 'to cook, do' → *stawa* 'to be cooked, done'.

The verb *ntala* 'to get full, be filled' is generally considered an irregular Pattern VIII passive of *malla* 'to fill', with *n* in place of the initial radical *m*. (But note that some speakers have an active verb *talla* 'to fill' [Bart. 92], in view of which *ntala* would belong to Pattern VII.)

Occasionally passives are improvised by changing the stem vowels as in the Classical passive inflection (perfect *a...a* → *u...u*; impf. *ə...e/o* → *u...a*): *nuġalt mən yōmēn* 'I was transferred two days ago' (Cf. the more colloquial *ntaʔalt...* 'I was transferred...' or 'I moved...'). *l-mara ʔala ħaʔʔ ʔənn tantšəxeb u-tuntāxab* [SAL-154] 'Women have the right to elect and to be elected.' The Classical internal passive is also used in certain set phrases, e.g. *ċala ma yurām* 'as(well as could possibly be)desired'.

¹These verbs are sometimes said to be formed on Pattern VIII, or on a hybrid of Patterns VI and VIII. Note, however, that *ʔaxad* already has a (Classicizing) Pattern VIII derivative *ttaxaz* [p. 252]. (Cf. also the initial-weak Pattern VIII verb *ttakal* 'to rely', whose root, however, is *w-k-l* not *ʔ-k-l*.) The verb *ttākal* has a sound doublet *tʔākal* 'to be eaten away, corroded'.

The True Passive

The subject of a true passive verb corresponds to the object of its underlying active verb:

Active	Passive
<i>n-nādi r-riyādi ġalab farī'na</i> 'The Athletic Club beat our team'	<i>farī'na nġalab</i> 'Our team was beaten'
<i>mā ħada bisadde? hal-ʔəšša</i> 'No one would believe that story'	<i>hal-ʔəšša mā btətsadda?</i> 'That story is unbelievable'
<i>bətšūf ʔl-balad ši mən rās ʔḡ-ḡabal?</i> 'Can you see the town from the top of the mountain?'	<i>l-balad btənšāf ši mən rās ʔḡ-ḡabal?</i> 'Is the town visible from the top of the mountain?'

The true passive construction in Arabic does not – as a general rule – include an agentive phrase. If the agent is to be named at all, it should be as subject of the active verb. To achieve an effect similar to that of the English sentence 'Our team was beaten by the Athletic Club', the Arabic object may be extraposed [p.431] and the verb and subject inverted [432]: *farī'na ġalabo n-nādi r-riyādi* 'Our team, the Athletic Club beat it'.

There are some exceptions, however, whereby an agentive phrase with *mən* [p.239] is used with what seems to be a true passive: *l-ʔattifāʔiyye lāzem tətsadda? mən maḡles ʔḡ-suyūx* 'The treaty has to be ratified by the senate'. These cases may perhaps be due to the extensive loss of contrast in modern Arabic between true passive and mediopassive (with which agentive phrases are often used), and perhaps in part due to the effect of journalistic translations from other languages. (Agentive phrases with *mən qəbal* or *mən ʔaraf* 'by' may be used more broadly than the simple preposition *mən*, but such usage is limited to a rather pedantic classicising style, and is not often heard in ordinary conversation.)

While an agentive phrase is not normally used in the true passive construction, nevertheless the true passive – unlike the mediopassive – implies that there is an external causative agent involved in the event referred to, though that agent may be unknown (*maḡhūl*).

The Impersonal Passive. In Arabic as in English, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb with its object suppressed, is sometimes¹ converted to passive, provided it has a prepositional complement:

Active	Passive
<i>mā ħada nām b-hat-taxʔt</i> 'Nobody has slept in this bed'	<i>mā nnām b-hat-taxʔt</i> 'This bed hasn't been slept in'
<i>ʔəfi ši nʔāmen fī?</i> 'Is there anything left we can believe in?'	<i>ʔəfi ši yəʔāman fī?</i> 'Is there anything left to believe in? (i.e. '...to be believed in?')'
<i>mā ħada byəħrob mən has-səḡʔn ...</i> 'Nobody escapes from that prison'	<i>ma byənhāreb mən has-səḡʔn</i> 'That prison cannot be escaped from'
<i>dafaʔnā-lak 'We've paid you' ...</i>	<i>ndafaʔ-lak 'You've been paid' (lit. "There has been paid to you")</i>

In Arabic, if the active verb has no object, then its passive has no subject, and remains always in the third-person masculine/singular. This subjectless, or IMPERSONAL, passive is quite unlike the English construction, in which the prepositional complement of an active verb corresponds to the subject of its passive.

One should not be misled by the impersonal passive with extraposed [p.433] prepositional complement. In the translation of 'These beds haven't been slept in' as *hat-txūt mā nnām fīha*, note that *txūt* is not the subject of *nnām*, but rather the antecedent of *-ha*: 'These beds, there has not been slept in them'. Further examples with extraposed complement:

<i>haṭ-ʔanžara mā baṭbox fīha</i> 'This pot I don't cook in'	<i>haṭ-ʔanžara mā byəntābex fīha</i> 'This pot is not to cook in'
<i>has-suʔālāt mā ḡāwabt ʔalēha ...</i> 'These questions, you haven't answered'	<i>has-suʔālāt mā dḡāwab ʔalēha</i> 'These questions haven't been answered'
<i>šū l-ʔālāt yalli ʔam-idəʔʔu fīha?</i> 'What are the instruments they are playing (on)?'	<i>šū l-ʔālāt yalli ʔam-yəndaʔʔ fīha?</i> 'What are the instruments being played (on)?'

¹ As in English, some prepositionally complemented verbs are commonly converted to passive, while others are not. As with all derivational categories, the question whether or not a theoretically possible derivative is actually used is largely a matter of lexical idiosyncrasy.

The Mediopassive

As distinct from the true passive, the mediopassive does not imply an external causative agent. If an active verb means '(X) does Y to (Z)', then its mediopassive derivative means '(Z) undergoes Y', but an external agent X is not implied (nor is it ruled out).

Active	Mediopassive
<i>şaffhon</i> 'Line them up!'	<i>şaffu</i> (or <i>nşaffu</i>) 'Line up!'
<i>hammanti l-ʔwlād walla ləssa?</i> ...	<i>l-ʔwlād tammamu walla ləssa?</i>
'Have you bathed the children yet?'	'Have the children had their baths yet?'
<i>d-doktör manaʔo ʔan ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm</i>	<i>ʔam-yəmtəneʔ ʔan ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm</i>
'The doctor forbade his eating meat'	'He's abstaining from eating meat'

No grammatical distinction is made in Arabic verbs between "reflexive" acts and spontaneous developments — what one does to one's self and what simply happens to one are equally accommodated by the mediopassive: *tʔallam* 'to learn' (spontaneously or by self-instruction, or — as a true passive — 'to be taught'); *tammam* 'to have a bath' ('to bathe one's self' or as a true passive, 'to be bathed').

The mediopassive derivation is the converse of the causative [p.240]: an active verb is to its mediopassive as a causative is to the verb underlying it. In the case of correlative pairs like *sawwa* 'to cook, do' and *stawa* 'to be cooked, done' [p.51], it is impossible to distinguish between the two types of relationship, since both verbs are singly augmented. Similarly, both of the pair *taʔab* 'to tire' (trans.) and *təʔeb* 'to get tired' are simple: if *taʔab* is counted as primary, then *təʔeb* is its mediopassive, but if *təʔeb* is primary, then *taʔab* is its causative.

The distinction between mediopassive and true passive is formally expressed — in relatively few cases — in the contrast between Pattern VIII (for mediopassive) and Pattern VII (for true passive):

Mediopassive	True Passive
<i>ʔtamaʔ</i> 'to meet, get together' ..	<i>nʔamaʔ</i> 'to be brought together'
<i>mtanaʔ</i> 'to abstain' (from...) ...	<i>nmanaʔ</i> 'to be prevented' (from...)
<i>mtadd</i> 'to extend, stretch'	<i>nmadd</i> 'to be extended, stretched'

<i>rtafaʔ</i> 'to rise, be high up'	<i>nrafaʔ</i> 'to be raised'
<i>ʔtaḡal</i> 'to work'	<i>nʔaḡal</i> 'to be made busy'

Of the fairly numerous pairs of Pattern VII and VIII verbs, however, most do not actually contrast as true passive to mediopassive. Compare, for instance, *nkasq* and *ktasa*, both of which (for many speakers, at least) mean either 'to be clothed, outfitted' (by someone), or 'to clothe, outfit one's self'; or *nhara* and *htara*, both meaning either 'to be worn out' (by something), or 'to wear out' (by its own action).

Even some of the five pairs listed above are not always used in a clearcut contrastive way. *nmadd*, for instance, can be used in a mediopassive sense, and *rtafaʔ*, in a true passive sense; while *ʔtaḡal* is commonly construed as a primary active verb, and *nʔaḡal* as a mediopassive.

Unlike true passives, some mediopassive verbs are transitive, their underlying active verbs being doubly transitive:

Active	Mediopassive
<i>mīn ʔallamak ʔarabi?</i>	<i>mnēn tʔallamt ʔarabi?</i>
'Who taught you Arabic?'	'How did you learn Arabic?'
<i>ʔawwazū bənthon</i>	<i>dʔawwaz bənthon</i>
'They gave him their daughter in marriage'	'He married their daughter'
<i>nāwalni š-šanta</i>	<i>tnāwalt ʔš-šanta</i>
'He handed (or passed) me the bag'	'I took (or reached) the bag'

Likewise in contrast to true passives, many mediopassives take a prepositional complement with *mən* [p.478] or *b-* [479], which may be construed as an agentive phrase, corresponding to the subject of the underlying active verb:

<i>l-baḥk dayyanni maʔāri</i>	<i>ddayyant maʔāri mən ʔl-baḥk</i>
'The bank lent me money'	'I borrowed money from the bank'
<i>laṭāfto ʔassarətni ktīr</i>	<i>tʔassart ʔktīr mən laṭāfto</i>
'His kindness touched me deeply'	'I was deeply touched by his kindness'
<i>ʔəxti ʔadətni bəl-ʔhmēra</i>	<i>nʔadət bəl-ʔhmēra mən ʔəxti</i>
'My sister infected me with the measles'	'I caught the measles from my sister'
<i>hal-ʔḥsābāt ʔam-təʔḡalni ktīr</i> ..	<i>ʔam-ʔənʔaḡel ʔktīr b-hal-ʔḥsābāt</i>
'These accounts are keeping me quite busy'	'I'm being kept quite busy with these accounts'

Some mediopassive verbs, like *štaḡal* in *ʕam-ʔəštəḡel ʔktīr b-hal-ʔḥsābāt* 'I'm working hard on these accounts', are idiomatically specialized in a "reflexive" sense; i.e. the causative agency is conceived always as inhering in the subject-referent (in this case, the worker), while the referent of the prepositional complement (the accounts) enters the picture as a mere recipient of the "action". Thus *štaḡal* is just as much an "active" verb as the English verb 'to work', despite its derivational status as a medio-passive.

Most passive verbs can be interpreted either as mediopassive or as true passive, depending on the context and circumstances in which the verb is used: *tḥammam* 'to bathe one's self' (adult), or 'to be bathed' (baby); *nṣaraf* 'to get out' (e.g. of school) or 'to be let out...'; *tʔaxxar* 'to delay' (intrans.) or 'to be delayed'.

CAUSATIVE VERBS

The Causative derivation is usually expressed with Pattern II (*ʔaʕʕal*) [p. 77]; rarely (in Colloquial) with Pattern IV [82] or Pattern I (*a-e*) [63] or others [243].

Most causatives are derived from simple verbs. If the simple verb means 'X happens', then its causative means '(Y) makes X happen' (or '...lets X happen', or '...has X happen'). Examples:

Underlying Verb		Causative
<i>nəzel</i>	'to descend, go down' ..	<i>nazzal</i> 'to take down, bring down'
<i>nām</i>	'to go to sleep'	<i>nayyam</i> 'to put to sleep'
<i>ʔaʕʕad</i>	'to sit'	<i>ʔaʕʕad</i> 'to seat'
<i>ḡaḥer</i>	'to appear'	<i>ʔaḡhar</i> 'to reveal'
<i>dār, bidūr</i>	'to turn' (intrans.) ...	<i>dār, bidūr</i> 'to turn' (trans.)

The causative, it may be noted, is the converse of the mediopassive derivation. See p. 238.

If a simple verb is transitive, then its causative is doubly transitive — the first object [p. 438] corresponding to the subject of the simple verb:

Underlying

ʔəbna katab maktūb
'Her son wrote a letter'

raḥ-nəsməʕ ʔl-ʔəštəwāne ʕ-ʕdīde
'We're going to hear the new recording'

d-daktōr bəddo yšūf ʕərḥak
'The doctor wants to see your wound'

ʔabūk bəddo yəsməʕ darsak
'Your father wants to hear (you recite) your lesson'

Causative

l-ʔəmm kattabet ʔəbna maktūb.
'The mother had her son write a letter'

raḥ-isamməʕna l-ʔəštəwāne ʕ-ʕdīde
'He's going to let us hear the new recording'

šawwef ʔd-daktōr ʕərḥak
'Let the doctor see your wound'

samməʕ ʔabūk darsak.
'Let your father hear (you recite) your lesson'

In some cases — as in the last two examples — the first object of the causative may be replaced by a *la-* phrase and put after the remaining object: *šawwef ʕərḥak lə-daktōr* 'Show your wound to the doctor', *samməʕ darsak la-ʔabūk* 'Recite your lesson for your father'. The use of a prepositional complement with a causative in lieu of a first object generally implies a certain idiomatic specialization with respect to the underlying simple verb: *samməʕ* meaning 'to recite', *kattab* meaning 'to dictate', etc. *ʕarraf* 'to introduce' is idiomatically derived from *ʕeref* 'to (come to) know' and is never used with two objects, but always with a prepositional complement: *bəddi ʕarrfak ʕala šāḥbi*... 'I want to introduce you to my friend...'.

Further examples of causative constructions:

byəfham ʔaxūk šū lāzem yaʕmel? . *fahhem ʔaxūk šū lāzem yaʕmel.*
'Does your brother understand what he's supposed to do?' 'Explain to your brother what he's supposed to do.'

hal-walad lē mū lābes kanze? ... *lē mū mlabbse hal-walad kanze?*
'Why isn't that child wearing a sweater?' [Act. Part., p.] 'Why haven't you (f.) (or hasn't she) put a sweater on that child?'

ʔaxū ḥamal hamm ʔwlādo *ḥammal ʔaxū hamm ʔwlādo.*
'His brother took on the care of his children' 'He saddled his brother with the care of his children'

l-wāḥed biḍīʕ mən kətrət *kətrət ʔl-laff wəd-dawarān*
ʔl-laff wəd-dawarān *biḍayyeʕ.*
'One gets lost with so much turning and circling.' 'So much turning and circling gets one lost' [On suppression of object, see p. 328.]

Further examples of the causative derivation:

Underlying Verb	Causative
<i>wašel</i> 'to arrive'	<i>wašsal</i> 'to take' (someone some-where)
<i>raʔaš</i> 'to dance'	<i>raʔʔaš</i> 'to make...dance'
<i>fāʔ</i> 'to wake up' (intrans.) ...	<i>fayyaʔ</i> 'to wake' (someone)
<i>dāx</i> 'to get dizzy, nauseated' ...	<i>dawnax</i> 'to make...dizzy, to nauseate'
<i>šamm</i> 'to smell' (trans.)	<i>šammam</i> 'to have (someone) smell'
<i>ʔara</i> 'to read'	<i>ʔarra</i> 'to have (someone) read'

Some causatives are derived from adjectives: *ʔawwa* 'to strengthen' from *ʔawi* 'strong'; though in most cases these adjectives also have inchoative [p. 250] or descriptive [251] verbs from which the causative might also be said to be derived: *ʔāwi* 'to become strong' → *ʔawwa* 'to strengthen'.

<i>xafīf</i> 'light'	<i>xaffaf</i> 'to lighten'
<i>bēʔd</i> 'far away'	<i>baʔʔad</i> 'to remove, banish'
<i>šaḥīḥ</i> 'correct'	<i>šaḥḥaḥ</i> 'to correct'
<i>ʔabyaḍ</i> 'white'	<i>bayyaḍ</i> 'to whiten'
<i>ʔaswad</i> 'black'	<i>sawwad</i> 'to blacken'

Examples of causatives formed on patterns other than II:

Pattern IV

<i>ʔeher</i> 'to appear'	<i>ʔaḥhar</i> 'to reveal'
<i>talef</i> 'to perish'	<i>ʔatlaf</i> 'to destroy'
<i>ḡani</i> 'rich'	<i>ʔaḡna</i> 'to make...rich'

Pattern I(a-e)

<i>dār, bidūr</i> 'to turn' (intrans.) ...	<i>dār, bidīr</i> 'to turn' (trans.)
<i>ʔām, biʔūm</i> 'to get up'	<i>ʔām, biʔīm</i> 'to raise, remove'
<i>dām, bidūm</i> 'to last'	<i>dām, bidīm</i> 'to make...last'
<i>ʔaʔma</i> 'blind'	<i>ʔama, byaʔmi</i> 'to blind'

Underlying Word

Causative

Pattern FaʔLan:

<i>ḥalu</i> 'sweet'	<i>ḥalwan</i> 'to sweeten'
<i>ʔaxras</i> 'mute'	<i>xarsan</i> 'to shut (someone) up'

Others:

<i>ṭaleʔ</i> 'to come up, out' ...	<i>ṭālaʔ</i> 'to bring up, out (Pat. III), or <i>ṭaylaʔ</i> (Lebanese)
<i>raʔaš</i> 'to dance'	<i>raʔwaš</i> 'to make dance, jiggle' (Pat. Faʔwal), cf. <i>raʔʔaš</i> , above.

ASCRPTIVE VERBS

Ascriptive verbs, formed mainly on Pattern II, are derived from various kinds of words.

If the underlying word means 'X', or 'to do X', then the ascriptive verb means 'to impute or attribute X to...', or 'to treat...as X, or as having done X'.

Underlying Word

Ascriptive

<i>xān</i> 'to betray'	<i>xawwan</i> 'to brand as a traitor'
<i>byəšbah</i> 'to resemble'	<i>šabbah</i> 'to liken'
<i>ʔafḍal</i> 'preferable, ... favorite'	<i>faddal</i> 'to prefer, to favor'
<i>sadaʔ</i> 'to be true'; to ... tell the truth'	<i>saddaʔ</i> 'to believe'
<i>kazab</i> 'to lie'	<i>kazzab</i> 'to disbelieve, consider... a liar'
(or <i>kazzab</i>)	
<i>ʔalīl</i> 'little, few'	<i>ʔallal</i> 'to belittle, underestimate'
<i>ḥmār</i> 'donkey; stupid'	<i>ḥamran</i> 'to consider...stupid' (Pat. FaʔLan [p. 115])

The ascriptive derivation is a sort of specialization of the causative, used in a subjective sense: e.g. to disbelieve someone = to "make" a liar of him.

With most verbs, however, the ascriptive is virtually equivalent to the milder Estimative (see below).

ESTIMATIVE VERBS

Estimative verbs, formed on Pattern X (*staFēaL*) [p.102], are derived mainly from simple adjectives.

If the underlying adjective means 'X', then the estimative verb means 'to consider or find (something) X'.

Underlying Word	Estimative Verb
<i>šaʕab</i> 'difficult'	<i>štaʕab</i> 'to find...difficult'
<i>ḥalu</i> 'nice, pleasant' ...	<i>staḥla</i> 'to like, find...pleasant'
<i>ktīr</i> 'much, many'	<i>staktar</i> 'to consider...excessive'
<i>ḡarīb</i> 'strange, odd'	<i>staḡrab</i> 'to find...odd, be surprised at'
<i>ṣḡīr</i> 'small'	<i>štaṣḡar</i> 'to deem small, insignificant'
<i>ʔaḥsan</i> 'better, best'	<i>staḥsan</i> 'to prefer, consider...the best'
<i>xān</i> 'to betray', <i>xāyen</i> 'traitor'	<i>staxwan</i> 'to consider...disloyal'

The estimative derivation is nearly equivalent to the ascriptive, though in some cases where the ascriptive implies social interaction, the estimative is more a matter of individual response: compare ascriptive *xawwan* 'to brand as a traitor' with estimative *staxwan* 'to consider disloyal'.

EDUCTIVE VERBS

Eductive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern X (*staFēaL*) [p.102]. Most are derived from transitive verbs, a few from nouns.

If an underlying verb means '(Y) does X (with respect to Z)', then its eductive derivative means '(Z) elicits for himself — or brings about, or seeks to bring about for himself — (Y's) doing X'.

Underlying Word	Eductive Verb
<i>ḡafar</i> 'to forgive'	<i>staḡfar</i> 'to seek forgiveness'
<i>ʕān</i> 'to help'	<i>staʕān</i> 'to have recourse to'
<i>šār</i> 'to advise'	<i>stašār</i> 'to consult'
<i>radd</i> 'to return, give back' ..	<i>staradd</i> 'to ask (or get) back'
<i>fād</i> 'to be of use to'	<i>stafād</i> 'to benefit (from)' (<i>mān</i>)

Underlying Word	Eductive Verb
<i>xabbar</i> 'to inform'	<i>staxbar</i> 'to seek (or get) information'
<i>fahham</i> 'to explain, make... understand'	<i>stafham</i> 'to seek (or get) clarification'
<i>ʔažžar</i> 'to rent, hire out'	<i>staʔžar</i> 'to rent, hire'
<i>žāwab</i> 'to answer'	<i>stažwab</i> 'to question, interrogate'
<i>walla</i> 'to put...in charge' ...	<i>stawla</i> 'to take over'
<i>ʕamel</i> 'to do, operate'	<i>staʕmal</i> 'to use'
<i>dall</i> 'to indicate, guide'	<i>stadall</i> 'to find the way'
<i>samar</i> 'fruits, profit'	<i>stasmar</i> 'to exploit, profit from'
<i>ḥaʔʔ</i> '(the) right (to)'	<i>staḥaʔʔ</i> 'to deserve'

CONATIVE VERBS

Conative verbs, with rare exceptions, are formed on Pattern III (*FāʕaL*) [p.80].

The kind of activity designated by a conative verb has as its implicit goal the kind of event designated by its underlying simple verb.¹

Underlying Verb	Conative
<i>sabaʔ</i> 'to overtake, pass'	<i>sābaʔ</i> 'to race' (trans.)
<i>laḥeʔ</i> 'to catch up with'	<i>lāḥaʔ</i> 'to chase after'
<i>raḍa</i> 'to please, satisfy'	<i>rāḍa</i> 'to ingratiate one's self with'
<i>manaʕ</i> 'to prevent'	<i>mānaʕ</i> 'to object to, forbid' (b-)
<i>ṭaraḍ</i> 'to expel, get rid of'	<i>ṭāraḍ</i> 'to chase away'
<i>našar</i> 'to secure the victory of' ..	<i>nāšar</i> 'to back, support'
<i>ʕakas</i> 'to reverse, upset'	<i>ʕākas</i> 'to oppose, contradict'
<i>baṭaḥ</i> 'to throw down'	<i>bāṭaḥ</i> 'to wrestle'
<i>laḥaṣ</i> 'to catch a glimpse of'	<i>lāḥaṣ</i> 'to watch; to notice'

¹ It should be noted that carrying on "goal-directed activity" does not necessarily imply an attempt or desire to attain that goal: one may chase without trying to catch, etc.

Underlying VerbConative

<i>ḥakam</i> 'to judge, pass sentence' ...	<i>ḥākam</i> 'to try, prosecute'
<i>laha</i> 'to amuse, divert'	<i>lāha</i> 'to entertain'
<i>laʔa</i> ² 'to encounter'	<i>lāʔa</i> 'to (go to) meet, (look for and) find'

The Pattern II verb *ṣawwab* 'to aim at' is the conative of *ṣāb* 'to hit, attain'.

Highly idiomatic derivations include *xānaʔ* 'to scold, quarrel with' from *xanaʔ* 'to strangle'. Note also the reciprocative [p. 248] *tʔāṭalu* 'to quarrel, fight' from *ʔatal* 'to kill'.

The subject of a conative verb is normally animate (since the verb designates goal-directed activity), while with an underlying simple verb this is not necessarily so: *šū manaʔ ṣawāšoʔ* 'What prevented his getting married?', but *mīn mānaʔ b-ṣawāšo* 'Who objected to his getting married?'

PARTICIPATIVE VERBS

Participative verbs are formed on Pattern III (*FāʔaL*) [p. 80].

Participatives, which usually imply personal interaction, are commonly derived from simple verbs which do not necessarily imply interaction. If a simple verb underlying a participative means 'to do X', then the participative means 'to do X to or with (Y)', Y representing a personal object:

Simple VerbParticipative

<i>katab</i> 'to write (something)'	<i>kātab</i> 'to write to (someone)'
<i>ḍaḥek</i> 'to laugh'	<i>ḍāḥak</i> 'to laugh with (someone)'
<i>ḥaka</i> 'to talk, to tell (something)'	<i>ḥāka</i> 'to talk to (someone)'
<i>kašaf</i> 'to reveal (something)'	<i>kāšaf</i> 'to reveal...to (someone)'
<i>ʔasam</i> 'to divide (something)'	<i>ʔāsam</i> 'to share...with (someone)'
<i>zād</i> 'to bid (on)'	<i>zāwad</i> 'to bid against' (b-)

²Perfect tense only; imperfect is *bilāʔi*, like the conative.

The personal object in a participative construction may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with *maʔ* 'with' or *la-* 'to') of the simple verb:

<i>bəddi ʔəḥkī-lak šī</i>	<i>bəddi ḥākīk</i>
'I want to tell you something'	'I want to talk to you'
<i>katab maktūb la-ʔabū</i>	<i>kātab ʔabū</i>
'He wrote a letter to his father'	'He wrote his father'
<i>lʔabna maʔ mantāxab bērut</i>	<i>lāʔabna mantāxab bērut</i>
'We played against the Beirut all-stars'	'We played the Beirut all-stars'

The inanimate object of a simple verb may correspond to a prepositional complement (usually with *b-*) of the participative:

<i>faṣal səʔr ʔs-sayyāra</i>	<i>fāṣālon b-səʔr ʔs-sayyāra</i>
'He haggled over the price of the car'	'He haggled with them over the price of the car'
<i>ḥasābʔt deni</i>	<i>ḥāsabton b-dēni</i>
'I figured up my debt'	'I settled my debt with them'

Idiomatic examples: *ʔamel* 'to do (something)'; *ʔāmal* 'to treat (someone some way)'; *samaḥ* 'to allow (something)'; *sāmaḥ* 'to forgive (someone)'; *rahan* 'to pawn (something), put up as security'; *rāhan* 'to bet (someone)'. Note also *ḥasab* and *ḥāsab*, above.

Some participatives are derived from simple nouns, which designate either a kind of participant or a kind of participation:

Noun (Participant)Participative Verb

<i>ṣāḥeb</i> 'friend'	<i>ṣāḥab</i> 'to make or be friends with'
<i>rḥīʔ</i> 'companion'	<i>rāfaʔ</i> 'to accompany'
<i>ʔadaww</i> 'enemy'	<i>ʔāda</i> 'to treat with hostility'

Noun (Participation)

<i>ḥəžžə</i> 'argument'	<i>ḥāžžə</i> 'to argue with'
<i>xlāf</i> 'difference, opposition' ..	<i>xālaf</i> 'to oppose, differ with'
<i>səḍfe</i> 'coincidence, unexpected encounter'	<i>ṣāḍaf</i> 'to encounter... unexpectedly'

RECIPROCATIVE VERBS

Reciprocal verbs, formed on Pattern VI (*tFāʿal*) [p.88], are derived mainly from participatives (see above). If the underlying verb means '(X) does Y to or with (Z)', then the reciprocal means '(X and Z) do Y to or with one another'. Since the subject denotes both or all interacting parties, which are generally animate, a true reciprocal verb normally occurs only in the plural.

Underlying Verb	Reciprocal
<i>hāka</i> 'to talk to'	<i>thāku</i> 'to talk (together)'
<i>kātab</i> 'to write to'	<i>tkātabu</i> 'to write one another'
<i>šāfaḥ</i> 'to shake hands with'	<i>ṭšāfaḥu</i> 'to shake hands'
<i>sābaʿ</i> 'to race' (trans.)	<i>tsābaʿu</i> 'to race' (intrans.)
<i>lāʾa</i> 'to (go to) meet (some- ... one)'	<i>tlāʾu</i> 'to meet, rendezvous'
<i>nāsab</i> 'to suit, correspond'	<i>tnāsabu</i> 'to match, correspond to'

The verbs *nāsab* and *tnāsabu* do not require an animate subject, hence the reciprocal may occur in the third-person feminine singular [423] as well as in the plural: *hal-ʾalwān mā btātnāsab* 'these colors don't match'.

Some reciprocals have no underlying participative verb, but are derived from simple verbs — combining the reciprocal derivation with the participative or conative [p.245]: *ḍḍārabu* 'to hit one another, fight', from *ḍarab* 'to hit'; *tʾāṭalu* 'to fight, quarrel', from *ʾatal* 'to kill'.

The reciprocal derivation is a specialized kind of mediopassive [p.238]. Some participatives have ordinary mediopassive derivatives, however, which differ from reciprocals in that they occur freely in the singular, and only express interaction when explicitly complemented by a phrase with *maʿ* 'with' *sawa* 'together', or the like. For example *tšārak maʿ ʿammo* 'He went into partnership with his uncle' (mediopassive), from the participative *šārak ʿammo* 'He took his uncle into partnership'.

Some of these derivatives may be construed either as ordinary mediopassives or as reciprocals: *kān ʿam-yātsābaʿ maʿ sayyāra tānye* 'He was having a race with another car' (mediopassive); but *s-sayyārtēn kānu ʿam-yātsābaʿu* 'The two cars were racing' (reciprocal).

SIMULATIVE VERBS

Simulative verbs are formed with the prefix *t-*: mainly on Pattern VI (*tFāʿal*) [p.88], in a few cases on quadriradical [p.123] or *n-* suffix [p.116] patterns. Most are derived from adjectives, some from nouns or verbs.

If the underlying word means 'X', then the simulative verb means 'to act X' (or 'to act like an X', or 'to act as if X'):

Underlying Word	Simulative Verb
<i>šāṭer</i> 'smart, clever'	<i>tšāṭar</i> 'to act smart'
<i>marīḍ</i> 'ill'	<i>tmārāḍ</i> 'to malingering'
<i>ḡašīm</i> 'naive'	<i>tḡāšam</i> 'to act naive'
<i>šēṭān</i> 'devil'	<i>tšēṭan</i> 'to be naughty'
<i>walad</i> 'child'	<i>twaldan</i> 'to be childish'
<i>šāhel</i> 'ignorant'	<i>tšāhal</i> 'to ignore, act ignorant of'
<i>nəsi</i> 'to forget'	<i>tnāsa</i> 'to act forgetful of'
<i>ḡaḥer</i> 'to appear'	<i>tḡāhar</i> 'to feign, simulate'
<i>kasūl</i> 'lazy'	<i>tkāsal</i> 'to loaf, be lazy'

Note that the element of pretense or simulation that is found in the verbs derived from qualitative adjectives is not found in those derived from adjectives which are themselves essentially behavioral rather than qualitative.¹ For example 'to act rude' is the same thing as 'to be rude':

<i>ḡalīḡ</i> 'rude, crude, gross'	<i>tḡālāḡ</i> 'to be rude, crude, gross'
<i>razīl</i> 'bad, wicked'	<i>trāzal</i> 'to be bad, wicked'
<i>raxu</i> 'lax, loose'	<i>trāxa</i> 'to relax'

¹ In such cases the contrast between simulative and descriptive [p.251] is neutralized.

INCHOATIVE VERBS

If an adjective means 'X', then its inchoative paronym means 'to become X'.

Inchoatives of Pattern *ʔaFēaL* color-adjectives [p.130] are formed on Pattern IX (*FēaLL*) [101]:

Adjective	Inchoative Verb
<i>ʔaḥmar</i> 'red'	<i>ḥmarr</i> 'to become red, to blush'
<i>ʔaṣfar</i> 'yellow'	<i>sfarr</i> 'to become yellow, turn pale'
<i>ʔaswad</i> 'black'	<i>swadd</i> 'to become black'

The defect-adjective [p.130] *ʔaḫwaṣṣ* 'bent, crooked' also has a Pattern IX inchoative: *ḫwaṣṣ* 'to become bent, crooked'.

Some adjectives of Pattern *məFēeL* [p.133] have inchoatives of the pseudo-quadriradical *ʔaFēaL* pattern [116]:

<i>maṣlem</i> 'Moslem'	<i>ʔaṣlam</i> 'to become a Moslem'
<i>maṣher</i> 'having blossoms, ... flowering'	<i>ʔaṣhar</i> 'to bloom'
<i>mūreʔ</i> 'having leaves, ... leafy'	<i>ʔawraʔ</i> 'to leaf out'

Note the contrast of these adjectives with the participles: *mʔaṣher* 'in bloom', *mʔaṣlem* 'having become a Moslem' [p.117].

Inchoatives from other kinds of adjectives are mostly formed on simple patterns: *FəḫeL*, *byəFēaL* [p.117] for sound and defective verbs; *FaḫaL*, *byəFēeL* [pp.59,63] for geminate and hollow:

<i>kbīr</i> 'large, adult'	<i>kāber</i> 'to become large, grow up'
<i>dʕīf</i> 'weak, ill'	<i>dʕēef</i> 'to weaken, become ill'
<i>ʔaḫma</i> 'blind'	<i>ḫami</i> 'to go blind'
<i>xafīf</i> 'light'(in weight) ..	<i>xaff</i> 'to become light(er)'
<i>dayyeʔ</i> 'narrow, tight'	<i>dāʔ</i> 'to become narrow'

Some inchoatives, derived mainly from words other than adjectives, are formed on Pattern V (*tFəḫeL*) [p.86]:

Underlying Word	Inchoative Verb
<i>ʔaḥsan</i>	'better'..... <i>tḥassan</i> 'to improve'
<i>ʔaddām</i>	'ahead'..... <i>tʔaddam</i> 'to progress'
<i>səḥel</i> , <i>byəṣḥal</i>	'to be easy'..... <i>tsaḥhal</i> 'to become easier'
<i>byəʔrab</i>	'to be related' ¹ <i>tʔarrab</i> 'to become related (by marriage)'
<i>byəmlək</i>	'to own, possess' ¹ .. <i>tmallak</i> 'to acquire, take possession of'
<i>fəhem</i> , <i>byəfham</i>	'to catch on, to understand'..... <i>tfahham</i> 'to begin to understand, to come to understand better'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

If a simple adjective means 'X', then its descriptive verb means 'to be X'.²

Most descriptive verbs are formed on Pattern *FəḫeL*, *byəFēaL* [p.71], and occur mainly – in some cases always – in the imperfect tense and usually with a prepositional complement.

Adjective	Descriptive Verb
<i>sahʔl</i> 'easy'.....	<i>byəṣḥal</i> (<i>ḫala</i>) 'to be easy' (for)
<i>ṣaḫʔb</i> 'difficult'.....	<i>byəṣḫab</i> (<i>ḫala</i>) 'to be difficult' (for)
<i>bxīl</i> 'stingy, miser'.....	<i>byəbxal</i> (<i>ḫala</i>) 'to be stingy' (with s.o.)
<i>bʕīd</i> 'distant, far'.....	<i>byəbʕod</i> (<i>ḫan</i>) 'to be distant, far' (from)
<i>ṣaḫīḥ</i> 'correct, all right'..	<i>biṣəḥḥ</i> 'to be all right'

The descriptive verb *byəʔrab* (*la-*) 'to be kin(to)' is correlative to the noun *ʔarāyeb* 'relative, kin'.

The relationship between a simple adjective and its inchoative or descriptive verb is very similar to that between an active participle and its underlying verb. The only functional difference is that while a participle normally depicts a state, a simple adjective depicts states, dispositions, or qualities indiscriminately. Insofar as a simple adjective is inherently stative (e.g. *mayyet* 'dead'), and if the correlative verb (*māt* 'to die') has no participle on the usual patterns (*FəḫeL* or *FaḫLān*), then the adjective does, in fact, function as a participle.

¹ Some verbs, especially "descriptive" verbs, are not normally used in the perfect tense. See below.

² In Classical Arabic, many descriptive verbs and simple inchoative verbs fall together into one class, meaning roughly 'to be or become X' (where the simple adjective means 'X'). These are double-aspect verbs, having – like those discussed in the section on participles – an inceptive and a durative aspect [p.271].

ABSTRACTIVE VERBS

Abstractive verbs are formed mainly on Pattern VIII (*FtaʕaL*) [p.95], and are derived mainly from simple verbs.

Abstractives differ from their underlying verbs by a metaphorical shift in meaning from concrete to abstract, or from animate to inanimate, or physical to psychological, immediate to mediate, etc.; these shifts in meaning generally involve the type of subject or complement the verb takes.

Underlying Verb	Abstractive Verb
<i>kašaf</i> 'to uncover, expose' ...	<i>ktašaf</i> 'to discover'
<i>ḥamal</i> 'to pick up, carry'	<i>ḥtamal</i> 'to bear, put up with'
<i>fataḥ</i> 'to open' (e.g. a door)	<i>ftataḥ</i> 'to open' (e.g. a meeting)
<i>xatam</i> 'to seal'	<i>xtatam</i> 'to conclude, close'
<i>ʕānaʔ</i> 'to embrace' (some-one)	<i>ʕtanaʔ</i> 'to embrace' (e.g. a faith)
<i>ḥawa</i> 'to contain; to keep'	<i>ḥtawa</i> (ʕala) 'to include, contain'
<i>naxab</i> 'to pick out, choose' ..	<i>ntaxab</i> 'to elect'
<i>mašš</i> 'to suck'	<i>mṭašš</i> 'to absorb'
<i>lahab</i> 'to flame, blaze'	<i>ltahab</i> 'to be inflamed'
<i>xalaʔ</i> 'to create'	<i>xtalaʔ</i> 'to dream up, fabricate'
<i>ʔaxad</i> 'to take, get'	<i>ttaxaz</i> ¹ 'to take on, undertake'
<i>ṭalab</i> 'to ask for'	<i>ṭṭallab</i> (Pat. V) 'to require'

In a few cases, Pattern VIII verbs are simultaneously abstractive and mediopassive: *wašaf* 'to describe' → *ṭṭašaf* (b-) 'to be characterized (by)'; *wašal* 'to connect' → *ṭṭašal* (b-) 'to have to do with, to be in touch with'; *laḥes* 'to put on, wear' → *ltabas* 'to be obscure'.

¹As a classicism, this derivative has *z* for Classical *ḥ* (which corresponds to *d* in words inherited via spoken channels).

AUGMENTATIVE (Frequentative and Intensive) VERBS

Augmentative verbs are formed on Pattern II (*FaʕʕaL*) [p.77] or on one of the pseudo-quadriradical patterns *FaʕwaL*, *FaʕFaL*, *FarʕaL*, or *FōʕaL* [p.109].

Augmentatives are mainly derived from sound and geminate simple verbs of the *FaʕaL* patterns (and rarely from hollow or *FəʕeL*-pattern verbs).

A simple verb designating a kind of action does not specify whether the action is single or multiple, limited or extensive, restrained or forceful. An augmentative verb, on the other hand, indicates that the action is enhanced in one way or another — repeated, extended, or intensified.

Simple Verb	Augmentative Verb
<i>safaʔ</i> 'to clap, slap'	<i>saffaʔ</i> 'to clap' (e.g. in applause or rhythm)
<i>ʔaṭaf</i> 'to pick' (e.g. a flower)	<i>ʔaṭṭaf</i> 'to pick' (e.g. many flowers)
<i>kasar</i> 'to break' (e.g. in two)	<i>kassar</i> 'to break' (e.g. to pieces)

One may say, for example, *lā ṭəʔṭof haz-zhūr* 'Don't pick those flowers' or, with the augmentative *lā ṭʔaṭṭef haz-zhūr*. But in reference to a single flower, the simple verb only may be used: *lā ṭəʔṭof haz-zahra* 'don't pick that flower' (not *lā ṭʔaṭṭef*...).

Augmentatives may be divided into FREQUENTATIVES, which indicate repeated or distributed action, and INTENSIVES, which indicate forceful action. (Intensives are more common in the pseudo-quadriradical patterns than in Pattern II, while frequentatives are the most common in Pattern II, and are more common in general than intensives.) Most augmentatives may be taken in whichever sense is compatible with the meaning of the underlying simple verb, and with the context and situation in which it is being used. Thus *daʕwas* 'to trample, tread on', from *daʕas* 'to step on, tread on', may indicate protracted or extensive action, or intensive action.

"Intensive action", however, tends to be a vague and subjective notion. Many augmentatives which are theoretically intensives are in actual usage virtually synonymous with their underlying simple verb: *raʕab* and *raʕʕab* 'to scare, startle', *fəreḥ* and *farfaḥ* 'to rejoice', etc.

The difference between many simple verbs and their "intensive" derivatives, then, is more often exploited for stylistic or connotative purposes than for objective indications of intensiveness; speakers may sometimes choose intensives for the sake of emphatic or colorful speech.

Examples, Pattern II:

Simple	Augmentative
ṭaraʔ 'to knock'	ṭarraʔ
xasal 'to wash'	xassal
xazaʔ 'to tear, rip'	xazzaʔ
dabaḥ 'to slaughter'	dabbaḥ
rabat 'to tie, hitch'	rabbat
raʕab 'to scare, startle'	raʕʕab (intensive or synonymous)
dafaš 'to push'	daffaš
ʕamaʕ 'to bring together, gather'	ʕammaʕ
šaxat 'to draw (a) line(s),	šaxxat (cf. šaxwat)
ʕadal 'to braid'	ʕaddal (cf. ʕōdal)
baram 'to turn, twist' (trans.)	barram (cf. bōram)
šarax 'to shout'	šarrax (cf. šarwax)

Pattern FaʕwaL:

baxaš 'to perforate'	baxwaš
ḥakaš 'to pick at, fool with'	ḥakwaš
daʕas 'to tread on'	daʕwas
šaxat 'to draw (a) line(s),	šaxwat
šakk 'to prick, pierce'	šakwak
šalaḥ 'to take off' (e.g. clothes) ...	šalwaḥ 'take off and throw around' (cf. šōlaḥ)
ʕalak 'to chew'	ʕalwak
ʔaraš 'to sting, bite'	ʔarwaš
ʔarat 'to crunch, gnaw'	ʔarwat (cf. ʔarʔat)
laʔat 'to pick up'	laʔwat (cf. lōʔat)
nataʕ 'to jerk' (intrans.)	natwaʕ
naṭṭ 'to jump'	naṭwat
šaxar 'to snort; snore'	šaxwar

Reduplicative Pattern (FaʕFaL):

Simple	Augmentative
ṭaraš 'to splash'	ṭarṭaš
ʔaraṭ 'to crunch, gnaw'	ʔarʔaṭ
šaraʕ 'to startle'	šaršaʕ
fəreḥ 'to rejoice'	farfaḥ
laḥf 'to turn; wrap'	laḥlaf 'to wrap up'
ḥall 'to untie; solve'	ḥalḥal 'to untie'
šamm 'to smell' (trans.)	šamšam 'to smell, sniff'
ʔašš 'to cut, snip'	ʔašʔaš
fatt 'to crumble' (trans.)	fatfat
kabb 'to pour, spill'	kabkab
ʔaraʕ 'to hit with a bang'	ʔarʔaʕ 'to clatter'
lāḥ 'to wave'	lōlaḥ

Pattern FarʕaL:

baʕat 'to splash around in	barʕat
	the water'
xamaš 'to scratch'	xarmaš
dabak 'to tap, drum'	darbak
šabak 'to involve, entangle'	šarbak 'to entangle, complicate'
ṭabaʔ 'to slam'	ṭarbaʔ
kadas 'to pile'	kardas (also kaddas)

Pattern FōʕaL:

laʔat 'to pick up'	lōʔat (cf. laʔwat)
šaḥat 'to drag'	šōḥat
ʕadal 'to braid'	ʕōdal (also ʕaddal)
zaḡal 'to cheat' (in games)	zōḡal
ḥazaʔ 'to hiccup'	ḥōzaʔ
baram 'to turn, wind'	bōram 'to wind'

APPLICATIVE VERBS

Applicative verbs, which are denominative, i.e. derived from nouns, are mostly formed on Pattern II [p. 77], or on one of the quadriradical [117] or pseudo-quadriradical [109] patterns.

If a noun means 'X', then the applicative verb derived from it means 'to apply, give, put, make, take, (etc.), X':

Underlying Noun	Applicative Verb
<i>zēt</i> 'oil'	<i>zayyat</i> 'to oil'
<i>bōdra</i> 'powder'	<i>bōdar</i> 'to powder'
<i>baxšīš</i> 'tip, gratuity'	<i>baxšaš</i> 'to tip'
<i>ʔāšʔr</i> 'peel, skin, shell, bark'....	<i>ʔāššar</i> 'to peel, (etc.)'
<i>ʔatāt</i> 'furniture, furnishings'.....	<i>ʔattat</i> 'to furnish'
<i>buxār</i> 'steam'	<i>baxxar</i> 'to steam'
<i>blāṭ</i> 'flagstones, tile'	<i>ballaṭ</i> 'to pave with flagstones, tile'
<i>talifōn</i> 'telephone'	<i>talfan</i> 'to telephone'
<i>zərr</i> 'button'	<i>zarrar</i> 'to button'
<i>xāzūʔ</i> 'stake'	<i>xōzaʔ</i> 'to impale'
<i>ʔāleb</i> 'mold'	<i>ʔōlab</i> 'to mold'
<i>tārīx</i> 'date' (day of year)	<i>tarrax</i> 'to date'
<i>būṣ</i> 'ice'	<i>bawwəṣ</i> 'to ice'
<i>banəž</i> 'anesthetic'	<i>bannaž</i> 'to anesthetize'
<i>bhār</i> 'spice'	<i>bahhar</i> 'to spice'
<i>barwāṣ</i> 'frame'	<i>barwaṣ</i> 'to frame'
<i>bəsmār</i> 'nail'	<i>basmar</i> 'to nail'
<i>fəršāye</i> 'brush'	<i>farša</i> 'to brush'
<i>ʔasās</i> 'foundation'	<i>ʔassas</i> 'to found, establish'

Some applicatives are formed on other patterns: *ʔahda* (Pat. IV) 'to give (as a gift)', from *hdiyye* 'gift'; *ṭḥāyal* 'to trick' (Pat. VI) from *ḥīle* 'trick'. A few are derived from formulaic phrases: *basmal* 'to say *bəsməllāh*...' ('in the name of God...').

Many denominatives, though not applicatives strictly speaking, are derived in comparable ways: *tsawwaʔ* 'to shop, go to market', from *sūʔ* 'market'; *sabbab* 'to cause', from *sabab* 'cause', etc.

CHAPTER 10: ADJECTIVE DERIVATION

Index of Categories:

Participial

Participial Forms.....	p. 258
Participial Function.....	262
Passive Participle.....	263
Active Participle.....	265
Relation to Aspects.....	269
Non-Stativ Participles.....	275
Dispositional.....	277
Agentive.....	278
Characteristic.....	279
Relative.....	280

Color and defect adjectives constitute two more categories, but since they have no underlying bases they are dealt with in the chapter on adjective patterns, p.130.

Elatives [p.310] and ordinal numerals [316], though they are partly adjectival in function, are treated in Chapter 11, Noun Derivation.

The quasi-inflectional [p.49] category of Participles occupies the largest part of this chapter, because of the importance and complexity of their relationship to the underlying verbs.

PARTICIPLES

Formation

Most simple triradical verbs [p.55] have active participles on the pattern *FāʿeL* [131] and passive participles on the pattern *maʿFūL* [132]:

Verb	Participles
<i>ḥafaʿ</i> 'to put away, keep'.....	<i>ḥāfeʿ</i> 'having put away, keeping' <i>maḥfūʿ</i> 'having been put away, kept'
<i>fataḥ</i> 'to open'.....	<i>fāteḥ</i> 'having opened' <i>maftūḥ</i> 'open, having been opened'
<i>lābes</i> 'to put on'(clothes).....	<i>lābes</i> 'having put on, wearing' <i>malbūs</i> 'having been put on, being worn'
<i>wazan</i> 'to weigh'.....	<i>wāzen</i> 'having weighed' <i>mawzūn</i> 'having been weighed'
<i>yaʿes</i> 'to despair'.....	<i>yāʿes</i> 'despairing, desparate' <i>mayʿus</i> 'despaired(of)' (<i>manno</i>)
<i>ḥaṭṭ</i> 'to put'.....	<i>ḥāṭeṭ</i> 'having put' <i>maḥṭūṭ</i> 'having been put'
<i>bāʿ</i> 'to sell'.....	<i>bāyeʿ</i> 'having sold'

Hollow verbs [p.188] generally do not have passive participles.¹ In the active participles, a medial radical *w* is changed to *y*: *xāf* 'to fear' (Root *x-w-f*), act. part. *xāyef* 'afraid'.

Defective verbs [p.186] have active participles ending in *i* and passive participles on the pattern *maʿFēi* [133]. (Medial radical *w* remains intact):

<i>ʾara</i> 'to read'.....	<i>ʾāri</i> 'having read' <i>māʾri</i> 'having been read'
<i>bana</i> 'to build'.....	<i>bāni</i> 'having built' <i>mabni</i> 'having been built'
<i>nawa</i> 'to intend'.....	<i>nāwi</i> 'intending' <i>mānwi</i> 'intended'
<i>maši</i> 'to go, walk'.....	<i>māši</i> 'going, walking' <i>mamši</i> 'walked(on)' (<i>ʿalē</i>)

¹There are some exceptions. In some areas, for instance, the form *mabyūʿ* 'sold' may be heard. The word *madyūn* 'in debt' is used without any underlying verb (cf. *dēn* 'debt').

In some regions (especially Palestine) defective passive participles keep the vowel *a*: *maʾri*, *mabni*, etc.

Passive participles of the defective "impersonal" passive verbs *ḡami* (*ʿalē*) 'to faint' and *quḍi* (*ʿalē*) 'to be done for, be a goner' are formed on the pattern *muʿFā*: *muḡma ʿalē* 'fainted', *muqḍa ʿalē* 'done for'. [See p.365.]

The anomalous verb *ʾaša* 'to come' has active participles *šāye* (both masc. and fem.) (see p.76, footnote.)

Quite a few sound and defective verbs – especially intransitive verbs on Pattern *FāʿeL*, *byaʿFāL* [p.71], and especially verbs that usually take animate subjects – have active participles on the pattern *FaʿLān* [132]:

Verb	Active Participle
<i>kaḇer</i> 'to grow up'.....	<i>kabrān</i> '(having) grown up'
<i>ʿaṭeš</i> 'to get thirsty'.....	<i>ʿaṭšān</i> 'thirsty'
<i>taʿeb</i> 'to get tired'.....	<i>taʿbān</i> 'tired'
<i>barad</i> 'to get cold'.....	<i>bardān</i> 'cold' (animate only; inanimate <i>bāred</i>)
<i>naši</i> 'to forget'.....	<i>nasyān</i> 'having forgotten' (or <i>nāši</i>)
<i>sameʿ</i> 'to hear'.....	<i>samʿān</i> 'having heard; listening' (or <i>sāmeʿ</i>)
<i>harab</i> 'to flee'.....	<i>harbān</i> 'having fled, fleeing' (or <i>hāreb</i>)
<i>rawi</i> 'to be watered, irrigated'...	<i>rayyān</i> 'well-watered, irrigated'

The hollow verb *šāʿ* 'to get hungry' (Root *š-w-ʿ*) has participle *šūʿān* 'hungry', in some areas *šīʿān*.

Geminate verbs [189] do not have participles on this pattern.

In most cases in which there are alternative participial forms (e.g. *samʿān* and *sāmeʿ*), the *FaʿLān* pattern is typical of Syria Proper, while the *FāʿeL* pattern is more cosmopolitan.

The participles of all augmented and quadriradical verbs are formed by prefixation of *m-* (or *mā-* before two consonants, or *mu-* in certain classisms). In the passive participle, the last vowel is always *a*. In the active participle, it is *e* for sound verbs, *i* for defective:

Verb	Participles	
<i>taršam</i> 'to translate'.....	<i>mtaršem</i>	'having translated'
	<i>mtaršam</i>	'(having been) translated'
<i>ʔarrar</i> 'to decide'.....	<i>mʔarrer</i>	'having decided'
	<i>mʔarrar</i>	'(having been) decided'
<i>samma</i> 'to name, call'.....	<i>msammi</i>	'having named'
	<i>msamma</i>	'(having been) named'
<i>staʕmal</i> 'to use'.....	<i>mastaʕmel</i>	'having used, using'
	<i>mastaʕmal</i>	'(having been) used'
<i>tbanna</i> 'to adopt'.....	<i>matbanni</i>	'having adopted'
	<i>matbanna</i>	'(having been) adopted'

In participles of Pattern IV (ʔaFʕaL) verbs [p.82], *mə-* replaces ʔa-: *ʔakram* 'to honor', *məkrēm* 'having honored, honoring', *məkrām* '(having been) honored'. (Most words of Patterns *məFʕeL* [133] and *məFʕaL* [134] do not function as true participles, however. See Agentive Adjectives [278].)

The next-to-last vowel is changed to *a* in the active participles of sound and defective (and initial-weak) Pattern VII [p.91] and VIII [95] verbs, except in classicisms, where it remains *a*:

Pattern VII

Sound:	<i>nsaḥar</i>	'to be bewitched'.....	<i>mənsəḥer</i>	'bewitched'
Defective:	<i>nʔara</i>	'to be read'.....	<i>mənʔəri</i>	'(having been) read'
Sound:	<i>nʔaʔaʕ</i>	'to be discontinued'.....	<i>mənʔāʔeʕ</i>	'discontinued' (Classicism)

Pattern VIII

Sound:	<i>ʕtamad</i> (ʕala)	'to rely (on)'.....	<i>məʕtámed</i> (ʕala)	'relying (on)'
			<i>məʕtámad</i> ʕalē	'relied on'
Defective:	<i>ḥtawā</i> (ʕala)	'to include'.....	<i>məḥtāwi</i> (ʕale)	'including'
			<i>məḥtāwā</i> ʕalē	'included'
Initial-Weak:	<i>ttahad</i>	'to be united'.....	<i>muttāhed</i>	'united' (Classicism)

In the active participles of geminate and hollow verbs of Patterns VII and VIII, and of all Pattern IX verbs [p.101], the stem vowel remains *a* (or *ā*):

Geminate:	VII:	<i>nšaff</i>	'to be lined up'.....	<i>mənšaff</i>	'lined up'
	VIII:	<i>ḍtarr</i>	'to be required, obliged'	<i>məḍtarr</i>	'required, obliged to'
	IX:	<i>šfarr</i>	'to blanch, turn pale'	<i>məšfarr</i>	'(having) turned pale'
Hollow:	VIII:	<i>nʔāl</i>	'to be told'.....	<i>mənʔāl</i>	'(having been) told'
	VIII:	<i>ḥtāž (la-)</i>	'to need'.....	<i>məḥtāž (la-)</i>	'in need(of)'

These verbs generally do not have passive participles (which would be the same in form as the active participles).

In the active participles of all other augmented geminate verbs, the last stem vowel is *a* [p.23]. (The next-to-last vowel in Pattern X is often lost):

Pattern IV:	<i>ʔašarr</i>	'to insist, resolve'.....	<i>məšarr</i>	'insistent, resolved'
Pattern X:	<i>staḥaʔʔ</i>	'to deserved'.....	<i>məstḥaʔʔ</i>	'deserving'
	<i>staradd</i>	'to ask(for...)back'.....	<i>məst(a)radd</i>	'having asked... back'
Pattern FʕaLaLL:	<i>ʔmaʔann</i>	'to feel secure'.....	<i>məʔmaʔann</i>	'feeling secure'

In the active participles of all other augmented hollow triradical verbs, the last stem vowel is *i*. (The next-to-last vowel in Pattern X is sometimes lost):

Pattern IV:	<i>ʔaḥāṭ (bi-)</i>	'to surround'.....	<i>muḥīt (bi-)</i>	'surrounding'
			(Pass. <i>muḥāṭ fī</i>)	'surrounded'
Pattern X:	<i>stafād</i> (mən)	'to benefit(from)'.....	<i>məst(a)fād</i>	'having benefited'
	<i>stašār</i>	'to consult'.....	<i>məstašār</i>	'having consulted'
			(Pass. <i>məstašār</i>)	'having been consulted'

A few augmented verbs are supplanted by participles formed on patterns corresponding to simple verbs, e.g. *štara* 'to buy': act, part. *šāri* 'having bought' (also *maštāri*); *staʔzar* 'to hire': pass. part. *maʔzūr* 'hired' (in reference to persons only; cf. *maštaʔzar* 'leased, chartered').

The Function of Participles in General

An Arabic participle, generally speaking, is an adjective depicting a CONSEQUENT STATE. That is to say, it describes its referent as being in a certain state of affairs as a necessary consequence of the kind of event, process, or activity designated by the underlying verb. For example *fāyeʔ* 'awake' from *fāʔ* 'to wake up', *warmān* 'swollen' from *warem* 'to swell', *metʔallam* 'educated' from *tʔallam* 'to learn, be educated'.¹

Of the two kinds of participles, the ACTIVE PARTICIPLE (*ism l-fāʔil*) depicts the consequent state of its underlying verb's subject referent, while the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE (*ism l-mafʔūl*) pertains to the referent of its complement. Thus the verb *fataḥ* 'to open' has an active participle *fāteḥ* 'having opened' and a passive participle *maftūḥ* 'open, having been opened'. The verb *ttafaʔ* 'to agree, come to an agreement' has a.p. *maṭṭāfeʔ* 'in agreement' and p.p. *maṭṭāfaʔ* (*ʔalē*) 'agreed (upon)'.

¹The term 'consequent state' is defined to include only the necessary consequences – the logical entailments – of a kind of event (process, activity). Verbs like *fāʔ*, *warem*, and *tʔallam* refer, by definition, to changes of state; hence every event (process, etc.) referred to with these verbs introduces a state that could reasonably be indicated by means of their participles.

Certain other verbs, however, e.g. *safaʔ* 'to clap', do not ordinarily imply a significant change in state, and their participles are rarely or never used. (But cf. p. 270.)

Still other verbs, e.g. *ḍarab* 'to hit', sometimes do – and sometimes do not – imply a significant change of state (depending on context and circumstances); the participles *ḍāreb* 'having hit' and *maḍrūb* 'having been hit' could be used for some, but not all, of the situations to which their underlying verb applies.

Though hitting (*ḍ-ḍarb*) might be thought of as a physical act par excellence – entailing, of course, physical consequences – it is worth noting that hitting is often also a social act. The situation involving *ḍ-ḍāreb* 'the hitter' and *l-maḍrūb* 'the one hit' is a sort of evanescent social relationship similar to that between winner and loser, giver and receiver, wrong-doer and wronged, etc. Thus someone might be described as *maḍrūb* even though he has suffered no significant physical injury or displacement.

Passive Participles

Most passive participles are derived from transitive verbs. The subject to which a passive participle is predicate corresponds to the underlying verb's object: *fataḥ ʔl-bāb* '(He) opened the door' → *l-bāb maftūḥ* 'The door is open'. Examples:

1. *l-fanʔān maʔmūl mān ʔaḥsan māʔi* 'The cup is made of the best china' (p.p. of *ʔamel* 'to make')
2. *ʔ-ʔaḡle laʔsāta mū mʔarrara* 'The matter is not yet decided' (p.p. of *ʔarrar* 'to decide')
3. *ʔana maʔʔūm ʔand ḡerak* [AO-115] 'I'm invited to [dinner at] someone else's [house]' (p.p. of *ʔazam* 'to invite')
4. *laʔa fiḥa ʔamʔon ʔnḥās* [AO-115] 'He found in it a copper flagon whose mouth was sealed' (p.p. of *xatam* 'to seal')
5. *ʔaxti l-ʔkbīre mʔawwaze* [AO-43] 'My elder sister is married' (p.p. of *ʔawwaz* 'to marry off')

Passive participles are also used attributively [p.501] like any ordinary adjective. Examples:

6. *maktūb ʔmsōkar* 'an insured letter' (p.p. of *sōkar* 'to insure')
7. *kūsa maḥši* 'stuffed squash' (p.p. of *ḥaša* 'to stuff')
8. *l-madīne l-maḥšūra* 'the enchanted city' (p.p. of *ṣaḥar* 'to enchant')
9. *maʔalle ʔahriyye maʔrūfe* 'a (well-)known monthly magazine' (p.p. of *ʔaref* 'to know, come to know')
10. *...maʔākel ʔktīr maʔṭdrake bēnāton* '...many problems in common', lit. '...shared between them' (p.p. of *ʔtarak* 'to share')
11. *l-warde l-maḥṭūta b-ʔaʔrha* 'the flower worn in her hair' (p.p. of *ḥaṭṭ* 'to put, place')

"Impersonal" Passive Participles. Some passive participles are derived from intransitive verbs that have prepositional complements [p.444]. These participles are always followed immediately by their complemental preposition with a suffixed pronoun [477]: *mamši ʔalēha* 'walked on(f.)'

The subject for this kind of predicate is the antecedent of the suffixed pronoun: *has-səžžāde məmši ʔalēha* 'This rug has been walked on' (literally: 'This rug, [there has been] walked on it'. [See Extraposition, p.431.] The participle itself does not show agreement with the subject [429], remaining always in the base form (masculine/singular). [See Impersonal Passive Verbs, p.237.] Examples:

12. *l-ʔhkūme ž-ždīde mawsūq fīha*
'The new government is trusted',
'There is confidence in the new government' (*wasāq b-* [p.479] 'to have confidence, faith in')
13. *hal-ʔumūr muxtālaf fīha mən zamān*
'These matters have been disagreed over for some time' (*xtālaf b-* 'to differ over, disagree about').
14. *naḡarīto maškūk fīha*
'His theory is doubted (or dubious),¹
(*šakk b-* 'to have doubts about, to suspect').
15. *biʔāmen.ʔanno fī baʔd ʔl-ʔarwāḡ mʔaddar ʔalēha bəl-ʔazāb ʔl-ʔazali*
'He believes that there are some souls [who are] foreordained to eternal torment' (*ʔaddar ʔala* 'to decree, foreordain for s.o.').

Examples of attributive use:

16. *l-ʔaḡāya l-maḡḡūs fīha*
'the cases investigated' (*baḡas b-* 'to inquire into, to investigate')
17. *l-mašrūʔ ʔl-məttāfaʔ ʔalē*
'the plan agreed upon' (*ttafaʔ ʔala* 'to agree upon')
18. *bēt məʔtāna fī mnīḡ*
'a house well cared for' (*ʔtana b-* 'to look after, take care of')
19. *l-luḡa l-məttarḡam mənna*
'the language translated from' (*ttarḡam mən* 'to be translated from')²

¹*maškūk fī, mawsūq fī*, and other participles of this sort are often used in a dispositional sense [see p.275]: *mawsūq fī* 'trustworthy, worthy of confidence', *maškūk fī* 'dubious, questionable'. This usage is especially common in classicisms or set phrases.

²Cf. *mtarḡam* 'translated', p.p. of *tarḡam* 'to translate': *l-kətoḡ l-ʔmtarḡame* 'the books translated'. The two types of construction are hybridized in a phrase such as *l-luḡa l-məttarḡame mənna hal-kətoḡ* 'the language from which these books are translated'. (*məttarḡame*, as a passive participle of an intransitive verb, should not show agreement, but in fact it does agree here with *l-kətoḡ*, which is construed as its subject.) This type of participial phrase is rare, being usually circumlocuted with an attributive clause [p.505]: *l-luḡa halli ttarḡamet mənna hal-kətoḡ*, or *l-luḡa halli mtarḡame mənna hal-kətoḡ*.

Active Participles

The subject of a predicative active participle corresponds to the subject of its underlying verb: *kəllon ʔttafaʔu* 'All of them agreed' → *kəllon məttafʔin* 'All of them are in agreement'.

A predicative active participle has the same kind of complementation [p.437] as its underlying verb. Thus the participle of a transitive verb takes an object: *lābes tyābo ž-ždīde* 'He put on his new clothes' → *lābes tyābo ž-ždīde* 'He's wearing his new clothes'.

Despite its adjectival inflection, then, the active participle is generally verb-like in syntax. It functions as an additional tense, contrasting mainly with the perfect [p.330]. While the perfect *lābes tyābo* 'He put on his clothes' carries no implication whether or not he still has them on, the participial predication *lābes tyābo* means definitively that he still has them on. (With durative verbs, the contrast is mainly with the imperfect rather than the perfect; see pp.269, 322, 326.)

The participle-object construction is not to be confused with a substantivized participle standing in construct with its transformed object [p.465], although *huwwe kāteḡ hal-ʔktāḡ* could be interpreted either as a participle-object predication 'He's written this book', 'He's the one who wrote this book' or a substantive construct predication 'He's the writer of this book'. This ambiguity is resolved in the feminine form, where the substantive construct is marked by a connective *t* [163]: *hiyye kātḡet hal-ʔktāḡ* 'She's the writer of this book', while the participle-object construction has the absolute form: *hiyye kātḡe hal-ʔktāḡ* 'She's written this book', 'She's the one who wrote this book'.

With pronoun suffixes, however, connective *t* is used for the feminine in any case: *hiyye kātḡtḡto* 'She's the one who wrote it' or 'She's the writer of it'.

As also with verbs, the complemental form (*-ni*) of the first-person singular pronoun is used with transitive participles: *huwwe mʔallāmni* 'He's taught me', 'He's the one who taught me'; *hiyye mʔallāmtni* 'She's taught me', 'She's the one who taught me'. (Cf. the annexive form *-i* used with the occupational noun in construct: *huwwe mʔallāmi* 'He's my teacher', *hiyye mʔallāmti* 'She's my teacher'.) See Personal Pronouns [p.544].

With the other pronoun suffixes, there is no distinction between complemental and annexive forms, hence *mʔallāmo*, for instance, is sometimes to be interpreted as 'He's taught him', and sometimes as 'his teacher'; similarly *mʔallāmtḡo* 'She's taught him' or 'his teacher(f.)'.

Active participles (like some passive participles [p.482]) also take the suffixed forms of the preposition *la-* plus pronoun, rather than the disjunctive forms [p.479]: *mtarḡam-li* 'having translated(m.) for me', *mtarḡamt-ʔlli* 'having translated(f.) for me'. (Cf. *mtarḡem ʔali* 'a translator(m.) for me', *mtarḡme ʔali* 'a translator(f.) for me'.)

Still another verb-like trait of active participles is that the subject of a participial clause sometimes comes between the participle and its complement: *mattaf⁹in kallayātna maē baēdna* [PVA-16] 'We're all in agreement with one another', *tālēa bantak ʔg-ggīre šaʔra* [DA-234] 'Your youngest daughter has turned out (to be) blonde'. (See Verb-Subject word order, p.000.)

Miscellaneous examples of active participles in their predicative use:

20. ʔana šāye ʔaddem ʔalab
'I've come to submit a request'
(a.p. of ʔaša [p.76])
21. fī zarr wāʔeē mən fašṭānek
'There's a button (fallen) off your dress' (a.p. of wāʔeē 'to fall')
22. matmakken huwwe tamām
mn ʔl-ʔaglīzi?
'Does have a good command of English?' (a.p. of tmakkan 'to master')
23. ʔana šāybo b-līra w-rəbʔe
[adap. SAL-198]
'I got it for a pound and a quarter' (a.p. of šāb 'to bring, get') The participle implies '...got it and still have it', in contrast to the perfect šabto 'I got it (and may or may not still have it)'.
24. katter xērak, nəhna matēaššyīn
ya bēk [AO-91]
'Thank you (but) we have (already) dined, sir' (a.p. of tēašša 'to dine, sup').
25. šaba š-sānēa mū māšha
l-ʔarḍ? [DA-112]
'What's the matter with the maid (that) she hasn't scrubbed the floor?' (a.p. of masaḥ 'to scrub')
26. ʔēmṭa mḡarrer ʔtsāfer? [DA-248]
'When have you decided to leave?' (a.p. of qarrar 'to decide')
27. ʔālāt-lo lēš hēk zaēlān [AO-114]
'She said to him, "Why (are you) so vexed?"' (a.p. of zaēl 'to become angry, displeased, unhappy')
28. š-səbʔh laʔēt marti, bənt
ēammi, lābse tyāb ʔl-ḥəzʔn
w-ʔāšša šaēʔrha [AO-118]
'In the morning I found my wife, my uncle's daughter, dressed in mourning and with her hair cut' (a.p. of ləbes 'to put on' (clothes) and ʔašš 'to cut')
29. t-ṭaʔš ḥəlu wəš-šams tālēa
ʔūm la-rrūḥ šōb ʔl-marže
[DA-218]
'The weather is nice and the sun has come out; come on, let's go down toward the Maržé' (a.p. of ʔaleē 'to come out')

30. bəl-ʔāxīr ʔaleē ʔmxayyeb
ʔmḡəbbīno

'In the end he disappointed his friends' (lit. "...turned out having disappointed...") (a.p. of xayyab 'to disappoint')

The term 'active' is rather inappropriate when applied to the participles of certain kinds of intransitive verbs, especially passive verbs [p.234]; for instance *məntāsi* '(having been) forgotten' is the "active" participle of *ntasa* 'to be forgotten'. (It would make better sense to speak of the 'subjective participle', as contrasted with the 'complemental participle', but the existing terms are too well established to be ignored.)

Not surprisingly, the "active" participle of a passive verb is often closely equivalent to the passive participle of the underlying active verb. Thus *məntāsi* is practically synonymous to *mānsi* 'forgotten', (passive participle of *nasi* 'to forget'). In many such cases the passive participle of the active verb is the one normally used while the active participle of the passive verb (as *məntāsi*) is very rare or virtually never used at all (as in the case of *taršam* 'to translate': p.p. *mtaršam* 'translated'; passive verb *ttaršam* 'to be translated' whose active participle (theoretically "*mattaršam*") is not heard. (But cf. *mattaršam manna*, p.264 ex. 19.)

A complemented active participle is generally not used attributively, but the participial clause—like a verbal clause—may be subordinated as a whole [p.495]: *l-bənt ḥāṭṭa warde b-šaēra* 'The girl has put (i.e. is wearing) a flower in her hair' → *l-bənt halli ḥāṭṭa warde b-šaēra* 'the girl wearing a flower in her hair'. (Cf. the complemented passive participle, which can be subordinated like any adjective: *l-warde l-maḥṭūta b-šaēra* 'the flower worn (i.e. put) in her hair'. See, however, p.505.)

Uncomplemented active participles may be used attributively, like ordinary adjectives: *walad ḡāyeē* 'a lost child' (a.p. of ḡāē 'to get lost'), *raššāl sakrān* 'a drunken man', *wlādi š-šūfānīn* 'my hungry children', *s-səne l-māḡye* 'the past year' (a.p. of māḡa 'to pass'), *nās matēallmīn* 'educated people', *l-bāxra l-ḡarʔāne* 'the sunken (or sinking) ship' [see p.271] (a.p. of ḡareʔ 'to sink').

When an active participle is used with its normal complementation suppressed, it becomes an agentive [p.278] or dispositional [277] adjective: *mašrūē šāmel* 'a comprehensive plan' (*šamal* 'to include, comprehend', transitive); *kīmāwi fahmān* 'an able chemist', i.e. a chemist who understands (*byafham*) his business. See p.275.

Person Inflection in Feminine Active Participles

When a feminine participle is used with a suffix (pronoun, or *-l-* plus pronoun [p. 479]), the connective *t* [163] is used: *lābse* '(f.) wearing' + *-hon* 'them' → *lābšthon* 'wearing them'; *fāṭha* '(f.) having opened' + *-lna* 'for us' → *fāṭəht-šlna* 'having opened...for us'.

If, however, a feminine participle with a pronoun suffix refers to the person spoken to ('you'), then *-ī-* is inserted between the connective *t* and the suffix: *lābāstīhon* '(you, f.) wearing them', *fātāhtī-lna* '(you, f.) having opened...for us'. Examples:

31. ʔanti kātəbtī? 'Are you(f.) the one who wrote it (m.)?' (As contrasted with *hiyye kātəbto* 'Is she the one who wrote it?' and *ʔana kātəbto* 'I(f.) am the one who wrote it')
32. mʕalləmtīni had-dars 'You(f.) have taught me that lesson' (As contrasted with *mʕalləmtni had-dars* 'She has taught me that lesson')
33. lēš ʔmḥārəbtīha? 'Why are you(f.) quarreling with her?' (a.p. of *ḥārəb* 'to pick a fight with, to quarrel with'. [On present-tense English translation, see p.269.]) (Cf. *lēš ʔmḥārəbtha* 'Why is she quarreling with her?')
34. ʔanti msāwītī-lo ḥayāto taʕāse taʕāse 'You(f.) have been making his life miserable for him' (cf. *hiyye msāwīt-əllo...* 'She has been making... for him')
35. *hiyye mādḡawwəsto ʕala ḥalāwto w-ʔanti mādḡawwəstī ʕala mālo* 'She married him for his looks and you married him for his money' (Note that since participles designate a consequent state [p.262], the wording here implies that both women are still married to him. Otherwise, the perfect tense would be used: *dḡawwəstə* 'she married him', *dḡawwəstī* 'you married him'.)

These second-person participial forms are created by analogy to verbs in the perfect tense, which have a suffix *-ti* [p.175]: *lbāsti* 'you(f.) put on', *lbāstīhon* 'you put them on'; *katabti* 'you(f.) wrote', *katabtī* 'you wrote it(m.)'; *sāwēti* 'you(f.) made', *sāwētī-lo* 'you made...for him', etc.¹

¹Note that in the perfect tense, *t* marks second person and *i* marks feminine, while in the participle this analysis must be reversed.

In non-suffixing forms, feminine participles are the same for all persons: *wēn hāṭṭa l-manāṣef?* [DA-199] 'Where have you(f.) put the towels?' (Or, in other contexts, 'Where has she put...')

The Relation of Participles to Verbal Aspects

If a verb is PUNCTUAL (or MOMENTANEOUS), i.e. if it purports to designate a kind of event, then its participles generally depict the state of affairs SUBSEQUENT to that event:

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>fā?</i> | 'to wake up'..... <i>fāye?</i> | 'having waked up, awake' |
| <i>samma</i> | 'to name, call'..... <i>msammi</i> | 'having named' |
| | <i>msamma</i> | '(having been) named, called' |
| <i>māsek</i> | 'to take hold of'..... <i>māsek</i> | 'having taken hold of, holding' |
| | <i>mamsūk</i> | 'having been taken hold of,
being held' |

Likewise, if a verb is **DEVELOPMENTAL**, i.e. if it implies a process of change from one state to another (regardless whether the change is momentaneous or gradual), then its participles depict the state toward which the development leads, i.e. the subsequent state:

- | | | |
|----------------|--|----------------------------|
| <i>saker</i> | 'to get drunk'..... <i>sakrān</i> | 'drunk' |
| <i>ḡayyar</i> | 'to change' (trans.).... <i>mḡayyer</i> | 'having changed' (trans.) |
| | <i>mḡayyar</i> | '(having been) changed' |
| <i>tēallam</i> | 'to learn, be educated'.. <i>mētēallem</i> | 'educated, having learned' |

On the other hand, if a verb is DURATIVE but not developmental, i.e. if it designates an activity or a situation – but not a process of change or a momentary event – then its participles generally depict the state of affairs CONCURRENT with (or identical with) that activity or situation:

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| nāṣar | 'to expect, await'..... | māntāṣer
māntāṣar | 'expecting, awaiting'
'(being) expected, awaited' |
| ṣāḡal | 'to occupy, keep...busy' | ṣāḡel
maṣḡul | 'occupying, keeping...busy'
'occupied, busy' |
| daṣwar
(ʿala) | 'to look for'..... | mdaṣwer
(ʿala)
mdaṣwar
ʿalē | 'looking for'

'sought, looked for' |
| ḥtawā
(ʿala) | 'to include'..... | maḥtāwi
(ʿala)
maḥtāwa
ʿalē | 'including'

'included' |

No matter whether the state depicted by a participle is subsequent or concurrent, it must in any case be a consequent state; i.e. it must be a necessary consequence of whatever it is the underlying verb designates. Thus there is really only one kind of semantic relationship between verbs and participles, not two.

Verbal aspects, unfortunately, cannot actually be deduced from the nature of the phenomena referred to; one and the same phenomenon may be viewed from various perspectives, and it commonly happens that Arabic and English take different perspectives on it. These differences would cause no confusion except for the fact that they are often too subtle to be reflected in the usual glosses, translations, and definitions encountered in textbooks and reference books. See Psychological State participles, p.272.

Examples of concurrent state participles:

36. *lassāni matraddad* 'I'm still undecided' (a.p. of *traddad* 'to vacilate', durative)
37. *rākde wara t-taslaye bass* 'She's only out for a good time' (lit. "running after amusement") (a.p. of *rakad* 'to run', durative)
38. *haṣ-ṣnēne maṣtāna fiha mnīh* 'This garden is well kept' (p.p. of *ṣtana b-* 'to take care of', durative)
39. *n-nās kallha farḥāne w-ḍaḥkāne* [adap.fr. DA-301] 'The people are all rejoicing and laughing' (a.p. of *farḥ* and *ḍaḥk*, durative)
40. *wlād ṣammna kānu mṣayyifn ḥnīk* [DA-152] 'Our cousins were spending the summer there' (a.p. of *ṣayyaf* 'to (spend the) summer', durative)
41. *šū l-ḡrād halli lāzamtak?* [DA-128] 'What things do you need?' (*lāzem*, a.p. of *byalzam* 'to be necessary to (s.o.)', durative)
42. *mastanḡrīnkon ṣal-ṣaṣa* [SAL-70] 'We're expecting you for dinner' (a.p. of *stanḡar* 'to expect, await', durative)
43. *ṣa'lo sābeḥ bel-xayāl* 'He's daydreaming', lit. 'His mind is swimming in fantasy' (a.p. of *sabaḥ* 'to swim', durative)
44. *ʔana māliyyan maṣtāmed ṣalē* 'I'm financially dependent on him' 'a.p. of *ṣtamad ṣala* 'to depend on', durative)

45. *maṣḡūl bāli ṣand ʔaḥmad bēk xēr šabo?* [DA-217]

'I'm concerned about Ahmed Bey; he's all right, I hope?', lit. 'My attention is occupied with...' (p.p. of *ṣaḡal* 'to occupy, concern', durative)

Some verbs may be either punctual or durative, for instance *sāwa* 'to do, to make', *ḡare?* 'to sink'. The participles of such verbs may indicate either the subsequent state (*mṣāwi* 'having made', *ḡarʔān* 'sunken') or the concurrent state ('making', 'sinking').

Verbs with an Inceptive Aspect. Some verbs that are used (duratively) in reference to an activity or a situation are also used (punctually) in reference to its INCEPTION, i.e. to the event which marks the beginning of that activity or situation. For example *nām* 'to sleep' (durative, as in *nāmʔt sāṣtēn* 'I slept two hours') and 'to go to sleep, or 'to lie down to sleep' (punctual, as in *nāmʔt bakkīr* 'I went to bed early'). Thus the participle *nāyem* 'asleep' is subsequent with reference to the inception and concurrent with reference to the duration. Other inceptive-aspect verbs:

Verb	Durative	Inceptive	Participle
<i>ʔaṣad</i> 'to sit'	'to sit down'	.....<i>ʔāṣed</i> 'sitting, seated'
<i>rakeb</i> 'to ride'	'to mount, get on'	.....<i>rākeb</i> 'mounted, riding'
<i>sakat</i> 'not to talk'	'to stop talking'	.....<i>sāket</i> 'not talking'
<i>laḃes</i> 'to wear'	'to put on'	.....<i>lābes</i> 'wearing' <i>malbūs</i> 'being worn'
<i>ḥamal</i> 'to carry'	'to pick up, load on'	.....<i>ḥāmel</i> 'carrying' <i>maḥmūl</i> '(being)carried'
<i>sāfar</i> 'to travel'	'to set out on a trip'	.....<i>mṣāfer</i> 'traveling'
<i>rtāḥ</i> 'to rest, be at ease'	'to relax, put one's self at ease'	.....<i>mārtāḥ</i> 'at ease'

Examples in use:

46. *ṣ-ṣa'ar kān ḥāmel fāra b-maxālbo* 'The hawk had (i.e. was carrying) a mouse in its claws'
47. *kant lāzem tabʔa mārtāḥ bēl-bēt* [DA-218] 'You should have stayed resting at home'
48. *brīd šūfo, šūfī-li yā ʔāṣed yamma nāyem?* [DA-217] 'I'd like to see him; (would you) see for me whether he's up or in bed?'

Psychological State Participles. Arabic verbs of perception, cognition, affect, and the like¹ are predominantly punctual while the corresponding English verbs are predominantly durative. Compare, for instance, Arabic *ʿāref* 'to find out, to recognize, to become acquainted with' with the English verb *to know*.

The participles of this kind of Arabic verb are perfectly regular, depicting the psychological state consequent upon (and subsequent to) the event: *ʿāref* (or *ʿarfān*) 'having found out, having become acquainted with'. But since the corresponding English verbs are mainly durative – with simple present tense forms used for actuality [p.320] as well as for dispositions or generalities – the Arabic participles are commonly rendered in English with the simple present tense: *ʿana ʿāref* 'I know' (not "I am knowing" nor 'I have known').

Similarly in reference to the past, a participle that is complemental or attributive to a verb in the perfect [p.340] may be translated into English with the simple past tense: *kant ʿāref* 'I knew' (in contrast to the simple perfect *ʿarift* 'I found out').²

Examples of "psychological" verbs and their active participles:

<i>šāf</i>	'to see' (momentarily).....	<i>šāyef</i>	'to see, be looking at' (dur.)
<i>ḥass</i>	'to feel' (momentarily).....	<i>ḥāses</i>	'to feel, be feeling' (dur.)
<i>ḥabb</i>	'to like, take a liking.....	<i>ḥābeb</i>	'having taken a liking to, to like' (durative)
<i>fāhem</i>	'to catch on, understand'... (momentarily)	<i>fāhem</i> , <i>fahmān</i>	'to understand' (dur.)
<i>sāmeʿ</i>	'to hear' (momentarily).....	<i>sāmeʿ</i> , <i>samʿān</i>	'to hear, be listening to' (dur.) ³

¹The verbs actually involved here are those which are commonly complemented either by a clause or by an object, excluding, therefore, words like *māṣaṭ* 'to enjoy one's self', *tʿazzab* 'to suffer', *fakkar* in the sense 'to cogitate' (but including e.g. *ftakar* 'to think', which is normally complemented by a clause or an object).

²The English simple present and past are also used, however, in translating Arabic dispositional [p.326] and annunciatory [325] predications, e.g. *ʿana baʿref* 'I know', thus obscuring the sometimes crucial distinction between verb and participle in Arabic: *fāhem kalāmo?* 'Do you understand what he is saying (or what he said)?' vs. *btāfham ʿarabi?* 'Do you understand Arabic?', *kant tāfham ʿarabi (b-hal-waʿt)?* 'Did you understand Arabic (at that time)?'. The two latter sentences are dispositional, and cannot normally be expressed except by the imperfect tense.

³These translations of *sāmeʿ* or *samʿān* only apply to the purely sensory meaning of *sāmeʿ*, as opposed to the cognitive meaning (as in 'to hear about', 'to hear from', 'to hear the news', etc.) Thus *kaʿanni samʿān ʿasmo* '(It seems) as if I've heard his name', not "...as if I hear his name". In the cognitive sense, *sāmeʿ* means 'having heard(of), familiar with (the sound of)'.

<i>xāf</i>	'to fear, take fright(of)'.....	<i>xāyef</i>	'afraid of, to fear' (dur.) (momentarily)
<i>daḥḥar</i>	'to remember, recall' (mom.)....	<i>maḍzakker</i>	'to remember' (dur.) ¹
<i>rād</i>	'to wish, want' (momentarily)...	<i>rāyed</i>	'to wish, want' (dur.)
<i>ʿaṣab</i>	'to please' (momentarily).....	<i>ʿāṣeb</i>	'to please' (dur.)
<i>ḥamm</i>	'to interest, concern' (mom.)...	<i>ḥāmem</i>	'to interest' (dur.)

Psychological participle clauses (Present state):

49. *šāyef ḥal-ʿarāḍi ʿaddēš xaḍra*
[DA-235] '(Do you) see how green this land is(?)'
50. *ʿana xāyef la-ykūn maʿi z-zāyde*
[DA-217] 'I fear (I'm afraid) I may have appendicitis'
51. *ḥāses kaʿanni xalʿān ʿāḍid* 'I feel as though I'm newly born'
52. *ḥal-ʿaqtirāḥ mū ʿāṣebni* 'I don't like that suggestion', lit. 'That suggestion doesn't please me.'
53. *mū ḥāmāma ʿalla rāḥāta* 'Nothing concerns her but her own comfort'
54. *rāyed baddel dolārāt*
ʿamērkiyye b-lērāt 'I wish to change some American dollars into pounds'
55. *sāmeʿ šōṭ ʿn-nawaʿir*
ʿal-ʿāṣi? [DA-252] 'Do you hear the sound of the water wheels on the Orontes?'

Past state:

56. *kān fī zalame ḥāseb ḥālo*
šāṭer u-ʿālem [AO-83] 'There was a fellow who considered himself clever and learned' (a.p. of *ḥasab* 'to reckon, count, consider')
57. *w-ḍarab rās ʿt-tamsāl halli*
ḥuwwe maṭṭakro bant ʿt-tāṣer
[AO-114] 'And he struck (off) the head of the statue he though (was) the merchant's daughter' (a.p. of *ftakar* 'to think')
58. *ʿana mā kant maṭṣawwer ʿanno*
waṣlet ḥaš-šināʿa ʿandkon
la-had-daraṣe [DA-251] 'I didn't imagine that this industry among you had reached such a level' (a.p. of *ṭṣawwar* 'to imagine')
59. *ʿana ʿmelt ḥāli māli sāmeʿ*
[AO-118] 'I pretended not to hear'

¹Note that while we translate *ʿana maḍzakker* consistently as a durative in English: 'I remember', *ʿana nāsi* on the other hand is more often rendered as a punctual: 'I've forgotten' (less often durative: 'I forget').

Antecedent State Participles. The active participles of some of the more common TRANSLOCATIVE verbs (verbs having to do with going, coming, etc. to and from places)¹ may be used to indicate not only a subsequent state (e.g. *rāšē* 'having returned', from *rāšē* 'to return'), but also an ANTECEDENT state (*rāšē* 'going to return, returning').

Verb	Participle	Subsequent State	Antecedent State
<i>rāh</i> 'to go'.....	<i>rāyeh</i>	'gone'.....	'going, going to go'
<i>ʔaša</i> 'to come'.....	<i>šāye</i>	'(having)come'.....	'coming, going to come'
<i>ʔale</i> 'to go up, out'....	<i>ʔāle</i>	'gone up, out'.....	'going up, out, etc.'
<i>nāzel</i> 'to descend'.....	<i>nāzel</i>	'having descended'..	'descending, going to descend'
<i>tarak</i> 'to leave'.....	<i>tārek</i>	'having left'.....	'leaving, going to leave'
<i>daxal</i> 'to enter'.....	<i>dāxel</i>	'having entered'....	'entering, going to enter'
<i>xaraš</i> 'to go out'.....	<i>xāreš</i>	'gone out'.....	'going out, going to go out'
<i>wašel</i> 'to arrive'.....	<i>wāšel</i>	'having arrived'....	'arriving, going to arrive'
<i>bāʔi</i> 'to remain, stay'..	<i>bāʔi</i>	'remaining, left'...	'going to remain, stay'
<i>ʔaʔad</i> 'to stay'.....	<i>ʔāʔed</i>	'staying'.....	'going to stay'
<i>sāfar</i> 'to set out on a trip'.....	<i>msāfer</i>	'(having)set out, traveling'.....	'going to set out'

Examples of antecedent state participles:

60. *l-ʔēle wāšle baʔd bakra* [DA-243] 'The family is arriving tomorrow'
61. *šu blāʔikon rāyhīn ʔabʔal ma tāxdu l-ʔahwe?* [DA-199] 'You mean you're going before having coffee?!' (lit. "Do I find you about to go...")
62. *ʔana tārek ʔl-yōm* 'I'm leaving today'
63. *ʔante nāzel bəl-mubārā?* 'Are you competing in the tournament?', lit. "Are you descending into...(e.g. the arena)"

¹Sometimes inappropriately called 'verbs of motion'.

64. *mīn ʔmʔāle ʔl-yōm ʔašiyye?*

'Who are you taking out this evening?' (a.p. of *ʔāla*, causative [p.243] of *ʔale*)

65. *huwwe lāhʔak*

'He's out to get out', lit. 'He's catching up with you' (a.p. of *lahe* 'to catch up with, catch')

66. *ʔana kənt rāyeh la-ʔandak šufak* [DA-243]

'I was going (to go) to see you'

Non-Statative Participles

Certain participles may be used in a dispositional sense [p.277], for example:

Verb	Participle	Statative	Dispositional
<i>ʔharrek</i> 'to move'.....	<i>məʔharrek</i>	'moving'.....	'movable'
<i>ʔšawwal</i> 'to travel'....	<i>matšawwal</i>	'travelling'.....	'disposed to travel'
<i>ʔabel</i> 'to accept'....	<i>maʔbūl</i>	'accepted'.....	'acceptable'
<i>ʔara</i> 'to read'.....	<i>maqrūʔ</i> (classicism)	'(having been) read'.....	'legible'

The dispositional sense is sometimes more or less limited to set phrases, e.g. *tāšer matšawwal* 'traveling salesman' (i.e. a salesman who travels, not a salesman who is traveling); *kəlmto məsmūʔa* 'His opinion is taken seriously; what he says goes' (lit. 'His word is heard').

Participles are also often used in making generalizations about recurrent states [cf. p.321]:

67. *ʔantu fāthīn ʔs-sabʔt?* 'Do you open (or are you open) on Saturday(s)?'
68. *lābse ʔawāʔi ʔəlwe* 'She wears pretty clothes'
69. *l-kamyōnāt māšye rāyha rāšʔa bēn l-ʔmhaʔṭa w-bētna* 'The buses run both ways (lit. "coming, going") between the station and where we live'

Participles are also sometimes used dispositionally in emphatic negative statements of this sort:

70. *waʔla māli mədšawwəza!* 'I certainly wouldn't marry her!'
71. *ʔālama ʔante ʔam-ʔthākīni ʔala haš-šagle, māni mxaʔybak* 'Since you're speaking to me (personally) about this matter, I won't let you down'.

Some active participles may be used in an agentive [p. 278] or characteristic [279] sense:

Verb	Participle	Stative	Agentive or Characteristic
šamal	'to include'.....šāmel	'including'.....	'inclusive, comprehensive'
barad	'to get cold'....bāred	'(having gotten) cold'.....	'(characteristically) cold'
fahem	'to understand'...fāhem,	'who under-	
	fahmān	stands'.....	'understanding, knowledgeable'

Most agentive adjectives of Pattern *māfēel* [p. 133] are etymologically active participles of Pattern IV verbs [260], but have lost their complementation (if any) and their strictly stative sense.

Substantivized active participles designating human beings are often used in the occupational sense [p. 305] (which corresponds – for nouns – to dispositional adjectives): *mʿullem* 'teacher', *ḥāyek* 'weaver'. Inanimate active participles are sometimes used in an agentive sense: *māneʿ* 'hindrance' (from *manaʿ* 'to prevent, hinder'), *bāʿes* (classicism) 'motive', from *baʿaθ* 'to send, to induce'.

Many passive participles are substantivized in a resultative sense (generally involving some idiomatic specialization of meaning): *maktūb* 'letter' (from *katab* 'to write'), *maxlūʿ* 'creature' (from *xalaʿ* 'to create').

Substantivization as such does not necessarily destroy the stative sense of a participle, however. Note *mwaḥḥaf* 'employee', *mʿazzem* 'host', *lāḥeʿ* 'refugee', etc., which are normally always stative, and *mʿallef* 'author, composer', which may be either stative (as in *mʿallef ḥal-ʿktāb* 'the one who wrote this book') or occupational (as in *mʿallef katob* 'a writer of books').

DISPOSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

A dispositional adjective indicates that the person (or thing) referred to is especially inclined or habituated or qualified to do what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns *Faʿūl* [p. 128], *Faʿēāl* [129], and *Faʿēīl* [129] are the ones generally used.

Underlying Verb	Dispositional Adjective
Pattern <i>Faʿūl</i> :	
<i>ḥasad</i> 'to envy'.....	<i>ḥasūd</i> 'envious, inclined to envy'
<i>xāʿel</i> 'to be embarrassed, ashamed'.....	<i>xāʿūl</i> 'shy, bashful'
<i>ṣabar</i> 'to be patient'.....	<i>ṣabūr</i> 'patient' (in disposition)
<i>sakat</i> 'not to talk, be silent'.....	<i>sakūt</i> 'silent, taciturn'
<i>ḡafar</i> 'to forgive'.....	<i>ḡafūr</i> 'forgiving' (in disposition)
<i>ʾakal</i> 'to eat'.....	<i>ʾakūl</i> 'gourmand'
<i>ḍaḥek</i> 'to laugh'.....	<i>ḍaḥūk</i> 'jolly, always laughing'

With medial radical semivowel, the Pattern is *Fayyūl*: *ḡayyūr* 'jealous' (in disposition), from *ḡār* 'to be jealous'.

kasūl 'lazy' and *ḡasūr* 'daring' have no underlying simple verbs, but correspond to *tkāsal* 'to loaf' and *dḡāsar* 'to dare', respectively [p. 249].

Pattern *Faʿēāl*:

<i>ḥass</i>	'to feel'.....	<i>ḥassās</i>	'sensitive'
<i>ṭameʿ</i>	'to be greedy'.....	<i>ṭammāʿ</i>	'greedy'
<i>kazab, kazzab</i>	'to lie'.....	<i>kazzāb</i>	'liar'
<i>ḡašš</i>	'to cheat'.....	<i>ḡaššāš</i>	'cheater'
<i>baki</i>	'to weep, cry'.....	<i>bakka</i>	'cry-baby, weeper'

Note the close relationship between dispositional adjectives of Pattern *Faʿēāl* and Occupational Nouns of the same Pattern [p. 305].¹

¹There is no clear-cut noun-vs.-adjective distinction in human designations formed on Patterns *Faʿēāl* and *Faʿēīl* (among others). [See p. 382.] There is, however, a clear enough distinction in meaning between the dispositional and occupational categories; all dispositional derivatives have here been included with adjectives, while occupationals are obviously to be classified as nouns.

Underlying Verb

Dispositional Adjective

Pattern FaEEIL:

<i>barad</i>	'to get cold'	<i>barrīd</i>	'sensitive to cold'
<i>balaf</i>	'to bluff'	<i>ballīf</i>	'bluffer'
<i>štaḡal</i>	'to work'	<i>šagḡīl</i>	'(good) worker'
<i>šaraf</i>	'to spend'	<i>šarrīf</i>	'spendthrift'
<i>laʿeb</i>	'to play'	<i>laʿēib</i>	'player'

A slightly different pattern (FaEEIL) [p.129] is used for some dispositionals: *sakkīr* 'drunkard' from *saker* 'to get drunk'.

It is important to distinguish between dispositional and stative adjectives; the English translations do not always express this distinction: *sakūt* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative in disposition) vs. *sāket* 'quiet' (i.e. untalkative for the moment); *šabūr* 'patient' (i.e. in disposition) vs. *šāber* 'patient' (i.e. waiting patiently); *kasūl* 'lazy' (i.e. habitually) vs. *kaslān* '(feeling or acting) lazy'.

On the use of certain participles in a dispositional sense, see p.275.

On the adjective-like use of verbs in a dispositional sense, see p.328.

AGENTIVE ADJECTIVES

Agentive adjectives, formed on Pattern *maFEEl* [p.133], depict their referent as doing – or tending to do – what is designated by a paronymous transitive verb: *ʔaraf* 'to disgust': *maʔref* 'disgusting'.

Most typically, the object of the underlying verb is animate, and its subject, inanimate; the agentive adjective characterizes a stimulus as eliciting a certain kind of response.

Agentive adjectives are not to be confused with Pattern IV participles [p.260]. The active participle of a transitive verb takes an object [265], while an agentive adjective does not; and the participle designates only states [262], while the agentive designates states, dispositions, or qualities indiscriminately.

Transitive Verb

Agentive Adjective

<i>taʿab</i>	'to tire'	<i>matʿēb</i>	'tiring, tiresome'
<i>zaʿaʒ</i>	'to bother, disturb'	<i>mazʿeʒ</i>	'bothersome, disturbing'
<i>raḡa</i>	'to please, satisfy'	<i>marḡi</i>	'satisfactory'
<i>ʔaza</i>	'to harm'	<i>maʔzi</i>	'harmful'
<i>hamm</i>	'to concern, be important to'	<i>mhamm</i>	'important'
<i>mall</i>	'to bore'	<i>mmall</i>	'boring'
<i>waʒaʿ</i>	'to hurt, inflict pain'	<i>mūʒeʿ</i>	'painful, hurtful' ¹
<i>ʔatlaf</i>	'to ruin, annihilate'	<i>matlef</i>	'ruinous, destructive'
<i>ḡaḡḡak</i>	'to make...laugh'	<i>maḡḡek</i>	'funny, laughable'
<i>rayyaḡ</i>	'to make...comfortable'	<i>māryeḡ</i>	'comfortable' (e.g. chair)
<i>hayyab</i>	'to inspire with awe, fear'	<i>māhyeb</i>	'awesome, fearsome'
<i>mawwat</i>	'to kill, cause death'	<i>mumīt</i>	'deadly, lethal'

CHARACTERISTIC ADJECTIVES²

Characteristic adjectives, formed on the pattern *maFEEl* [p.133], are derived from simple nouns. They depict their referents as being characterized by, or notably endowed with, the thing designated by the underlying noun:

Underlying Noun

Characteristic Adjective

<i>zōʔ</i>	'taste'	<i>mazweʔ</i>	'having good taste'
<i>xaḡar</i>	'danger'	<i>māxḡer</i>	'dangerous'
<i>sənn</i>	'age'	<i>msənn</i>	'aged'
<i>šams</i>	'sun'	<i>mašmes</i>	'sunny'
<i>ḡaḡʔn</i>	'grease, oil'	<i>māḡhen</i>	'greasy, oily'
<i>hawa</i>	'air, breeze'	<i>māhwi</i>	'draughty, airy'
<i>lsān</i>	'tongue'	<i>mālsen</i>	'articulate, eloquent'

¹Note that *mūʒeʿ* – like the subject of *waʒaʿ* – refers to an external agent, while the subject of *waʒeʿ* 'to hurt, pain' refers to an "internal" agent: *rāsi byūʒaʿni* 'my head hurts me'. The agentive *mūʒeʿ* does not correspond to *waʒeʿ* – it does not mean 'painful' in this sense.

²Characteristic and Agentive can probably be analyzed structurally as alternants of a single category, since the former are all derived from nouns, the latter from verbs; the difference in the categories' "meanings" is perhaps merely a function of this grammatical difference in underlying words.

Underlying Noun	Characteristic Adjective
ḥaʔʔ	'right'.....mḥaʔʔ 'in the right'
waraʔ	'leaves'.....mūreʔ 'in leaf, leafy'
zahər	'blossoms'.....mazher 'blooming, flowering'
ʔarəʂ	'piastre'.....məʔreʂ 'well off'
baʔən	'belly'.....məbʔen 'paunchy, potbellied'

RELATIVE ADJECTIVES

(an-nisba)

A relative adjective indicates something characteristic of, or having to do with, what the underlying word designates. Most relative adjectives are formed by suffixing *-i* or sometimes *-āni* to a noun base; a few are derived from words other than nouns.

Underlying Noun	Relative Adjective
ʒanūb	'south'.....ʒanūbi 'southern'
ʔaʂəl	'origin'.....ʔaʂli 'original'
rəʂʒāl	'man'.....rəʂʒāli 'men's' (e.g. clothes)
ʔabb	'(profession of) medicine'.....ʔabbi 'medical'
məʂmoʂ	'apricot(s)'.....məʂməʂi 'apricot-colored'
ʂ-ʂam	'Damascus'.....ʂāmi 'Damascene'

With suffix *-āni* [See also p. 282]:

ʒəsm	'body'.....ʒəsmāni 'bodily'
rōḥ, rūḥ	'soul, spirit'.....rūḥani 'spiritual' (and rūḥi)
nafs	'self, psyche'.....nafsāni 'psychological'

Relative derivatives showing stem changes

Nouns with the suffix *-e/-a* [p. 138] lose this suffix when *-i* is added:

zirāʕa	'agriculture'.....zirāʕi 'agricultural'
ḥaʔīʔa	'truth'.....ḥaʔīʔi 'true, real'
ʕāʔfe	'feeling, emotion, sentiment'.....ʕāʔfi 'emotional, sentimental'
ʕāde	'custom, usage, habit'.....ʕādi 'customary, usual'
qarūra	'necessity'.....qarūri 'necessary'

Relatives derived from defective nouns [p. 211], or nouns ending in a radical semivowel, have *-w-* representing the semivowel before the *-i*. Other stem modifications may also occur:

Underlying Word	Relative Adjective
naʂa	'starch'.....naʂawi 'starchy'
luḡa	'language'.....luḡawi 'linguistic'
nabi	'prophet'.....nabawi 'prophetic, of the prophet(s)'
naḥu	'(Arabic) morphology, grammar'.....naḥawi '(Arab) grammarian'
tāni	'second'.....tānawi, 'secondary' sānawi
ḥama	'Hama' (a city).....ḥamwi 'of Hama'
ʂate	'winter'.....ʂetwi 'of winter, wintry'
ʔaxx	(annex. form ʔaxu).....ʔaxawi 'brotherly'
sama	'sky'.....samāwi 'of the sky, sky blue'

Note also the forms *damawi* 'of blood, bloody', from Cl. *dam* (Colloq. *damm*) 'blood'; *yadawi* 'manual', from Cl. *yad* (Colloq. *ʔīd*) 'hand', *sanawi* 'annual' from Cl. *sana* (Colloq. *sane*). In these biradical words [p. 40] *-aw-* is a stem-formative and does not represent a radical.

Grammatical Types of Underlying Words

Relative adjectives derived from ethnic collectives [p. 301]:

ʕarab	'Arabs'.....ʕarabi 'Arab, Arabic'
tərək	'Turks'.....tərki 'Turkish'
kərd	'Kurds'.....kərđi 'Kurdish'
ʔarman	'Armenians'.....ʔarmani 'Armenian'
ʔamērkān	'Americans'.....ʔamerkāni 'American'
ʔafranʂ	'Westerners'.....ʔafranʂi 'Western'
badu	'Bedouins'.....badawi 'Bedouin'
ʔəbʔ	'Copts'.....ʔəbʔi 'Coptic'

When substantivized, these relatives function as unit nouns [p. 301].

Derived from noun plurals:

Underlying Word	Relative Adjective
<i>sətt</i> 'lady', pl. <i>səttāt</i> <i>səttāti</i>	'ladies' (e.g. clothes)
<i>nək̥te</i> 'joke', pl. <i>nəkat</i> <i>nəkati</i>	'full of jokes, funny'
<i>dawle</i> 'nation', pl. <i>duwal</i> <i>duwali</i>	'international'

See also Occupational Nouns [p.306].

Derived from prepositions [p.485]:

<i>fōʔ</i> 'above, over, up'..... <i>fōʔāni</i>	'upper'
<i>taḥʔt</i> 'below, under, down'..... <i>taḥtāni</i>	'lower'
<i>ʔəddām</i> 'in front (of)'..... <i>ʔəddamāni</i>	'front, fore(ward)'
<i>wara</i> 'behind'..... <i>warrāni</i> ¹	'back, hind'
<i>xalf</i> 'behind, rear'..... <i>xalfāni</i>	'back, rear'
<i>waṣṭ</i> 'among, amid, in the middle'.... <i>waṣṭāni</i>	'middle, mid'
<i>ʒuwwa</i> 'inside'..... <i>ʒuwwāni</i>	'inner'
<i>barra</i> 'outside'..... <i>barrāni</i>	'outer'

Derived from miscellaneous noun-type words [p.382]:

<i>ʔawwal</i> 'first'..... <i>ʔawwalāni</i>	'first, primary',
	<i>ʔawwali</i> 'initial'
<i>ʔāxer</i> 'last'..... <i>ʔāxrāni</i>	'last, final'
<i>ʔaṣfar</i> 'yellow'..... <i>ʔaṣfarāni</i>	'yellowish'
<i>ʔaswad</i> 'black'..... <i>ʔaswadāni</i>	'blackish'
<i>xamse</i> 'five'..... <i>xamsāwi</i>	'of five, of the fifth'
<i>ʔarbʕīn</i> 'forty'..... <i>ʔarbʕīni</i>	'of the fortieth' (as in ʕīd ʔarbʕīni 'fortieth anniversary')

¹Doubling of the *r* is an anomalous stem change.

CHAPTER 11: NOUN DERIVATION

Index of Categories

Abstract and Gerundial	p. 284
Singulative	297
Feminal	304
Occupational	305
Instrumental	306
Locative	308
Hypostatic	309
Diminutive	310
Elativ	310
Nominal Derivatives	316

The substantivization of adjectives [p.276] and the materialization of abstract nouns [284] are semantic types of noun derivation, which, however, do not involve any consistent kinds of change in the form of word bases.

ABSTRACT NOUNS (including GERUNDS)

Most verbs and adjectives, and some nouns, have an abstract noun derived from them — a noun which serves to name the kind of event, function, state, or quality predicated by means of the underlying word. The adjective *ʔamīn* 'honest', for instance, has an abstract derivative *ʔamāne* 'honesty'; the noun *ʔaxx* 'brother' has a derivative *ʔuxuxwe* 'brotherhood'; and the verb *ṭār* 'to fly' has a derivative *ṭayarān* 'flight, flying'.

An abstract noun derived from a verb is called a GERUND or VERBAL NOUN (*maṣdar*)¹.

The relationship between an underlying word and its abstract derivative is based on the syntactical transformation of a predicative clause [p.401] into a construct phrase [464]: *l-walad šāṭer* 'the boy is clever' → *šāṭaret* *ʔl-walad* 'the boy's cleverness'; *r-raḡḡāl māt* 'the man died' → *mōt* *ʔr-raḡḡāl* 'the man's death'.

On the syntax of gerunds, see Active and Passive Use of Gerunds [p.296], Objects [440], Adverbial Noun Complements [p.442], Derived Constructs [464].

Concretization of Abstract Nouns. Many abstract nouns are converted, without change in form, into CONCRETE nouns, in one or both of these ways:

1.) **Materialization.** Some abstract nouns may be used to refer to the outward manifestations or material concomitants of the abstract function. Thus the gerund *ʔakʔl* 'eating' is also used to mean 'food'; the gerund *ktābe* 'writing' may designate the resulting inscription as well as the act.

Very similar to materialization is HYPOSTASIS, whereby some immaterial result or concomitant of the function is conceptualized as if it had a regular kind of tangible manifestation though it actually hasn't. Cf. Hypostatic Nouns, p.309.

2.) **Particularization.** Some abstract nouns may be used to designate separate or individual instances of the abstract function. Thus the gerund *zyāra* 'visiting' is also used to mean 'a visit', *ṣeūbe* 'difficulty' to mean 'a difficulty'.

Particularization converts a mass noun into a count noun [p.366]: *tlətt* *ʔṣeūbāt* 'three difficulties', *zyārtēn* 'two visits'.

Those gerunds from which instance nouns [297] are formally differentiated and derived, are not themselves so apt to be used in a particularized sense: *ḡarb* 'hitting, striking' (not 'a blow', for which the instance noun *ḡarbe* is used).

¹The literal meaning of *maṣdar* is 'source', which would seem to imply that a verb is derived from its abstract noun instead of the reverse. This term was probably arrived at by way of metaphysical — rather than linguistic — considerations, perhaps under the influence of Platonism.

Some gerunds, however, are not used in a particularized sense even though a true instance noun is also lacking: *ṭayarān* 'flying, flight' (not 'a flight').

Many abstract nouns are simultaneously materialized and particularized. Thus *nabāt* means not only 'growing, vegetating' (abstract),¹ and 'vegetation' (materialized), but also 'a plant' (materialized and particularized). Likewise *šaxšiyye* 'personality' means not only the state or function of being a person (*šaxš*), but more often 'a personality'.

In some cases, different gerundial forms from the same verb are concretized in different senses. The verb *daras* 'to study, learn' has two gerunds, *dars* and *dirāse*; *dars* is used in the passive sense as 'lesson', *dirāse* in the active sense as '(a) study'.

The verb *ḡakam* 'to judge' and 'to govern' has a gerund *ḡakʔm* which is used abstractly in both senses, but concretely only in the sense 'judgement, decision'; the form *ḡkūme* 'government', on the other hand, is used only in the one sense, usually concretely.

It may be noted that the derivational processes of abstraction and concretization described here apply to English and other languages as well as to Arabic. This is no guarantee, however, that the languages will have parallel derivations in any particular instance.

Abstract Derivatives of Adjectives and Nouns.

Abstract nouns derived from simple nouns and adjectives are mostly formed on the patterns *FaʔāLe*, *FēūLe*, and *FəʔL(e)*.

Those derived from relative adjectives (ending in *-i*) are formed by suffixing *-(yy)e* [p.280]. Examples:

Pattern *FaʔāLe* [p.146]:

Underlying Word	Abstract Noun
<i>šəḡāʔ</i> 'brave'	<i>šəḡāʔa</i> 'bravery'
<i>bəṣeʔ</i> 'ugly'	<i>bəṣāʔa</i> 'ugliness'
<i>ʔaduwu</i> 'enemy'	<i>ʔadāwe</i> 'enmity'
<i>sadīʔ</i> 'friend'	<i>sadāʔa</i> 'friendship'
<i>ʔamīn</i> 'honest'	<i>ʔamāne</i> 'honesty'
<i>ʔāsi</i> 'cruel'	<i>ʔasāwe</i> 'cruelty'
<i>bāred</i> 'stupid'	<i>barāde</i> 'stupidity'

¹*nabāt* is seldom used abstractly except as paronymous complement [p.442]: *byanbot nabāt* 'it grows a growth', i.e. 'it grows (considerably)'.

Underlying WordAbstract Noun

<i>sālem</i>	'safe, sound'.....	<i>salāme</i>	'safety'
<i>ḥārr</i>	'hot'	<i>ḥarāra</i>	'heat'
<i>ʔarāyeb</i>	'kin'	<i>ʔarābe</i>	'kinship'

Pattern *FēūLe* [p. 151]:

<i>xāšen</i>	'coarse'	<i>xšūne</i>	'coarseness'
<i>rāteb</i>	'damp, humid'.....	<i>rṭūbe</i>	'dampness, humidity'
<i>ṭafʔl</i>	'child, infant'.....	<i>ṭfūle</i>	'childhood, infancy'
<i>sahʔl</i>	'easy'.....	<i>shūle</i>	'ease, facility'
<i>šaʕʔb</i>	'difficult'.....	<i>šēūbe</i>	'difficulty'
<i>ʔabb</i>	'father'.....	<i>ʔubūwe</i>	'fatherhood'
<i>bāred</i>	'cold'.....	<i>brūde</i>	'coldness' (Cf. <i>barāde</i> , above)

Abstract nouns of Pattern *FēūLe* are mostly derived from words of Patterns *FāEL* [141], and *FaEL* [139, 126].

Pattern *FāEL* [p. 141]:

<i>kbīr</i>	'large'.....	<i>kabʔr</i>	'large size'
<i>ḡḡīr</i>	'small'.....	<i>ḡḡʔr</i>	'small size'
<i>tʔīl</i>	'heavy'.....	<i>təʔl</i>	'heaviness; weight'
<i>bēīd</i>	'far'.....	<i>bəʕʔd</i>	'distance'
<i>bxīl</i>	'stingy, miser'.....	<i>baxʔl</i>	'stinginess'
<i>ṭawīl</i>	'long'	<i>ṭūl</i>	'length'

Underlying WordAbstract NounPattern *FāELe* [p. 142]:

<i>ʔalīl</i>	'little, few'.....	<i>ʔalle</i>	'small quantity, scarcity'
<i>šadīd</i>	'intense'.....	<i>šedde</i>	'intensity'
<i>ʔawi</i>	'strong, powerful' ...	<i>ʔawwe</i>	'strength, power'
<i>ktīr</i>	'much, many'.....	<i>katra</i>	'large quantity'
<i>šāḥeb</i>	'friend'	<i>šəḥbe</i>	'friendship, companionship'

Abstract nouns of Patterns *FāEL* and *FāELe* are derived mainly from adjectives of Pattern *F(a)ēīL* [p. 127]. Those which have a final radical semivowel or the last two radicals alike have the final *-e*; most others do not.

Various other patterns are less commonly used for abstract derivatives of simple adjectives and nouns: Pattern *FaēūL*, as in *šamāl* 'beauty' (from *šamīl* 'beautiful'); Pattern *FaēaL*, as in *ḡaḡar* 'childhood, youth' (from *ḡḡīr* 'child, young'); Suffix *-iyye*, as in *ḥerriyye* 'freedom' (from *ḥārr* 'free'); and others.

Note that some abstract nouns – like their English counterparts – do not always indicate the positive quality or condition predicated by the underlying adjective, but rather the range of values defined by the adjective and its antonym: *ṭūl* 'length' (not necessarily 'longness'), *təʔl* 'weight' (not necessarily 'heaviness').

Some adjectives and nouns are correlatives (or participles) of descriptive verbs [p. 251]; their abstract nouns are also gerunds to those verbs: adj. *bxīl* 'stingy', verb *byəbxal* 'to be stingy', abstr. noun *baxʔl* 'stinginess, being stingy'; noun *ʔarāyeb* 'kin', verb *byəʔrab* 'to be kin to', abstr. noun *ʔarābe* 'kinship'; adj. *šahīḥ* 'correct', vb. *bīšəḥḥ* 'to be correct', abstr. noun *šəḥḥa* 'correctness'.

Abstract nouns derived from relative adjectives (or nouns) [p.280] are formed by the suffixation of *-(yy)e* [139]:

Underlying Word	Abstract Noun
<i>waṭani</i> 'patriot(ic)'.....	<i>waṭaniyye</i> 'patriotism'
<i>ʔummi</i> 'illiterate'.....	<i>ʔummiyye</i> 'illiteracy'
<i>ʕabqari</i> 'ingenious, genius'.....	<i>ʕabqariyye</i> 'ingenuity, genius'
<i>ʔazali</i> 'eternal'.....	<i>ʔazaliyye</i> 'eternity'
<i>naṣbi</i> 'relative'.....	<i>naṣbiyye</i> 'relativity'
<i>ʕaṣabi</i> 'nervous'.....	<i>ʕaṣabiyye</i> 'nervousness'
<i>ʔanāni</i> 'egotist(ical), selfish'..	<i>ʔanāniyye</i> 'egotism, selfishness'

Many derivatives of this sort are less often used abstractly than in a concretized sense [p.284]; especially common are those designating institutions (either organized or implicit, and either universal or particularized):

Underlying Word	Concretized Derivative
<i>masīḥi</i> 'Christian'.....	<i>masīḥiyye</i> 'Christianity'
<i>baṣari</i> 'human'.....	<i>baṣariyye</i> 'mankind'
<i>ṣuyūʕi</i> 'communist'.....	<i>ṣuyūʕiyye</i> 'communism'
<i>ʔaštirāki</i> 'socialist'.....	<i>ʔaštirākiyye</i> 'socialism'
<i>ṣamhūri</i> 'republican'.....	<i>ṣamhūriyye</i> 'republic'
<i>naṣari</i> 'theoretical'.....	<i>naṣariyye</i> 'theory'
<i>ṣaxṣi</i> 'personal, individual'...	<i>ṣaxṣiyye</i> 'personality'
<i>riyāḍi</i> 'mathematical'.....	<i>riyāḍiyyāt</i> 'mathematics' (pl. only)

Some abstract or concretized derivatives are formed by suffixing *-iyye* to words of various other kinds. In some cases a change in the base pattern accompanies the suffixation:

<i>masʔūl</i> 'responsible'.....	<i>masʔūliyye</i> 'responsibility'
<i>ʕabd</i> 'slave, enslaved'....	<i>ʕbūdiyye</i> 'enslavement, slavery'
<i>huwwe</i> 'he, it'.....	<i>hawwiyye</i> 'identity'

A number of abstract nouns are formed by suffixing *-iyye* to elatives: *ʔahammiyye* 'importance' (from *ʔahamm* 'more important', from *mhamm* 'important'), *ʔaktariyye* and *ʔaḡlabiyye* 'majority' (from *ʔaktar* 'more, most', and *ʔaḡlab* 'most, major portion'), *ʔafḍaliyye* 'preference', (from *ʔafḍal* 'preferable'), etc.

Abstract derivatives of Pattern *ʔaFēaL* adjectives [p.130] and miscellaneous augmented words are not formed in any very consistent ways: *sawād* 'blackness' (from *ʔaswad* 'black'), *ʕami* 'blindness' (from *ʔaʕma* 'blind' and *ʕami* 'to go blind'), *ruṣūle* 'manliness' (from *raṣṣāl* 'man'), etc.

Gerunds

The gerunds of simple triradical verbs are formed on a variety of patterns; there is no sure way of telling which pattern is to be used for the gerund of any particular verb, so each must be learned individually. The gerunds of augmented verbs and quadriradical verbs, on the other hand, conform in almost every case to patterns which may be inferred from the pattern of the underlying verb.

Simple Gerundial Patterns. The most common of all is Pattern *FaēL*; other common patterns are *FaēL*, *FaēaL*, *Fēāle*, *Faēāl*, *FēūL*, *FaēLe*, *FaēLe*, *FaēLān*, *FaēaLān*. Examples:

Pattern *FaēL* [p.139]:

Verb	Gerund
<i>ṣaraḥ</i> 'to cut, wound'.....	<i>ṣarṣḥ</i> 'wounding, cutting'
<i>kasar</i> 'to break'.....	<i>kasṣar</i> 'breaking, breakage'
<i>fəhem</i> 'to understand'.....	<i>fahṣm</i> 'understanding, comprehension'
<i>ʔaxad</i> 'to take'.....	<i>ʔaxṣd</i> 'taking'
<i>hazz</i> 'to shake'.....	<i>hazz</i> 'shaking'
<i>baṣaṭ</i> 'to please'.....	<i>baṣṭ</i> 'pleasure, pleasing'
<i>xāf</i> 'to fear'.....	<i>xōf</i> 'fear'
<i>bās</i> 'to kiss'.....	<i>bōs</i> 'kissing'
<i>bāʕ</i> 'to sell'.....	<i>bēʕ</i> 'selling, sale'
<i>rama</i> 'to throw'.....	<i>rami</i> 'throwing'
<i>wəʕi</i> 'to become conscious'.....	<i>waʕi</i> 'consciousness, becoming conscious'
<i>ḡaza</i> 'to raid'.....	<i>ḡazu</i> 'raiding'

Pattern *FaEL* [p. 141]:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>bağad</i> 'to hate'.....	<i>bağd</i>	<i>hass</i> 'to feel'.....	<i>hass</i>
<i>hakam</i> 'to judge'.....	<i>hakam</i>	<i>hafaz</i> 'to keep'.....	<i>hafz</i>
<i>laʿeb</i> 'to play'.....	<i>laʿab</i>	<i>labes</i> 'to wear, put on'.....	<i>labs</i>
	<i>habb</i> 'to like, love'.....	<i>habb</i>	

Pattern *FaEL* is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns *FaEaL* [p. 143]:

<i>hasad</i> 'to envy'.....	<i>hasad</i>	<i>haṭṭ</i> 'to put'.....	<i>haṭaṭ</i>
<i>ʿamel</i> 'to do, make'.....	<i>ʿamal</i>	<i>ḍarr</i> 'to damage'.....	<i>ḍarar</i>
<i>ʿaraʿ</i> 'to sweat'.....	<i>ʿaraʿ</i>	<i>ṭalab</i> 'to request, order'.....	<i>ṭalab</i>
	<i>ḡalet</i> 'to make a mistake'.....	<i>ḡalaṭ</i>	

Pattern *FaEaL* is not used for gerunds of hollow or defective verbs.

Patterns *FaEāL* [p. 146]:

<i>naṣaḥ</i> 'to succeed'.....	<i>naṣāḥ</i>	<i>ʿata</i> 'to give'.....	<i>ʿatāʿ, ʿata</i>
<i>nabat</i> 'to grow, vegetate'....	<i>nabāt</i>	<i>saxi</i> 'to be generous'....	<i>saxāʿ, saxa</i>
<i>fasad</i> 'to corrupt'.....	<i>fasād</i>	<i>daʿi</i> 'to get warm'.....	<i>dafa</i>
<i>dām</i> 'to last'.....	<i>dawām</i>		

Pattern *F(i)EāL(e)* [pp. 147, 148]

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>ʿabad</i> 'to worship'.....	<i>ʿbāde</i>	<i>ḥama</i> 'to defend'.....	<i>ḥmāye</i>
<i>waled</i> 'to bear (child)'....	<i>wlāde</i>	<i>zād</i> 'to increase'.....	<i>zyāde</i>
<i>ḥaras</i> 'to guard'.....	<i>ḥrāse</i>	<i>ḥakk</i> 'to itch'.....	<i>ḥkāḥ</i>
<i>zār</i> 'to visit'.....	<i>zyāra</i>	<i>ḡāb</i> 'to be absent'.....	<i>ḡyāb</i>
<i>ʿara</i> 'to read'.....	<i>ʿrāye</i>	<i>raḍi</i> 'to be pleased, satisfied'.....	<i>raḍa</i> [p. 147]
<i>saraʿ</i> 'to cultivate'.....	<i>zirāʿa¹</i>	<i>šafi</i> 'to be cured'.....	<i>šifa</i> [p. 148]
<i>daras</i> 'to study'.....	<i>dirāse²</i>		

Pattern *F(u)EūL* [p. 150]:

<i>naʾal</i> 'to descend'.....	<i>nzūl</i>	<i>sakat</i> 'not to talk'.....	<i>skūt</i>
<i>daxal</i> 'to enter'.....	<i>dxūl</i>	<i>marr</i> 'to pass'.....	<i>mrūr</i>
<i>šaʿar</i> 'to feel'.....	<i>šʿūr</i>	<i>ṭaleʿ</i> 'to come up or out'..	<i>ṭlūʿ</i>
<i>wəʾel</i> 'to arrive'.....	<i>wəʾūl</i>	<i>lazem</i> 'to be necessary'..	<i>lzūm</i>
<i>wəʾi</i> 'to be low'.....	<i>wəʾūw</i>		

Pattern *FaEaLān*:

<i>raʾaf</i> 'to tremble'.....	<i>raʾafān</i>	<i>ṭār</i> 'to fly'.....	<i>ṭayarān</i>
<i>xafaʿ</i> 'to beat, stir'.....	<i>xafaʿān</i>	<i>lām</i> 'to blame'.....	<i>lawamān</i>
<i>naʾef</i> 'to get dry'.....	<i>naʾafān</i>	<i>žāb</i> 'to bring'.....	<i>žayabān</i>
<i>žara</i> 'to run, flow'.....	<i>žarayān</i>	<i>dāʿ</i> 'to taste'.....	<i>dawaʿān</i>

Pattern *FaELān*:

<i>naʾar</i> 'to deny'.....	<i>naʾrān</i>	<i>ḡafar</i> 'to forgive'.....	<i>ḡafrān</i>
<i>naʾi</i> 'to forget'.....	<i>naʾyān</i>	<i>ʿaref</i> 'to know'.....	<i>ʿarfān</i>
<i>ʿaḍa</i> 'to accomplish'.....	<i>ʿaḍyān</i>	<i>ʿaṣi</i> 'to disobey'.....	<i>ʿaṣyān</i>

¹Two different gerunds of *saraʿ* correspond to two different meanings of the verb: *saraʿ* 'to sow, plant', has the gerund *sarāʿ*.

²Another gerund is *dars*; see p. 285.

Pattern *FaELe* [p.140]:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>zalaʔ</i> 'to skid, slide'..... <i>zalʔa</i>		<i>xāb</i> 'to fail, be disappointed'... <i>xēbe</i>	
<i>raḥam</i> 'to have mercy on'... <i>raḥme</i>		<i>fāʔ</i> 'to wake'..... <i>fēʔa</i>	
<i>waṣaf</i> 'to prescribe'..... <i>waṣfe</i> ¹		<i>rāḥ</i> 'to go'..... <i>rōḥa</i>	

Pattern *FəELe* [p.142]:

<i>xadam</i> 'to serve'..... <i>xədme</i>	<i>ʕāš</i> 'to live'..... <i>ʕīše</i>
<i>ʔader</i> 'to be able'..... <i>ʔadra</i>	<i>ǧār</i> 'to be jealous'..... <i>ǧīre</i>
<i>saraʔ</i> 'to steal'..... <i>sərʔa</i>	<i>kasa</i> 'to clothe'..... <i>kəswe</i>

Pattern *F(a)EiL* [pp.148,149]:

Verb	Gerund
<i>raḥal</i> 'to leave, emigrate'..... <i>raḥīl</i> 'departure, moving away'	
<i>ʔann</i> 'to moan'..... <i>ʔanīn</i> 'moan, moaning'	
<i>šaxar</i> 'to snore'..... <i>šxīr</i> 'snore, snoring'	
<i>ʔann</i> 'to ring, tinkle'..... <i>ʔnīn</i> 'tinkle, ringing'	
<i>dašš</i> 'to be noisy, to clamor'..... <i>dšīš</i> 'noise, clamor'	
<i>rakad</i> 'to run'..... <i>rkīd</i> 'running'	

This pattern is specialized to some extent for gerunds designating sounds or noises.

Various other patterns are used less commonly for the gerunds of simple verbs, for example Pattern *FaEaLe* as in *šafaʔa* 'pity' (from *šafaʔ* 'to pity'); Pattern *ʔaFēāL* as in *ʔəhrāš* 'embarrassment' (from *ḥaraš* 'to embarrass'; the anomalous defective pattern of *bāke* 'crying, weeping' [p.147] (from *bāki* 'to cry, weep'), etc.

For *al-mašdar l-mīmī*, see p.309.

¹*waṣaf* also means 'to describe', for which the gerund is *waṣʔf* 'description'.

Augmented Gerundial Patterns

Verbs of Pattern II(*FaEaL*) [p.77] have gerunds of Pattern *taFēiL*, excepting defective verbs, which have Pattern *taFēāLe*, or sometimes, *taFēiLe*:

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>ʕallam</i> 'to teach'..... <i>taʕlīm</i>		<i>sažžal</i> 'to record'..... <i>tašžīl</i>	
<i>šallaḥ</i> 'to repair'..... <i>tašlīḥ</i>		<i>faḍḍal</i> 'to prefer'..... <i>tafaḍīl</i>	
<i>daffa</i> 'to heat'..... <i>tadfāye</i>		<i>naʔʔa</i> 'to choose'..... <i>tanʔāye</i>	
<i>wadda</i> 'to take, guide'... <i>tūdāye</i>		<i>rabba</i> 'to educate'..... <i>terbāye</i> or <i>tarbiye</i>	
		<i>sawwa</i> 'to fix, equalize'..... <i>taswiye</i>	

Verbs of Pattern III (*FāEaL*) [p.80] have gerunds of Pattern *mFāEaLe*; (Defective form: *mFāEā* [81]):

<i>fāṣal</i> 'to bargain'..... <i>mfāšale</i> (with)'	<i>sāʕad</i> 'to help'..... <i>msāʕade</i>
<i>kātab</i> 'to write to'..... <i>mkātabe</i>	<i>ʕāmal</i> 'to treat (s.o.)'... <i>mʕāmale</i>
<i>sāwa</i> 'to make'..... <i>msāwā</i>	<i>lāʔa</i> 'to find'..... <i>mlāʔā</i>

Verbs of Pattern IV (*ʔaFēaL*) [p.82] have gerunds of Pattern *ʔaFēāL* (defective form *ʔaFēāʔ* or *ʔaFēa*); (for hollow verbs, *ʔiFāLe*):

Verb	Gerund
<i>ʔaʕlan</i> 'to announce'..... <i>ʔaʕlān</i> 'announcement'	
<i>ʔaḍrab</i> 'to go on strike'..... <i>ʔaḍrāb</i> 'going on strike, a strike'	
<i>ʔakram</i> 'to honor, treat hospitably'... <i>ʔakrām</i> 'honoring, hospitality'	
<i>ʔažra</i> 'to perform, execute'..... <i>ʔažrāʔ</i> , <i>ʔažra</i> 'performance, execution'	
<i>ʔaḥāl</i> 'to transfer, transform'..... <i>ʔiḥāle</i> 'transfer, transformation'	

The initial-weak verb *ʔāman* 'to believe' [p.85] has the gerund *ʔīmān* 'belief'.

Verbs of Patterns V and VI (*tFaʕʕaL* and *tFāʕaL*) [pp.86,88] have gerunds of Patterns *taFaʕʕoL* and *taFāʕoL* respectively. (Defective forms *taFaʕʕi*, *taFāʕi*.):

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>tʔaddam</i> 'to progress'.....	<i>taʔaddom</i>	<i>thāmal</i> 'to neglect'.....	<i>tahāmol</i>
<i>tʕallam</i> 'to learn'.....	<i>taʕallom</i>	<i>tʕāwan</i> 'to cooperate'.....	<i>taʕāwon</i>
<i>thadda</i> 'to provoke'.....	<i>taḥaddi</i>	<i>tsāwa</i> 'to be equalized'.....	<i>tasāwi</i>

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying verb of Pattern II or III: *tkātabu* 'to correspond with one another' and *kātab* 'to correspond with (someone else)' are both served by the gerund *mkātabe* 'correspondence'; the actual Pattern V or VI gerund in such cases is rare. See Active and Passive use of Gerunds [p.296].

Verbs of Patterns VII and VIII (*nFaʕaL* and *FtaʕaL*) [pp.91,95]: have gerunds of Patterns *ʔanFiʕāL* and *ʔaFtiʕāL* respectively. (Defective forms *ʔanFiʕāʔ* or *ʔanFiʕa*, *ʔaFtiʕāʔ* or *ʔaFtiʕa*):

<i>nʕaraf</i> 'to be dismissed'....	<i>ʔanʕirāf</i>	<i>ktaʕaf</i> 'to discover'.....	<i>ʔaktiʕāf</i>
<i>nfaʕal</i> 'to be agitated'.....	<i>ʔanfiʕāl</i>	<i>ʕtamaʕ</i> 'to meet'.....	<i>ʔaʕtimāʕ</i>
<i>nḥaṭṭ</i> 'to decline'.....	<i>ʔanḥiṭṭ</i>	<i>ttafaʔ</i> 'to agree'.....	<i>ʔattifāʔ</i>
<i>nzawa</i> 'to withdraw, be by one's self'.....	<i>ʔanziwāʔ</i>	<i>ḥtāl</i> 'to use trickery'..	<i>ʔaḥtiyāl</i>

ʕtana 'to take care of'..... *ʔaʕtina*

Many verbs of these patterns, however, share the gerund of an underlying simple verb: *ʕtaḡal* 'to be busy, to work' and *ʕaḡal* 'to busy', 'to occupy', are both served by the gerund *ʕaḡʕal* 'work, busying'. In some cases of Pattern VIII, a simple gerund is used even though the underlying simple verb itself is not used: *ftakar* 'to think': gerund *fəḳʕr* 'thought'; *ʕtara* 'to buy': gerund *ʕare* 'buying, purchase'.

Gerunds of Pattern IX (*FʕaLL*) verbs [p.101] have the Pattern *ʔaFʕiLāL*:

Verb	Gerund
<i>ḥmarr</i> 'to redden, to blush'.....	<i>ʔaḥmirār</i> 'reddening, blush'

Verbs of Pattern X (*staFʕaL*) [p.102] have gerunds of Pattern *ʔastaFʕāL* (sound and geminate):

Verb	Gerund	Verb	Gerund
<i>staʕmal</i> 'to use'.....	<i>ʔastaʕmāl</i>	<i>stafham</i> 'to enquire'.....	<i>ʔastafhām</i>
<i>staqbal</i> 'to receive'..	<i>ʔastaqbāl</i>	<i>stamadd</i> 'to procure supplies..	<i>ʔastamdād</i>

With initial radical semivowel, the pattern is *ʔastīʕāL*:

stawrad 'to import'..... *ʔastīrād* 'import, importation, importing'

For hollow verbs, the pattern is *ʔastiFāLe*:

stafād 'to benefit'..... *ʔastifāde* 'usefulness, benefit'

For defective verbs, the pattern is *ʔastaFʕāʔ*:

stasna 'to exclude'..... *ʔastasnāʔ* 'exclusion, exception'

Defective with initial radical semivowel:

stawla 'to seize'..... *ʔastīlāʔ* 'seizure'

Quadriradical and Pseudo-quadriradical verbs generally have gerunds of Pattern *FaʕLaLe* [p.159] (*FaʕLane*, *FarʕaLe*, etc.):

Verb	Gerund
<i>tarʕam</i> 'to translate'.....	<i>tarʕame</i> 'translation'
<i>xarbaʕ</i> 'to mess up'.....	<i>xarbaʕa</i> 'mess, messing up'
<i>waʕwaʕ</i> 'to whisper'.....	<i>waʕwaʕe</i> 'whispering'

Verbs with *t-* formative [p.85]:

<i>twaldan</i> 'to be childish'.....	<i>waldane</i> 'childishness'
<i>ddōʕan</i> 'to be dazed, astonished'.....	<i>dōʕane</i> 'astonishment, stupefaction'
<i>tʕēʕan</i> 'to be naughty, mischievous'...	<i>ʕēʕane</i> 'mischief, naughtiness'

In a few classicisms, the pattern *taFaʕLoL* is used for the gerunds of *t-* formative verbs: *tadahwor* 'decline, decadence' from *ddahwar* 'to decline, become decadent'.

Pattern *FʕaLaLL* verbs [p.123] have gerunds on the pattern *ʔaFʕaL₁L₂āL₂*:

tmaʔann 'to feel confident, secure'..... *ʔaṭmaʔnān* 'confidence, security'

Active and Passive Use of Gerunds

A gerund in construct [p.464] with a following term may correspond either to a verb its subject, or to a verb with its object: *mōt rəžžāl* 'a man's death' - *māt rəžžāl* 'a man died'; *ʔakl ʔl-laḥʔm* 'the eating of meat, eating the meat' - *ʔakal ʔl-laḥʔm* 'ate the meat' (or *byākol ʔl-laḥʔm* 'eats the meat').

In the case of transitive verbs, therefore, a gerund may be used either in an active or a passive sense: *ʔatl ʔr-rəžžāl*.... 'the man's killing (someone)' or 'the man's being killed'. Hence a single abstract noun commonly serves as the gerund of an active verb and of its passive derivative as well: *ʔatʔl* 'killing' for both *ʔatal* 'to kill' and *ʔatel* (or *nʔatal*) 'to be killed'; *ʔakʔl* 'eating' for both *ʔakal* 'to eat' and *tākal* (or *nʔakal*) 'to be eaten'; *šəḡʔl* 'work, being busy' for both *šaḡal* 'to occupy, to busy' and *štaḡal* 'to work'.

Gerunds of transitive verbs are syntactically unique among nouns: A transitive gerund in construct with the transformed verbal subject (or first object) may retain the object (or second object) as such: *ʔatl ʔr-rəžžāl ʔl-ḥarāmi* 'the man's killing (of) the thief'; *taʔlīm ʔl-ʔabb ʔwlādo* 'the father's teaching (of) his children'. See p.440.

SINGULATIVES

A singulative noun designates an individual unit or instance of what its underlying noun designates collectively or in general.¹ Singulatives are usually formed by suffixing -e/-a [p.138]:

Underlying Noun	Singulative
<i>xass</i> 'lettuce'.....	<i>xasse</i> 'a head of lettuce'
<i>šaʔar</i> 'hair'.....	<i>šaʔara</i> 'a hair'
<i>fəkr</i> 'thought, thinking'.....	<i>fəkra</i> 'a thought, an idea'
<i>šarx</i> 'shouting'.....	<i>šarxa</i> 'a shout, a cry'
<i>bōs</i> 'kissing'.....	<i>bōse</i> 'a kiss'
<i>baʔar</i> 'cattle'.....	<i>baʔara</i> 'a cow'
<i>dabbān</i> 'flies'.....	<i>dabbāne</i> 'a fly'
<i>baḥʔš</i> 'gravel, pebbles'.....	<i>baḥʔša</i> 'a pebble'

A singulative derived from a gerund [p.284] is called an **INSTANCE NOUN** (*ism l-marra*). A singulative derived from a mass noun [p.368] designating some kind of material thing is called a **UNIT NOUN** (*ism l-waḥda*), and the noun it is derived from is called a **COLLECTIVE** (*ism l-ḡamʕ*).

It should be clearly understood that collectives (except for ethnic collectives [p.301]) are grammatically singular, though the English translation may be plural: *dabbān* 'flies'. Collectives - since they are mass nouns - may have plurals of Abundance or Variety [368]: *dababīn* 'many flies', while singulatives are of course count nouns: *dabbāne* 'one fly', *dabbāntēn* 'two flies', *tlatt dabbānāt* 'three flies'.

Almost all singulatives are derived either from gerunds or from material mass nouns; an exception is *lēle* 'a night', from *lēl* 'nighttime'.

¹To avoid misunderstanding this statement, it should be noted that 'designate', as used in this book, does not mean 'refer to'. A collective or an abstract noun may, of course, be used to refer to a particular instance of what it designates (e.g. *ḥal-xass* 'this lettuce', *fəkrī ʔana* 'my idea'); it is not restricted to speaking in generalities or universals. But if a particular instance is referred to with a collective or abstract noun, its separateness or individuality is to be inferred from the context, and is an incidental matter; while an instance referred to with a singulative is explicitly and relevantly a separate instance.

Collectives and Units

1.) Almost all kinds of vegetables, fruits, grains, flowers, fruit trees, grasses, and the like, are designated by collectives and units:

Collective	Unit Noun
<i>badənžān</i> 'eggplant'.....	<i>badənžāne</i> 'an eggplant'
<i>baṭāṭa</i> 'potato(es)'.....	<i>baṭāṭāye</i> 'a potato' [cf. p.212]
<i>məšmoš</i> 'apricot(s)'.....	<i>məšmše</i> 'an apricot' [p.31]
<i>lōz</i> 'almond(s)'.....	<i>lōze</i> 'an almond'
<i>ʔamʔh</i> 'wheat'.....	<i>ʔamḥa</i> 'a grain of wheat'
<i>banafsaž</i> 'violets'.....	<i>banafsaže</i> 'a violet'
<i>ward</i> 'roses; flowers'.....	<i>warde</i> 'a rose, a flower'
<i>fəlfol</i> 'pepper'.....	<i>fəlʔfle</i> 'a pepper, peppercorn'
<i>naxʔl</i> 'date palms'.....	<i>naxle</i> 'a date palm'
<i>ʕəšʔb</i> 'grass, weeds, herbs'.....	<i>ʕəšbe</i> 'a blade of grass, a weed, an herb'
<i>ʔašš</i> 'straw'.....	<i>ʔašše</i> 'a straw'

Note also the generic terms *ḥabb* 'grain' (unit *ḥabbe*), *zahʔr* 'blossoms' (unit *zahra*), *sažar* 'trees, shrubs' (unit *sažara*), *waraʔ* 'leaves' (unit *waraʔa*), *bəzʔr* 'seed(s)', (unit *bəzre*), *ʔašab* 'cane, stalk(s)' (unit *ʔašabe*).

A few plant designations have the same form for both collective and unit: *fəṭʔr* 'fungus, mushroom(s)', the generic term *nabūt* 'a plant' or 'plants, vegetation', *təmm* 's-samake' 'snapdragon(s)' (lit. "fish mouth"); etc.

Quite a few mass nouns designating plants, however, either have no unit derivative at all, or have one that is seldom used. In such cases a periphrastic phrase may be used, consisting of a generic unit term in construct with the specific mass term [p.462]:

<i>tūm</i>	'garlic'.....	<i>rās tūm</i>	'a garlic bulb'
<i>šnōbar</i>	'pine'.....	<i>sažaret ʔšnōbar</i>	'a pine tree'
(<i>ḥabb</i>) <i>ʔšnōbar</i>	'pine nuts'.....	<i>ḥabbet ʔšnōbar</i>	'a pine nut'
<i>ʕəneb</i>	'grapes'.....	<i>ʕənebe</i> or <i>ḥabbet ʕəneb</i>	'a grape'

2.) Some kinds of animals are designated collectively, including: Four kinds of domestic mammals:

Collective	Unit Noun
<i>baʔar</i> 'cattle'.....	<i>baʔara</i> 'a cow'
<i>ḡanam</i> 'sheep'.....	<i>ḡaname</i> 'a ewe'
<i>məʕze</i> 'goats'.....	<i>məʕzāye</i> 'a (nanny) goat'
<i>xēl</i> 'horses'.....	(none)

The unit derivatives for domestic mammals (as for domestic fowl) designate the female of the species only.

The term *xēl* has no unit derivative of its own, but is supplanted by the term *faras* 'mare'.¹

Periphrastic unit constructs for these collectives may be formed (as in English) with *rās* (pl. *rūs*) 'head': *rās baʔar* 'a head of cattle', *rās xēl* 'a horse'.

Several kinds of bird (mainly fowl):

<i>žāž</i> 'chicken(s)'.....	<i>žāže</i> 'a hen'
<i>baṭṭ</i> 'duck(s)'.....	<i>baṭṭa</i> 'a duck'
<i>wazz</i> 'geese'.....	<i>wazze</i> 'a goose'
<i>ḥažal</i> 'partridge(s)'.....	<i>ḥažale</i> 'a partridge'
<i>ḥamām</i> 'pigeons'.....	<i>ḥamāme</i> 'a pigeon'
<i>būm</i> 'owls'.....	<i>būme</i> 'an owl'

Also:

<i>samak</i> 'fish'.....	<i>samake</i> 'a fish'
<i>šadaf</i> 'shellfish, oyster(s)'.....	<i>šadafe</i> 'an oyster, a shellfish'
<i>sfənž</i> 'sponge(s)'.....	<i>sfənže</i> 'a sponge'

¹ There is also, of course, the ordinary count noun *ḥšān* 'horse' (pl. *ʔəḥʔšne*).

Several kinds of insect:

Collective	Unit Noun
<i>dabbān</i> 'flies'..... <i>dabbāne</i> 'a fly'	
<i>nāmūs</i> 'mosquitos'..... <i>nāmūse</i> 'a mosquito'	
<i>naḥ^{al}</i> 'bees'..... <i>naḥle</i> 'a bee'	
<i>nam^{al}</i> 'ants'..... <i>namle</i> 'an ant'	
<i>farrāš</i> 'butterflies, moths'..... <i>farrāše</i> 'a butterfly, moth'	
<i>ḥatt</i> 'clothes moths'..... <i>ḥatte</i> 'a clothes moth'	
<i>dūd</i> 'caterpillars, worms'..... <i>dūde</i> 'a caterpillar, worm'	
<i>žarād</i> 'locusts'..... <i>žarāde</i> 'a locust'	
<i>ba^{??}</i> 'bedbugs'..... <i>ba^{??}a</i> 'a bedbug'	
<i>ʔam^{al}</i> 'lice'..... <i>ʔamle</i> 'a louse'	

3.) Collectives designate miscellaneous other sorts of material things which are familiar both in the aggregate and piecemeal:

<i>bēḍ</i> 'eggs'..... <i>bēḍa</i> 'an egg'	
<i>žam^{ar}</i> 'embers, coals'..... <i>žamra</i> 'an ember, a coal'	
<i>faḥ^{am}</i> 'charcoal, coal'..... <i>faḥme</i> 'a piece of charcoal, coal'	
<i>šax^{ar}</i> 'rock'..... <i>šaxra</i> 'a rock'	
<i>kaḥ^{ak}</i> (a kind of) 'cake'..... <i>kaḥke</i> 'a cake'	
<i>šabak</i> 'netting'..... <i>šabake</i> 'a net'	
<i>ḥaḍ^{am}</i> 'bone(s)'..... <i>ḥaḍme</i> 'a bone'	
<i>ʔaš^{ar}</i> 'bark, peel(s), shell(s)'... <i>ʔašra</i> 'a peel, a shell'	
<i>fašak</i> 'cartridges'..... <i>fašake</i> 'a cartridge'	
<i>blāṭ</i> 'tile, flagstone(s)'..... <i>blāṭa</i> 'a flagstone'	
<i>səžžād</i> 'rugs, carpeting'..... <i>səžžāde</i> 'a rug'	
<i>ḡēm</i> 'clouds'..... <i>ḡeme</i> 'a cloud'	
<i>šābūn</i> 'soap'..... <i>šābūne</i> 'a bar of soap'	
<i>səkkar</i> 'sugar'..... <i>səkkara</i> 'a lump of sugar'	
<i>zmərrod</i> 'emerald(s)'..... <i>zmərrede</i> 'an emerald'	

4.) A special type of collective is that which designates a kind of people (mainly ethnic groups). The unit noun, which designates one (male) person of the group, is the substantivized relative adjective [p.281], formed with the suffix *-i*: *Ḥarabi* 'an Arab', from the collective *Ḥarab* 'Arabs'.

These ETHNIC COLLECTIVES differ from ordinary collectives in that they function in almost the same way as plurals; verbs and adjectives show * plural agreement with them [p.426]: *l-Ḥarab ʔs-sūriyyīn* 'The Syrian Arabs', *ʔašū l-Ḥarab* 'The Arabs have come'.

The only respect in which they differ from true plurals is that they are not used in numeral constructs [p.471], but must stand in apposition to the numeral: *tlāte Ḥarab* 'three Arabs' [501]. That is to say, the absolute form of the numeral – not the construct form [170] – must be used before these collectives.

The unit noun in many cases has no plural (since the ethnic collective serves this function quite adequately), while in other cases a true plural exists in addition to the collective: *tark* 'Turks' (coll.): *tarki* 'a Turk' (unit): *ʔatrāk* 'Turks' (pl.). Thus *tlāte tark* 'three Turks', but *tlatt ʔatrāk* (same translation).

All ethnic unit nouns have, of course, feminal derivatives [p.304]: *Ḥarabiyye* 'an Arab woman', *tarkiyye* 'a Turkish woman'.

Further examples:

Collective	Unit
<i>ʔamērkān</i> 'Americans'..... <i>ʔamērkāni</i> 'an American'	
<i>ʔaṅglīz</i> 'English'..... <i>ʔaṅglīzi</i> 'an Englishman'	
<i>ʔaḷmān</i> 'Germans'..... <i>ʔaḷmāni</i> 'a German'	
<i>rūs</i> 'Russians'..... <i>rūsi</i> 'a Russian'	
<i>badu</i> 'Bedouins'..... <i>badawi</i> 'a Bedouin'	
<i>nawar</i> 'gypsies'..... <i>nawari</i> 'a gypsy'	
<i>kərd</i> 'Kurds'..... <i>kərdi</i> 'a Kurd' (pl. <i>ʔakrād</i>)	
<i>ʔarman</i> 'Armenians'..... <i>ʔarmani</i> 'an Armenian'	
<i>šarkas</i> 'Circassians'..... <i>šarkasi</i> 'a Circassian'	
<i>yūnān</i> 'Greeks'..... <i>yūnāni</i> 'a Greek' (pl. <i>-yyīn</i>)	
<i>rūm</i> 'Greek (Catholic or Orthodox)'..... <i>rūmi</i> 'a Greek (C. or O.)'	
<i>ʔabṭ</i> 'Copts'..... <i>ʔabṭi</i> 'a Copt' (pl. <i>ʔbāṭ</i>)	
<i>yahūd</i> 'Jews'..... <i>yahūdi</i> 'a Jew'	

Ethnic designations on internal plural patterns [p. 218] such as *maṣārwa* 'Egyptians' (sg. *maṣri*), *naṣāra* 'Christians'¹ (sg. *naṣrāni*), etc. may generally be used either as collectives or as true plurals: *tlāte maṣārwa* or *tlatt maṣārwa* 'three Egyptians'.

Some speakers treat the word *drūz* 'Druzes' as a collective rather than a plural (sg. *darzi*). Similarly *frāsawīyye* 'French (pl.)' is generally used as a collective, while the singulative *frānsāwi* 'Frenchman' also has a true plural *frānsāwiyyīn*.

Some speakers tend to assimilate almost all the ethnic collectives to true plurals, using either the construct or absolute forms of numerals before them: *tlatt ʔamērkan* (or *tlāte ʔamērkan*), etc.

Many ethnic designations, of course, have no collectives (in Colloquial use, at least), but only a singular and plural: *hāndi* 'Indian', pl. *hnūd*; *sūdāni* 'Sudanese', pl. *sūdāniyyīn*.

Gerunds and Instance Nouns

The gerunds of many simple triliteral verbs have singulatives derived from them. For example:

Verb	Gerund	Instance Noun
<i>ḍarab</i> 'to hit, strike'.. <i>ḍarb</i>	'hitting, striking'...	<i>ḍarbe</i> 'a blow'
<i>laʿeb</i> 'to play'..... <i>laʿeb</i>	'playing'.....	<i>laʿbe</i> 'a play'
<i>ʿaṭaṣ</i> 'to sneeze'..... <i>ʿaṭʔṣ</i>	'sneezing'.....	<i>ʿaṭṣa</i> 'a sneeze'
<i>dāx</i> 'to be nauseated, dizzy'	<i>dōx</i> 'nausea, dizziness'...	<i>dōxa</i> 'an attack or wave of nausea'
<i>daʔar</i> 'to touch, feel'.. <i>daʔar</i>	'touching, feeling'...	<i>daʔra</i> 'a touch'
<i>māt</i> 'to die'..... <i>mōt</i>	'death, dying'.....	<i>mōte</i> 'a death'
<i>dafaʿ</i> 'to push'..... <i>dafʔʿ</i>	'pushing'.....	<i>dafʿa</i> 'a push'
<i>takk</i> 'to click, tick'.. <i>takk</i>	'clicking, ticking'...	<i>takke</i> 'a click, tick'
<i>naṭṭ</i> 'to jump'..... <i>naṭṭ</i>	'jumping'.....	<i>naṭṭa</i> 'a jump'
<i>bās</i> 'to kiss'..... <i>bōs</i>	'kissing'.....	<i>bōse</i> 'a kiss'
<i>gaza</i> 'to raid'..... <i>gazu</i>	'raiding'.....	<i>gazwe</i> 'a raid'

¹Often derogatory; the polite term is (sg.) *masīḥi*, pl. *masīḥiyyīn* (no collective).

Though most instance nouns are formed simply by suffixing *-e/-a* [p. 138] (with any automatic changes that entails), others have a base pattern different from that of the gerund. Gerunds of Pattern *FēūL* [291], for instance, have singulatives of Pattern *FaʿLe* [140]:

Verb	Gerund	Instance Noun
<i>nazal</i> 'to descend'..... <i>nzūl</i>	'descent'.....	<i>nazle</i> 'a descent'
<i>waʔeʿ</i> 'to fall'..... <i>wʔūʿ</i>	'falling'.....	<i>waʔʿa</i> 'a fall'
<i>raʕeʿ</i> 'to return'..... <i>rʕūʿ</i>	'return(ing)'.....	<i>raʕʿa</i> 'a return'

Note also:

<i>galeṭ</i> 'to make a mistake'.. <i>galaṭ</i>	'being mistaken'...	<i>galaṭa</i> 'a mistake'
<i>naṣar</i> 'to look, glance'.... <i>naṣar</i>	'looking, sight'....	<i>naṣraq</i> 'a look'
<i>sāfar</i> 'to travel'..... <i>safar</i>	'travel(ing)'.....	<i>safra</i> 'a trip'
<i>gāb</i> 'to be absent'..... <i>gāyb</i>	'absence'.....	<i>gēbe</i> 'an absence'
<i>ḥarak</i> 'to move'..... <i>ḥarʔk</i>	'movement'.....	<i>ḥarake</i> 'a movement'
<i>štaḡal</i> 'to work'..... <i>šḡʔl</i>	'work'.....	<i>šagle</i> 'a job'

A few Pattern II (*taFēīL*) gerunds [p. 293] have singulatives derived from them:

<i>lammaḥ</i> 'to hint'..... <i>talmīḥ</i>	'hinting'.....	<i>talmīḥa</i> 'a hint'
<i>warraṭ</i> 'to involve'..... <i>tawriṭ</i>	'involvement'.....	<i>tawriṭa</i> 'an involvement'

Otherwise, augmented gerunds do not have instance nouns, though many of them may function in a particularized sense [p. 284] as well as in the abstract sense: *ʔattifāʔ* (ger. of *ttafaʔ* 'to agree') 'an agreement'; *ʔaʿlān* 'an announcement' (ger. of *ʔaʿlan* 'to announce').

FEMINAL NOUNS

[Ch. 11]

Many nouns designating male persons, and some designating male animals, may be converted into female designations by the suffixation of *-e/-a* [p.138]:

Male		Female	
<i>ʕamm</i>	'(paternal) uncle'.....	<i>ʕamme</i>	'(paternal) aunt'
<i>šār</i>	'neighbor'.....	<i>šāra</i>	
<i>šōz, zōž</i>	'husband'.....	<i>šōze, zawže</i>	'wife'
<i>zbūn</i>	'customer, client'.....	<i>zbūne</i>	
<i>təlmīz</i>	'student'.....	<i>təlmīze</i>	
<i>malek</i>	'king'.....	<i>malike, malake</i>	'queen'
<i>ʔarmal</i>	'widower'.....	<i>ʔarmale</i>	'widow'
<i>ʕəḏu</i>	'member'.....	<i>ʕəḏwe</i>	
<i>ḏēf</i>	'guest'.....	<i>ḏēfe</i>	
<i>šabi</i>	'boy'.....	<i>šabiyye</i>	'girl'
<i>šāḥeb</i>	'friend'.....	<i>šāḥbe¹</i>	
<i>ṭəfʔal</i>	'child, infant'.....	<i>ṭəfle</i>	(See p. 372)
<i>kalb</i>	'dog'.....	<i>kalbe</i>	'bitch'

The feminal derivation may be applied freely to substantivized personal adjectives, including participial [276], occupational [305], and relative [301] derivatives: (Cf. Adjective Inflection):

<i>mʕallem</i>	'teacher'.....	<i>mʕallme</i>
<i>mwazṣaf</i>	'employee'.....	<i>mwazṣafe</i>
<i>məsləm</i>	'Moslem'.....	<i>məsʔlme</i>
<i>ṭabbāx</i>	'cook'.....	<i>ṭabbāxa</i>
<i>badawi</i>	'Bedouin'.....	<i>badawiyye</i>
<i>ʔənglīzi</i>	'Englishman'.....	<i>ʔənglīziyye</i> 'Englishwoman'

For nouns other than substantivized adjectives, the feminal derivation may or may not apply – each case must be learned individually. Note, for example, *šəḥʔr* 'brother(or son)-in-law', but *kənne* 'sister(or daughter)-in-law', *tōr* 'bull, steer', but *baʔara* 'cow', etc. See Gender of Nouns [p.372].

¹*šāḥbe* usually implies 'mistress' when in construct with a term referring to a man.

OCCUPATIONAL NOUNS

An occupational noun indicates a person whose occupation it is to do what is designated by the underlying verb, or to work with, or tend, what is designated by the underlying noun. Occupational nouns are formed on Pattern *Faʕʕāl* [p.151], or on active participial patterns [258], or by suffixation of *-ši* or *-i*:

Underlying Word

Occupational Noun

Pattern *Faʕʕāl*:

<i>raʔaš</i>	'to dance'	<i>raʔʔaš</i>	'dancer'
<i>ṭabax</i>	'to cook'.....	<i>ṭabbāx</i>	'cook'
<i>rasam</i>	'to draw, design, sketch, paint'	<i>rassām</i>	'designer, painter, artist'
<i>falaḥ</i>	'to till, cultivate'.....	<i>fallāḥ</i>	'farmer, peasant'
<i>bana</i>	'to build'.....	<i>banna</i>	'builder'
<i>šahad</i>	'to beg'.....	<i>šahḥād</i>	'beggar'
<i>bāʕ</i>	'to sell'.....	<i>bayyāʕ</i>	'seller, merchant'
<i>š(t)ād</i>	'to hunt'.....	<i>šayyād</i>	'hunter'
<i>sāʔ</i>	'to drive'.....	<i>sawwāʔ</i>	'driver, chauffeur'
<i>lahʔm</i>	'meat'.....	<i>lahḥām</i>	'butcher'
<i>ḥadīd</i>	'iron'.....	<i>ḥaddād</i>	'blacksmith, ironsmith'
<i>blāṭ</i>	'tile, flagstone(s)'.....	<i>ballāṭ</i>	'tile mason'
<i>xēl</i>	'horses'.....	<i>xayyāl</i>	'horseman'
<i>bāb</i>	'door, gate'.....	<i>bawwāb</i>	'doorman, gatekeeper'

Active Participial Patterns:

<i>ḥāk</i>	'to weave'.....	<i>ḥāyek</i>	'weaver'
<i>xadam</i>	'to serve'.....	<i>xādem</i> (also <i>xaddām</i>)	'servant'
<i>nāb</i>	'to represent'.....	<i>nāʔeb¹</i>	'representative'
<i>ʔaḏa</i>	'to judge, pass sentence'.....	<i>ʔāḏi</i>	'judge'
<i>dār</i>	'to direct, manage'.....	<i>mudīr</i>	'director, manager'
<i>šāraʕ</i>	'to wrestle'.....	<i>mšāreʕ</i>	'wrestler'
<i>katab</i>	'to write'.....	<i>kāteb</i>	'writer'
<i>šəʕʔr</i>	'poetry'.....	<i>šāʕer</i>	'poet'

¹Classicism: ʔ replacing medial y in Pattern *FāʕeL*.

Underlying WordOccupational NounSuffix *-ši*:

<i>xəḍar</i>	'vegetables'.....	<i>xəḍarši</i>	'greengrocer'
<i>bōya</i>	'shoe polish'.....	<i>bōyaši</i>	'bootblack'
<i>kəndara</i>	'shoe'.....	<i>kəndarši</i>	'cobbler'

Suffix *-i*:

<i>sāḥāt</i>	'watches'.....	<i>sāḥāti</i>	'watchmaker'
<i>ḡnēnāt</i>	'gardens'.....	<i>ḡnēnāti</i>	'gardener'
<i>ḡālāt</i>	'locks'.....	<i>ḡālāti</i>	'locksmith'
<i>luḡa</i>	'language'.....	<i>luḡawi</i>	'linguist'

Occupational nouns in *-i* are mainly formed on an *-āt* plural stem; see, however, Relative Adjectives [p. 280].

Note that the English suffix *-er* is often used more broadly than the Arabic occupational derivation. To say 'She's a good dancer' does not imply that dancing is her occupation, whereas *hiyye raʔʔāša mnīḥa* would only be said of a professional dancer.

INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS (*ism l-ʔāla*)

An instrumental noun indicates an implement or apparatus used in doing what is designated by the underlying verb. Patterns *FaʔʔāLe* [p. 152], *məFʔāL(e)* [156], *maFʔāL(e)* [153] and *məFʔāL* [155] are used:

Pattern *FaʔʔāLe*:

<u>Underlying Verb</u>	<u>Instrumental Noun</u>
<i>sār</i>	'to go, travel'..... <i>sayyāra</i> 'automobile'
<i>ṭār</i>	'to fly'..... <i>ṭayyāra</i> 'airplane'
<i>maḥa</i>	'to erase'..... <i>maḥḥāye</i> 'eraser'
<i>kamaš</i>	'to grasp'..... <i>kammāše</i> 'pincers'
<i>bara</i>	'to sharpen, point'..... <i>barrāye</i> 'pencil-sharpener'
<i>barad</i>	'to cool'..... <i>barrāde</i> 'refrigerator'

Pattern *məFʔāL*, (for defective verbs: *məFʔāLe*):

Underlying WordInstrumental Noun

<i>fataḥ</i>	'to open'.....	<i>məftāḥ</i>	'key'
<i>ḥarat</i>	'to plow'.....	<i>məḥrāt</i>	'plow'
<i>naʔar</i>	'to peck'.....	<i>mənʔār</i>	'beak'
<i>wazan</i>	'to weigh'.....	<i>mīzān</i>	'scale balance'
<i>ʔala</i>	'to fry'.....	<i>məʔlāye</i>	'frying pan, skillet'
<i>kawa</i>	'to iron'.....	<i>məkwāye</i>	'(flat)iron'
<i>dara</i>	'to winnow'.....	<i>mədrāye</i>	'winnowing fork'

Patterns *maFʔāL*, *maFʔāLe*:

<i>laʔaṭ</i>	'to pick up'.....	<i>malʔaṭ</i>	'tongs'
<i>barad</i>	'to file'.....	<i>mabrad</i>	'file'
<i>ḍarab</i>	'to hit, strike'.....	<i>maḍrab</i>	'bat'
<i>našaf</i>	'to wipe, dry'.....	<i>manšafe</i>	'towel'
<i>šaṭar</i>	'to line, draw straight lines'..	<i>mašṭara</i>	'ruler, straight-edge'

Patterns *məFʔāL*, *məFʔāLe* (for geminate verbs):

<i>ʔašš</i>	'to cut, snip'.....	<i>mʔašš</i>	'scissors'
<i>fakk</i>	'to undo, take apart, unscrew'..	<i>mfakk</i>	'screwdriver'

LOCATIVE NOUNS (*ism l-makān*)

A locative noun indicates a place or installation for doing what is designated by the underlying verb, or for getting or putting what is designated by the underlying noun. Locatives are formed on Patterns *maFēaL* [p. 153], *maFēaLe* [153], and *maFēeL* [154].

Underlying Word	Locative Noun
Pattern <i>maFēaL</i> :	
<i>ʔaʕad</i> 'to sit'.....	<i>maʔʕad</i> 'seat'
<i>laʕeb</i> 'to play'.....	<i>malʕab</i> 'playground'
<i>šanaʕ</i> 'to manufacture'.....	<i>mašanaʕ</i> 'factory'
<i>xaraʕ</i> 'to go out'.....	<i>maxraʕ</i> 'exit'
<i>marr</i> 'to pass'.....	<i>mamarr</i> 'aisle'
<i>maši</i> 'to go, walk'.....	<i>mamša</i> 'passageway, hall'
<i>raʕi</i> 'to graze'.....	<i>marʕa</i> 'pasture'
<i>ṭār</i> 'to fly'.....	<i>maṭār</i> 'airport'
<i>hažar</i> 'stone'.....	<i>maḥžar</i> 'stone quarry'
Pattern <i>maFēaLe</i> :	
<i>ḥakam</i> 'to try, sentence'.....	<i>maḥkame</i> 'court'
<i>daras</i> 'to study'.....	<i>maḍrase</i> 'school'
<i>ğasal</i> 'to wash'.....	<i>mağsale</i> 'washstand'
<i>xāḍ</i> 'to wade'.....	<i>maxāḍa</i> 'ford'
<i>ḍēf</i> 'guest'.....	<i>maḍāfe</i> (also <i>maḍāf</i>) 'reception room'
<i>ktāb</i> 'book'.....	<i>maktabe</i> 'library'
Pattern <i>maFēeL</i> :	
<i>waʔef, waʔʔaf</i> 'to stop'.....	<i>mawʔef</i> 'stop, station'
<i>waḍaʕ</i> 'to place'.....	<i>mawḍeʕ</i> 'position'
<i>žalas</i> 'to sit'.....	<i>mažles</i> 'meeting chamber, session room'

HYPOSTATIC NOUNS¹

A hypostatic noun indicates the abstract result or object of the activity designated by its underlying verb: *maksab* 'profit, earning', from *kaseb* 'to make, earn'. These nouns are formed on Patterns *maFēaL(e)*, *maFē(i)L(e)*, *maFēaL(e)*, *maFēāL*, *maFē(i)L(e)* [p. 153-156].

Underlying Verb	Hypostatic Noun
<i>balag</i> 'to attain, amount to'.....	<i>mablag</i> 'amount, sum'
<i>ʔašad</i> 'to intend, aim at'.....	<i>maʔšad</i> 'intent, goal'
<i>ʕana</i> 'to mean'.....	<i>maʕna</i> 'meaning'
<i>nažar</i> 'to look at'.....	<i>manžar</i> 'view, sight'
<i>farr</i> 'to flee, escape'.....	<i>mafarr</i> 'flight, escape'
<i>lām</i> 'to blame'.....	<i>malām</i> 'blame, censure'
<i>nām</i> 'to sleep'.....	<i>manām</i> 'dream'
<i>waled</i> 'to be born'.....	<i>mawled, mīlād</i> 'birth, birthday'
<i>waʕad</i> 'to promise'.....	<i>mawʕed, mīʕād</i> 'date, appointment'
<i>šār</i> 'to become'.....	<i>mašīr</i> 'destiny'
<i>ḥabb</i> 'to like, love'.....	<i>maḥabbe</i> 'love, affection'
<i>sabb</i> 'to curse'.....	<i>msabbe</i> 'curse, invective'
<i>ʔader</i> 'to be able'.....	<i>maʔdira</i> 'ability'
<i>ʕeref</i> 'to know'.....	<i>maʕʔrfe</i> 'knowledge, acquaintance'
<i>waʕaḡ</i> 'to preach, lecture'.....	<i>mawʕiḡa</i> 'lecture, reprimand'
<i>rād</i> 'to wish, want'.....	<i>murād</i> 'wish, desire, intent'
<i>šāb</i> 'to hit, befall'.....	<i>mšībe</i> 'calamity'

Hypostatic nouns are similar in meaning to gerunds [p. 284] and in some cases function virtually as such (e.g. *maʕʔrfe* 'knowledge, acquaintance'). In general, however, they do not share the syntactical peculiarities of gerunds, nor (by the same token) do they designate "action" or "activity".

¹ Including what is sometimes called *al-mašdar l-mīmī* "the *m*-gerund", and also *ism z-zamān* "the noun of time". The Locative [p. 308] is a "spatially concretized" version of the abstract *ism l-makān wa-z-zamān*.

DIMINUTIVES (*ism t-taṣḡīr*)

Only a few Syrian Arabic nouns have diminutives derived from them. The basic pattern is *FāyyeL*, or - if the underlying noun has a long vowel between the first and second radicals - *FwayēeL*.

Underlying Word	Diminutive
<i>ḡḡīr</i> 'child, young one'.....	<i>ḡḡayyer</i> 'little one'
<i>ṣabi</i> 'boy'.....	<i>ṣbayy</i> 'little boy'
<i>ʔabʔn</i> 'son'.....	<i>bnayy(-i)</i> '(my) little son'
<i>bant</i> 'daughter, girl'.....	<i>bnayye</i> 'little daughter, little girl'
<i>ṣī</i> 'thing, something, some'....	<i>ṣwayy(e)</i> 'a little'

Mainly in Lebanon, the following are also used (as terms of affection, and sometimes in a more general sense as well): *bayy* 'father', *xayy* 'brother', *xayye* 'sister', *dayye* 'hand', *ṣrayye* 'foot', *dayne* 'ear'.

Patterns *FāḡḡūL* and *FāḡḡūLe* are also used, mainly to form nicknames and terms of affection (again, especially in Lebanon): *ḡabbūd*, *ḡabbūde* (from *ḡabdaḡla* and other names beginning with *ḡabd-*); *laṡṡūf* (from *laṡfaḡla*); *ḡammūd* (from *ʔaḡmad*); *marrūm* (from *maryam* 'Mary'), etc.

Note also: *nattūfe* 'a tiny bit' (from *nātfe* 'a little bit'), *laʔʔūme* 'a little bite, a little mouthful' (from *laʔme* 'a bite, mouthful').

ELATIVES (*ism t-tafḡīl*)

Elatives, derivable mainly from adjectives, are formed on the pattern *ʔaFāḡeL* for trilateral roots; *ʔaFāḡLaL* for quadrilateral.

If an underlying adjective means 'X', its elative means 'more or most X'. For example: *ṣaḡḡb* 'difficult' → *ʔaṣḡab* 'more (or most) difficult'; *ʔadīm* 'ancient' → *ʔaʔdam* 'more (most) ancient'; *mnāṣeb* 'suitable' → *ʔansab* 'more, most suitable'; *zangīl* 'rich' → *ʔazangal* 'richer, richest'.

Underlying Word	Elative (Sound)
<i>saḡḡl</i> 'easy'.....	<i>ʔaṣḡal</i> 'easier, easiest'
<i>baṣḡe</i> 'ugly'.....	<i>ʔabṣaḡ</i> 'uglier, ugliest'
<i>ṣeḡḡn</i> 'hot'.....	<i>ʔaṣḡan</i> 'hotter, hottest'
<i>taḡīn</i> 'thick, fat'.....	<i>ʔatḡan</i> 'thicker, fatter, etc.'
<i>ṭawīl</i> 'long, tall'.....	<i>ʔaṭwal</i> 'longer, taller, etc.'
<i>bāred</i> 'cold'.....	<i>ʔabrad</i> 'colder, coldest'
<i>wāse</i> 'broad, roomy'.....	<i>ʔawsaḡ</i> 'broader, roomier, etc.'
<i>yābes</i> 'dry, hard'.....	<i>ʔaybas</i> 'drier, harder, etc.'
<i>maṣḡūr</i> 'famous'.....	<i>ʔaṣḡar</i> 'more, most famous'
<i>maḡḡen</i> 'greasy'.....	<i>ʔadḡan</i> 'greasier, greasiest'
<i>zaḡlān</i> 'displeased'.....	<i>ʔazḡal</i> 'more, most displeased'
<i>dayyeʔ</i> 'narrow, tight'.....	<i>ʔadyaʔ</i> 'narrower, tighter, etc.'
<i>mufīd</i> 'useful, beneficial'.....	<i>ʔafyad</i> 'more useful, beneficial, etc.'

If the underlying adjective is formed on a pattern requiring *y* in place of medial radical *w* (*FāḡeL* [p.258], *FāḡeL* [128]), the radical *w* is in some cases restored in the elative: *xāyef* 'afraid' → *ʔaxwaf* 'more, most afraid'; *rāyeʔ* 'clear, undisturbed' → *ʔarwaʔ* 'more, most clear, etc.'; *ṣayyed* 'good, excellent' → *ʔaṣwad* 'better, best, etc.'; *sayyeʔ* 'bad, unfortunate' → *ʔaswaʔ* 'worse, worst, etc.'; *zāyed* 'abundant, extra' → *ʔazwad* (or *ʔazyad*) 'more, most abundant, etc.'

With final radical semivowel (Elative defective):

<i>raḡu</i>	'loose, lax'.....	<i>ʔarxa</i>	'looser, more lax, etc.'
<i>ḡelu</i>	'sweet, pretty, nice'.....	<i>ʔaḡla</i>	'sweeter, prettier, etc.'
<i>ʔawi</i>	'strong'.....	<i>ʔaʔwa</i>	'stronger, strongest'
<i>zaki</i>	'intelligent'.....	<i>ʔazka</i>	'more, most intelligent'
<i>ṣaʔi</i>	'hoodlum, delinquent'.....	<i>ʔaṣʔa</i>	'more, most delinquent, etc.'
<i>ḡani</i>	'rich'.....	<i>ʔaḡna</i>	'richer, richest'
<i>ṣāfi</i>	'clear'.....	<i>ʔaṣfa</i>	'clearer, clearest'
<i>ʔāsi</i>	'solid, hard'.....	<i>ʔaʔsa</i>	'solider, solidest, etc.'
<i>ṣaḡyān</i>	'wide awake'.....	<i>ʔaṣḡa</i>	'more, most wide awake'

With second and third radicals alike (Elative usually geminate):

Underlying Word	Elative
<i>ḥadd</i> 'sharp'..... <i>ʔaḥadd</i> 'sharper, sharpest'	
<i>faḣḣ</i> 'unripe'..... <i>ʔafaḣḣ</i> 'more, most unripe'	
<i>mərr</i> 'bitter'..... <i>ʔamarr</i> (or <i>ʔamrar</i>) 'bitterer, bitterest'	
<i>ḡdīd</i> 'new'..... <i>ʔaḡdadd</i> (or <i>ʔaḡdad</i>) 'newer, newest'	
<i>xafīf</i> 'light'..... <i>ʔaxaff</i> (or <i>ʔaxfaf</i>) 'lighter, lightest'	
<i>daʔīʔ</i> 'precise, exact'..... <i>ʔadaʔʔ</i> 'more, most precise, etc.'	
<i>ṣadīd</i> 'intense, vehement'.. <i>ʔaṣadd</i> (or <i>ʔaṣdad</i>) 'more, most intense, etc.'	
<i>ʔalīl</i> 'little, few'..... <i>ʔaʔall</i> 'less, least'	
<i>ḡaṣṣāṣ</i> 'cheater'..... <i>ʔaḡaṣṣ</i> 'more of a cheater, etc.'	
<i>xāṣṣ</i> 'special, private'... <i>ʔaxaṣṣ</i> 'more, most special, etc.'	
<i>mḥamm</i> 'important'..... <i>ʔahamm</i> 'more, most important'	
<i>mmall</i> 'boring'..... <i>ʔamall</i> (or <i>ʔamlal</i>) 'more, most boring'	

Quadriradical (Pattern *ʔaFaELaL*):

<i>zangīl</i> 'rich'..... <i>ʔazangal</i> 'richer, richest'	
<i>ṣarṣūḥ</i> 'sloppy'..... <i>ʔaṣarṣaḥ</i> 'sloppier, sloppiest'	
<i>mbaḥbaḥ</i> 'abundant'..... <i>ʔabaḥbaḥ</i> 'more, most abundant'	
<i>mṣarṭaṭ</i> 'ripped, tattered'... <i>ʔaṣarṭaṭ</i> 'more, most tattered'	
<i>mbaḥdal</i> 'shabby, dirty'..... <i>ʔabaḥdal</i> 'shabbier, dirtier, etc.'	
<i>mʕaṇṭaṣ</i> 'stuck up, haughty'.. <i>ʔaʕaṇṭaṣ</i> 'haughtier, haughtiest'	

Note, however, that the hollow quadriradical *ṣeṭān* 'devil, naughty' has a triradical elative *ʔaṣṭan* 'naughtier, naughtiest', the radical semivowel being lost.

Types of Underlying Word. Though the vast majority of elatives are derived from simple adjectives or from the more common augmented adjectives a few are derived from nouns, or adverbs, or are of indeterminate derivation:

Underlying Word	Elative
<i>bāl-ʕaṣale</i> 'quickly, hurriedly'.. <i>ʔaʕṣal</i> 'more, most quickly, etc.'	
<i>ṣōb</i> 'hot weather'..... <i>ʔaṣwab</i> 'hotter, hottest (weather)'	
<i>ṣwayye</i> 'little, few'..... <i>ʔaṣwa</i> 'less, least, fewer, etc.'	
<i>raḣḣāl</i> 'man'..... <i>ʔarḣal</i> 'more of a man, most manly, etc.'	

The elative *ʔaḥsan* 'better, best' is derived from Classical *ḥasan*, which is not normally used in Colloquial but is displaced by *mnīḥ* 'good'. Thus *ʔaḥsan* serves as a suppletive elative to *mnīḥ*.

When two or more adjectives with the same root have elatives, then of course a single elative form must serve in more than one sense: *ʔabṣaṭ* 'more, most pleased, contented' (from *mabṣūt* 'pleased, contented'), but also meaning 'easier, simpler, etc.' (from *baṣīt* 'easy, minor, simple'). Likewise *ʔatʕab*, elative of both *taʕbān* 'tired' and *matʕeb* 'tiring'.

Often, however, the elative form is allocated to one of the adjectives – usually to the most common one, or to the one whose meaning is the most susceptible of gradation: *ʔaʔall* 'less, least', elative of *ʔalīl* 'little, few', but not used as the elative of *mastʔall* 'independent'; likewise *ʔaṣraḥ* 'more dangerous, sharper, etc.', elative of *ṣāreḥ* 'dangerous, sharp', but not used as the elative of *ṣarīḥ* or *maṣrūḥ* 'wounded'.

Elative Syntax

An elative may be used attributively, as an adjective: *ʔūda ʔaḥsan* 'a better room', *l-ʔūda l-ʔaḥsan* 'the better (or best) room'.

An elative may also be used in construct, as a noun: *ʔaḥsan ʔl-ʔuwaḍ* 'the best of the rooms', *ʔaḥsan ʔūda* 'the best room'.

In an elative construct, a definite [p.494] following term is always identificatory [458]: *ʔaḥsan ʔl-madrāse* 'the best of (/in) the school', while an indefinite following term is always classificatory: *ʔaḥsan madrase* 'the best school'. See Elative and Ordinal Annexion [473].

Note that an elative in construct with an indefinite term is rendered in English as if it were definite: *ʔaḥla bant* 'the prettiest girl' (same translation as the attributive construction: *l-bant ʔl-ʔaḥla*). *ʔaḥla bant* is nonetheless indefinite; its sense might be more exactly rendered as 'a girl who is prettiest'. (But see p.406.)

The English comparative (-er, more...) is normally used in translating an indefinite attributive elative: *talamīz ʔazka* 'brighter students', or an indefinite elative with a *man* ('than') phrase: *ʔazka mn ʔt-tānyīn* 'brighter than the others'.

Otherwise, the English superlative (-est, most...) is normally used if the referent is being compared with more than one other thing, while the comparative is used (in standard English, at least) if it is compared with only one other thing: *hal-ʔūda ʔaḥsan* 'This room is better (or best)', *ḥāy ʔaḥsan ʔūda* 'This is the best (or better) room'.

A COMPARATIVE PHRASE is formed with an elative complemented by the preposition *mən* 'than': *bēton ʔawsaʕ mən bētna* 'their house is larger than ours', *byaʕmel xamsīn lēra ʔaktar mənni* 'He makes fifty pounds more than I', *ʔasxaf fəkra mən hēk ʔalla mā xalaʔ* 'A sillier idea than that God never allowed!' (lit. 'created').

When the elative is definite, it is generally translated as a superlative (-est, most), and the *mən* is generally translated as 'of': *ʕ-ʕarāya l-ʔafxar mn ʔl-kəll* [RN-II.15] 'the most elegant (fax^{er}) palace of all'.

The word *ʔaktar* 'more, most' (elative of *ktīr* 'much, many') may be used to form comparative phrases in supplementation to adjectives, especially with adjectives which have no elatives of their own: *ʔabyaḍ ʔaktar mn ʔt-talḡ* [RN-I.49] 'whiter than snow'; *ʔana barrīd ʔaktar mənnaḥ* 'I'm more sensitive to the cold than you'; *maʕḡūʔ ʔaktar baʕd ʔd-dəh^r mən ʕala bəkra* 'more crowded in the afternoon than in the morning'.

The *mən*-phrase (like the *than*-phrase in English) may of course be suppressed: *ʔabyaḍ ʔaktar* 'whiter', *maʕḡūʔ ʔaktar* 'more crowded', etc.

Elatives with -l- suffixes

Like verbs and participles, some elatives complemented by a pronominal *la*-phrase [p.479] take the suffix forms (-lo, etc.), not the disjunctive forms (*ʔəlo*, etc.): *ʔafydd-lak* 'more useful to you', *ʔaḥsdl-lo* [p.27] 'better for him', *ʔaʕḡdb-ʔlkon* 'more difficult for you (pl.)'.

Others, however, take the disjunctive forms: *ʔahāmm ʔəlna* 'more important for us'.

Exclamations with ma-

Elatives are used after the particle *ma-*, in the sense 'How...!', 'Isn't that...!':

ma-ʔaḥla ləbsa! 'How pretty her clothes are!'

ma-ʔaṭyab hal-ʔakle! 'How good this food is!'

ma-ʔaḡḡar hal-kərsi! 'How small this chair is!'

ma-ʔaʕalban ḥakyo! 'How sweetly he speaks!'

Elatives in this construction take a nominal complement which may be pronominalized like a verbal object: *ma-ʔaḥlāha* 'How pretty she is!', *ma-ʔaḡḡaro* 'How small it is!'

Lack of Inflection

Elatives in Colloquial Arabic are generally not inflected; the form *ʔawsaʕ* 'wider, roomier, larger', for instance, serves attributively as feminine (*ʕnēne ʔawsaʕ* 'a larger garden') and plural, as well as for masculine (*bēt ʔawsaʕ* 'a larger house').

There are, however, a few Classicisms in which the feminine pattern *FəʕLa* is used, as in *qəʕwa* (fem. of *ʔaqʕa* 'most remote, extreme') *tadabīr qəʕwa* 'extreme measures'.

Elatives are occasionally used in the dual: *l-ʔaḥsanēn* 'the best two'; *ʔalʕanēn* 'So much the worse!' (*ʔalʕan*, elative of *malʕūn* 'damnable').

Miscellaneous Examples of the Use of Elatives

1. *ʕū ḥabbēt ʔaktar ʕiʔ* 'What would you (or did you) like the most?'
2. *mən ʔalʕan ʔxʕālo, t-taraddod* 'Indecisiveness is one of his worst qualities' (*ʔalʕan*, el. of *malʕūn* 'damnable')
3. *byəmlək ʕī ʔaʕwa mən bala* 'He owns next to nothing' (*ʔaʕwa*, el. of *ʕwayy*; lit. 'less than nothing')
4. *ʕāf ʔiyyām ʔaḥsan* 'He's seen better days'
5. *maʕāʕo ʔaʕwad mən maʕāʕi* 'His salary is larger than mine' (*ʔaʕwad*, el. of *ʕāyed* 'abundant' [311])
6. *ʕaḡbətni ʔamwal nəmre ʔaktar ʔl-kəll* 'I liked the first number most of all'
7. *ʔaxi ʔaḡḡar mənnaḥ b-ʕaʕr ʔsnīn* [DA-157] 'My brother is ten years younger than you'. (*ʔaḡḡar*, el. of *ḡḡīr* 'young', lit. '...younger than you by ten years'.)
8. *l-ʔəstāz ʔəʕa ʕal-madrəse ʔabkar mn ʔt-talamīz* [DA-158] 'The teacher came to school earlier than the students'. (*ʔabkar*, el. of *bakkīr* 'early')
9. *ʕandkon ʔaḥsan* [DA-100] 'With you would be better'
10. *ʔaḥsdl-lak təʕi bukra* 'It would be better for you to come tomorrow'
11. *mā waʕadt ʔafyad mən hēk* [RN-II.15] 'I haven't found anything more useful than that'
12. *kəllma kən ʔaʕtar zādet kəbriyā* [RN-II.15] 'The smarter he is, the more arrogant he becomes'

NUMERAL DERIVATIVES

Ordinals

The numerals from two through ten have ordinals derived from them, formed on the Pattern *FāLeL* [p.144]:

Cardinal Numeral	Ordinal
<i>tnēn</i> 'two'.....	<i>tāni</i> 'second, other'
<i>tlāte</i> 'three'.....	<i>tālet</i> 'third'
<i>ʔarbēa</i> 'four'.....	<i>rābeē</i> 'fourth'
<i>xamse</i> 'five'.....	<i>xāmes</i> 'fifth'
<i>sette</i> 'six'.....	<i>sādes</i> 'sixth' (see below)
<i>sabēa</i> 'seven'.....	<i>sābeē</i> 'seventh'
<i>tmāne</i> 'eight'.....	<i>tāmen</i> 'eighth'
<i>tesēa</i> 'nine'.....	<i>tāseē</i> 'ninth'
<i>ēašara</i> 'ten'.....	<i>ēāšer</i> 'tenth'

The ordinal corresponding to *wāhed* 'one' is irregular in form: *ʔawwal* 'first'. Its antonym *ʔāxer* 'last' also belongs with the ordinals.

Besides the irregular form *sādes* 'sixth', the regular (but less elegant) *sātet* is also sometimes heard.

The ordinals are like elatives [p.313] in forming classificatory constructs with indefinite nouns: *ʔawwal marra* 'the first time', *tālet rāššāl* 'the third man', *ēāšer sāne* 'the tenth year', *ʔāxer dars* 'the last lesson'. See Elative and Ordinal Constructs [p.473].

Ordinals may also be used attributively, as ordinary adjectives, and with adjectival inflection: *s-sāne l-ēāšra* 'the tenth year', *d-dars ʔl-ʔawwal* 'the first lesson', *bānto t-tālte* 'his third daughter', *marra tānye* 'a second time, again', *wlād tānyin* 'other children', *dars tālet* 'a third lesson'.

ʔawwal and *ʔāxer*, however, are less often used attributively than the other ordinals, since the relative adjectives *ʔawwalāni* and *ʔaxrāni* [p.282] often take their place, and because the adjective *ʔaxīr* is also often used instead of *ʔāxer*. In the feminine, the Classicism *ʔūla* is commonly used instead of *ʔawwale*.

Ordinals may also be used in identificatory construct as ordinary nouns: *ʔawwal has-sāne* 'the first of this year', *tālet ʔr-rāšāl* 'the third (one) of the men', *ʔāxer ʔz-zuwwār* 'the last of the visitors'; or with pronoun suffixes [p.541]: *ʔawwāla* 'the first of it (f.)', *tālāton* 'the third of them', *rābāēna* 'the fourth (one) of us'.

For numbers above ten, the cardinal form [p.509] is used attributively to a singular in the ordinal sense: *d-daraže t-ṭnaēʔš* 'the twelfth grade, step', *l-marra l-ēāšrīn* 'the twentieth time', *d-dars ʔl-xamse w-ʔarbēin* 'the forty-fifth lesson'.

A more formal alternative is to put the units in ordinal form, as in Classical Arabic: *l-qarn ʔs-sābeē ēašʔr* 'the seventeenth century' (Note that *ēašʔr* is used, not *ēašara* [p.170]). For 'first', *hādi* replaces *ʔawwal* in these phrases: *l-hādi w-ēāšrīn* 'the twenty-first'.

Fractions

The numerals from three through ten have fractions derived from them, formed on the pattern *FaēL* [p.139]:

Cardinal Numeral	Fraction
<i>tlāte</i> 'three'.....	<i>tālt</i> 'a third'
<i>ʔarbēa</i> 'four'.....	<i>rābʔē</i> 'a fourth'
<i>xamse</i> 'five'.....	<i>xāms</i> 'a fifth'
<i>sette</i> 'six'.....	<i>sāḍʔs</i> 'a sixth'
<i>sabēa</i> 'seven'.....	<i>sābʔē</i> 'a seventh'
<i>tmāne</i> 'eight'.....	<i>tāmʔn</i> 'an eighth'
<i>tesēa</i> 'nine'.....	<i>tāsʔē</i> 'a ninth'
<i>ēašara</i> 'ten'.....	<i>ēāšʔr</i> 'a tenth'

The fraction corresponding to *tnēn* 'two' is irregular: *nāšš* (or *nāšʔf*) 'a half'.

The plurals of these fractions are formed on the pattern *Fēāl*: *tlātt ʔrbāē* 'three fourths', *ʔarbaē(t) ʔxmās* 'four fifths'.

Fractions beyond the tenths are expressed periphrastically with the cardinal numerals: *šəšʔ mn ʔṭnaēʔš mən...* 'the twelfth part of'; *sabēa ēala ṭnaēʔš* 'seven twelfths' (lit. 'seven over twelve').

CHAPTER 12: TENSE

In Arabic, as in English, verbs are inflected for two tenses only: the PERFECT or PAST (*al-māḍi*), and the IMPERFECT or NON-PAST (*al-muḍāriʿ*).¹

On the formation of the tenses, see Verb Inflectional Forms [p. 173].

The verb of an independent clause is put in the perfect usually to designate past events or states: *katab* 'he wrote', *nām* 'he slept'. The imperfect, on the other hand, designates events, states, or dispositions that are not past: *byaktob* 'he writes, will write, would write'; *binām* 'he sleeps, will sleep, would sleep'.

In the case of complemental verbs, the terms 'past' and 'not past' must be understood relatively to the time reference of the main clause. The time reference of a complemental verb in the imperfect can be past, relative to the moment of utterance, but cannot be past, relative to the time reference of the main clause. [p. 340].

Time reference in the imperfect is rendered more specific by the Particle of Actuality *ʿam-* [p. 320] or the Particle of Anticipation *raḥa-* [322]: *ʿam-yaktob* 'he is writing', *raḥa-yaktob* 'he's going to write'.

Without these particles the imperfect (*byaktob*) is used mainly to predicate generalities ('he writes'), potentialities ('he would write, he can write'), and assumed future events ('he'll write') [p. 324].

¹The term 'tense', with reference both to Arabic and to English, is best limited to actual inflectional categories, excluding the numerous syntactic combinations involving auxiliaries, proclitics, etc. These syntactic "tenses", nevertheless, are dealt with in the course of this chapter.

It is often said [e.g. AO-25] that the Arabic perfect and imperfect are more properly called 'aspects' than 'tenses' – implying that these categories have more to do with perspective than with temporal sequence. This contention is perhaps based, in part, on a faulty analysis of such matters as the use of the imperfect in complemental clauses [p. 340] and the use of the perfect in conditional clauses [331], and in part, on the literary conventions of Classical Arabic (and even of other Semitic languages).

USES OF THE IMPERFECT

The Imperfect with Proclitics

The particles of actuality (*ʕam-*) and anticipation (*raḥa-*) are prefixed, unaccented [p.18], directly to the imperfect verb form, but differ from true prefixes in that a single particle may serve more than one verb at a time in coördinations [392]: *raḥa-yākol w-inām* 'he's going to eat and go to bed', *mā ʕam-yākol ulā yašrab* 'he's neither eating nor drinking'. (The indicative prefix *b-* [180] of the simple imperfect, on the other hand, is generally repeated with each verb: *mā byākol ulā byāšrab* 'He neither eats nor drinks'.¹)

The Particle of Actuality

There are several forms of this particle: *ʕam-* is the most generally used, but in Damascus *ʕamma-* is also heard, and sometimes also *ʕamm-*, *ʕam-*, and the full word *ʕammāl*. In various parts of Lebanon, the forms *ʕan-*, *ʕa-*, *man-*, and *ma-* are also used. Most forms of the particle may be followed by the verb either with or without the indicative *b-*: *ʕam-byākol* or *ʕam-yākol* 'he is eating'; the Lebanese forms *ʕan-*, *man-*, and *ma-*, however, are never followed by *b-*.² In Damascus, *ʕam-* + *b-* is most common in the first person singular (*ʕam-bākol* 'I am eating', more common than *ʕam-ʔākol*); otherwise the forms without *b* are predominant: *ʕam-nākol* 'we're eating', *ʕam-yāklū* 'they're eating', etc.)

The particle of actuality is used to designate a state or an activity actually going on at the moment – the true "present" – as opposed to generalities and dispositions, for which the simple *b-* imperfect is used [p.326]. This particle is usually translatable into English with the "progressive" -ing forms (though not in the case of some psychological-state verbs [272] and certain others.) Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>l-ʔmʔadden ʕam-iʔadden</i>
<i>ʔl-ʔadān</i> | 'The muezzin is giving the call to prayer' |
| 2. <i>xalīl ʕam-yathāka maʕ ʔr-raʔīs</i> | 'Khalil is talking with the boss' |

¹There are certain parts of Greater Syria in which *b-* is more like the proclitics *ʕam-* and *raḥa-*, i.e. one may say either *mā byākol ulā byāšrab* or *mā byākol ulā yašrab*.

²The form *ʕam-* is said [SPA-38] to result from the consistent assimilation of *n* [p.27] in *ʕan-* to the following *b*: *ʕan- + byākol* → *ʕam-byākol* (then with *b* elided: *ʕam-yākol*). This would explain why *b-* is not used after *ʕan-*; it would also seem to imply that *ʕam-* is unrelated in origin to the forms *ʕamm(a)-*, *ʕammāl*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. <i>bitamm...ʕamma-yabki w-yamnaʕni</i>
<i>mn ʔn-nōm</i> [AO-119] | 'He keeps on crying and keeping me from sleeping' |
| 4. <i>ʔabni ʕam-išīr raššāl</i> | 'My son is getting to be a man' |
| 5. <i>hallaʔ ʕam-badzakkār</i> | 'It's(all) coming back to me now!'
'lit. "now I'm remembering") |

A verb with *ʕam-*, like the English -ing forms, may denote interrupted, off-and-on activities, as long as they are viewed as constituting a time-limited state of affairs, as opposed to a mere disposition or generality:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 6. <i>ʕamma-bixayyaf-lak ʔaʔm</i>
<i>ʔšdidʔ</i> [AO-47] | 'Is he making you a new suit?' |
| 7. <i>ʕam-išammed mašāri manšān</i>
<i>taqāʕdo</i> | 'He's saving money for his retirement' |
| 8. <i>ʕam-bədroš bəš-šāmʕa</i> | 'I'm studying at the university' |
| 9. <i>mā ʕādu ʕam-yathāku maʕ</i>
<i>baʕdon</i> | 'They're no longer speaking to one another' |
| 10. <i>ʕamma-ʔaʔšker b-šarwet</i>
<i>šantet ʔid</i> [DA-251] | 'I'm thinking of buying a handbag' |

Certain kinds of English verbs do not ordinarily occur in the -ing form to indicate actuality, but the corresponding Arabic verbs (English notwithstanding) are used with *ʕam-* when appropriate, just like other verbs:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 11. <i>māli ʕam-lāʔi bayyāʕ iʕūf šū</i>
<i>bəddi</i> | 'I can't find a clerk to wait to me',
lit. "I'm not finding a clerk to see what I want" |
| 12. <i>šū ʕam-təʕniʔ</i> | 'What do you mean?', i.e. 'What are you getting at?' |
| 13. <i>māli ʕam-bəʔder bakkəl ʔʔšāʔi</i> | 'I can't buckle my belt', i.e. right now, as opposed to <i>mā bəʔder...</i> 'I (generally) can't...' |
| 14. <i>māli ʕamma-ʔaʕref ʔarīʔi</i>
[AO-116] | 'I don't know my way', i.e. 'I can't find my way just now'. |
| 15. <i>ʕam-ʔasmaʕ mənno bən waʔt</i>
<i>u-waʔt</i> | 'I hear from him from time to time', i.e. nowadays, as opposed to <i>bəsmāʕ mənno...</i> 'I (generally) hear from him...' |
| 16. <i>ʕam-iʔakked ʔanno kān ʔhnīk</i> | 'He maintains he was there' |
| 17. <i>d-doktör ʕam-iʔūl ʔanno zāl</i>
<i>ʔl-xaʔar ʕanha hallaʔ</i> | 'The doctor says she is out of danger now' |

With durative [p. 269] and translocative [274] verbs, whose participles are used (sometimes or always) indicating present actuality, the imperfect with *ʕam-* normally designates repetitive instances, in contrast to the participle which is generally used for an uninterrupted state:

18. *kəll marra ʕam-ʔəʕi la-ʕando*
ʕam-ikūn maʕgūl 'Every time I come to see him (i.e. these days) he's busy'
19. *ʕam-inām bi-ʕālē kəll sabt*
u-ʔaḥad 'He sleeps over in Aley every Saturday and Sunday' (or 'He's been sleeping...')
20. *ʕāyer ʕam-ixāf ḥaṣ-ṣabi kəll*
ma nṭafa d-ḍaww 'This boy has started being afraid whenever the light is put out'.

Verbs like *ʔāl* 'to say', *ʕəref* 'to know', *ʔader* 'to be able', etc., which are commonly complemented by a clause, are not so often used with *ʕam-* as with the simple *b-* imperfect in the annunciatory sense [p. 325]: *biʔakked ʔanno* ... (cf. ex. 16) *d-doktör biʔūl* ... (cf. ex. 17).

A notable difference between Arabic verbs with *ʕam-* and English "progressive" verbs with *-ing* is that the latter may be used in reference to the future, while the imperfect with *ʕam-* is never so used¹: 'We're leaving tomorrow': *msāfrīn bukra*; 'If you're going with us tomorrow...': *ʔiza bətrūḥ maʕna bukra*...

The Particle of Anticipation

There are several forms of this particle: *raḥ-*, *raḥa-*, *laḥ-*, *laḥa-*, and *ḥa-*, in addition to the full word *rāyeḥ*. The forms beginning with *l* are typical of Damascus and certain other areas, while the other forms may be heard in various regions (including Damascus). The particle is always followed by the imperfect without *b-*: *raḥa-yākol*, *laḥa-ʔākol*, etc.

The particle of anticipation generally indicates that what the following verb refers to is impending in the future, as a consequence of present intentions or a course of events already under way. It is most commonly translatable as 'going to...'. Often, however, it carries a sense of imminence or immediacy, best translated as 'about to...'. Examples:

1. *raḥa-ʕəf-lak yāḥa w-rədd-əllak*
xabar [DA-80A] 'I'm going to see her (for you) and let you know.'
2. *byəḡḡar laḥa-tənzəl maṭar*
ʔawīyye [DA-153] 'It looks as though there's going to be a heavy rain.'

¹Unless, of course, it is complementary to a future main clause [341].

3. *ʔaddēṣ raḥ-tabʔa ḥōn?* [EA-59] 'How long are you going to stay here?'

4. *ʔəmta laḥa-yṣər-lak fərṣa*
tṣūfo? 'When are you going to have a chance to see him?'

5. *ʔoʕa l-ʔaṭṭa laḥa-txarmṣaḥ!* 'Look out, the cat will scratch you!'

6. *taʔrībān laḥa-xalles* 'I'm nearly finished' (Lit. 'I'm almost about to finish')

7. *ṣu byəḡḡar raḥa-nəṣal*
[DA-44] 'Well, it looks as though we're almost there' (Lit. '...we're about to arrive')

8. *ʔiza laḥa-tṣatti l-ḥafle*
l-mūsīqiyye bəṭṣīr ṣuwwa 'If it looks like rain the concert will be indoors' (Lit. 'if it's going to rain...')

9. *ʔana raḥa-rūḥ, nṣāllā tāni*
marra bṣūfak bəl-bēt [DA-218] 'I must go; I expect I'll see you at home next time' (Lit. 'I'm about to go...')

10. *l-maṭti ḥa-yəʕlen fatwā*
ṣ-ṣəməʕa ṣ-ṣāye 'The mufti is to deliver his opinion next week'

Many future events may be referred to either with the particle of anticipation or with the simple (*b-*) imperfect (see below); but in some contexts where the simple imperfect would more naturally be taken to indicate a generality or disposition [p. 326], *raḥa-* is used to make it unambiguously future:

11. *mīn raḥa-yṭaʕmi w-yəksi kəll*
ḥal-ʔaṭṭāl ʔl-fəʔara? 'Who will clothe and feed all those poor children?' (*mīn biṭaʕmi w-byəksi*... would be understood as 'Who clothes and feeds...')

12. *l-bəʔəa mā laḥa-təṭlaʕ* 'The stain won't come out' (i.e. '...isn't going to come out', as opposed to *mā bṭəṭlaʕ* '...won't come out', i.e. '...isn't disposed to come out')

Uses of the Simple Imperfect

The imperfect indicative without a proclitic *ɛam-* or *raha-* is used in several different senses: 1) Future, 2) Annunciatory, 3) Generalizing and Dispositional.

Almost all examples in the following sections are in the indicative mode (b-). Much of what is said here about the simple imperfect applies to both modes, but the subjunctive involves factors that tend to obscure (and in some cases override) considerations of tense as such. See p.359 ex. 21, 22.

Future

In contrast to the particle of anticipation (see above), the simple imperfect is commonly used in reference to what is assumed will take place in the future, but with no special emphasis on immediacy or on present involvement in the course of events leading up to it.

Since the simple imperfect is also used in other senses, it is usually the context, or the circumstances of the utterance, which make the time reference explicit: *brūh bukra* 'I('ll) go tomorrow' or 'I'm going tomorrow'. Examples:

1. *bkūn ɛandak ɛal-ʔaktar baɛd sãɛa* [DA-197] 'I'll be at your place within an hour at the latest'
2. *ʔēmta btəbda d-drūs?* [DA-173] 'When does school ('lit. 'lessons') start?'
3. *baɛʔd bakra birūh ɛal-madrass* [DA-197] 'The day after tomorrow he's going to school'
4. *nšāl̄la brūh ʔs-səne ž-žāye w-ʔbšūfak ʔhnīk* [DA-128] 'God willing, I'll go next year and see you there'
5. *q-darb ʔt-tāni mā bifūtak* [AO-112] 'The next blow won't miss you!'
6. *bhatt-əllak ʔl-bāʔi b-kīs wara?* [DA-107] 'I'll put the rest in a paper bag for you'
7. *lēš mā byāxədhon maɛo lamma byeržəɛ?* [DA-75] 'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back?'
8. *baɛʔd ma yəntəbeɛ bəbɛat-lak nəšxa* [EA-259] 'After it's printed I'll send you a copy'
9. *hallaʔ ʔs-šānɛa btəži w-bətsāwī* [DA-103] 'The maid will come and do it right away'
10. *t-təmsāl byənsəbek bəl-brōnz* 'The statue is to be cast in bronze'

Annunciatory

The simple imperfect (like the English simple present) is often used to make (or elicit) an announcement or sign or token of a purported fact – as distinct from an ordinary report or statement of it: *bisallmu ɛalēk* 'They send you greetings', *mnaškor ʔaḷḷa* 'We thank God'.¹

1. *būɛdak ha-ʔədroš* 'I promise you I'm going to study'
2. *bhannīk* 'Congratulations!' (lit. 'I congratulate you')
3. *ʔana hallaʔ baftəteḥ ʔž-žalse* 'The meeting will come to order' (lit. 'I now open the session')
4. *bətkūn madāmti* 'This is my wife' (An introduction, as contrasted with a simple informative statement: *hayy madāmti*)

Besides its use in the set phrases of social formalities, the simple imperfect is commonly used to announce what someone says, thinks, knows, wants, etc. – generally with verbs complemented by clauses:

5. *biʔūl ʔanno ʔaxū mū žāye* [DA-95] 'He says that his brother isn't coming'
6. *huwwe byənkor ʔalo ʔīd fīha* 'He denies he had a hand in it'
7. *bəṣəḥak ʔnsāha* 'I advise you(to) forget it'
8. *mətli mətlaḥ mā baɛref* 'I don't know either'
9. *bəənn baɛʔrfo* 'I think I know him'
10. *blāʔi ɛala ɣafle bəddak ʔtrūh* [DA-172] 'And now all of a sudden you have to go?!' (lit. 'I find all of a sudden...')
11. *šū btaʔmor ɣəro, ya bēk?* [DA-130] 'What else do you wish, sir?' (lit. 'What else do you order, sir?')
12. *hādi tāni marra byəntəxbū ɛədu barlamān* [EA-159] 'This is the second time they've elected him member of parliament'

¹With verbs in the first person designating linguistic (or partly linguistic) acts, an annunciatory utterance in appropriate circumstances actually constitutes an integral part (if not the whole) of the announced event, rather than a mere token or sign of it: *ʔana btanni ɛal-ʔəqtirāḥ* 'I second the motion' (To say it is to do it.)

As distinct from annunciatory predications, reportorial predications may employ the particle of actuality (*ʕam-*) [p.320], a participle [272], or the perfect tense [330], or – in the case of linking verbs [452] – a non-verbal clause [402] (See ex. 4, above.)

For instance: *ʕam-byankor ʔalo ʔid fīha* (cf. ex. 6, same translation); *ʔāl ʔanno ʔaxū mū ʕāye* 'He said his brother wasn't coming' (cf. ex. 5); *māli ʕāref* 'I don't know' (cf. ex. 8).

Since a report and an announcement are in certain respects equivalent, there are many situations in which there is little to choose between them.

Generalities and Dispositions

The generalizing and dispositional uses of the simple imperfect are by no means always distinct from one another; they are separated here more by virtue of their English translations than by intrinsic differences. In those cases where they are clearly distinct, furthermore, the dispositional use tends to merge with the future [p.324] and the generalizing use, with the annunciatory [325].¹

Generalizing. Like the simple present in English, the simple imperfect is used to make (or elicit) generalizations and non-temporal statements:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>l-mazarīb bʔənʔšəm lamma bəʔmaʔter</i> | 'The drains clog up when it rains' |
| 2. <i>ʕ-ʕāʕat bibīḏu bēḏ</i> | 'Hens lay eggs' |
| 3. <i>ʔarbʕa w-xamse byaʕʔmlu tāsʕa</i> | 'Four and five make nine' |
| 4. <i>b-ʔawāxer ʔr-rabīʕ l-ḥabb byəstáwi</i> [AO-39] | 'Late in spring the grain ripens' |
| 5. <i>bināmu ʕal-ʔaʕḏūḥ bəl-lēl b-sabb ʔš-šōb</i> [AO-39] | 'They sleep on the roof at night because of the heat' |
| 6. <i>yōm bikūn fī fərša l-madāres mā bʔəftaḥ</i> [DA-239] | 'On a day that's a holiday the schools don't open' |

¹ The simple imperfect indicative is functionally the base, or residual (or neutral) tense-mode, i.e. we are dealing with the non-past non-subjunctive non-actual non-anticipatory inflection, whose uses, structurally speaking, are exactly that. It is to be expected, therefore, that any positive characterization of these uses will involve partially merging or overlapping categories. That such characterization can be done with some semblance of simplicity and completeness however, shows up the falsity in any purely negative definition of residual categories.

7. *ʔsiyye bala ʔəmda bətkūn bāḏle*
8. *ʕala ʔayy ʔarīʔa biʕir ʔl-ʔəntixāb?* [SAL-153]
9. *bi-ʕālē mā biʕir bard mətəl ḥōn* [DA-173]
10. *mnaʕzi la-ʕandkon ʕaʕrīn marra la-taʕu la-ʕanna marra*

'A will without a signature is invalid' (or '...would be invalid')

'By what method does election take place?'

'In Aley it doesn't get so cold as (it does) here'

'We come to your house twenty times for every time you come to ours'

Dispositional. The simple imperfect is commonly used to indicate potentialities, dispositions, and propensities. The English equivalents are variously rendered, usually with 'can', 'would', 'will', or adjectives:

1. *bʔastaʔʕər-lak ʕarabiyye ʔərəb l-ʔmḥaʔḥa*
2. *bʔaʕref wēn blāʔi ʔmāʕ ʔmnīḥ?* [EA-105]
3. *ʔēmta ma kūn bʔədfaʕ-li* [DA-107]
4. *waḏḏa mā bədfaʕ fī wlā ʔərʕ*
5. *r-rəʕʕāl byaʕʔʕbak* [EA-158]
6. *b-ḥayāti mā bəʕtəḡel maʕ ʕamāʕa mən han-nəmre*
7. *mā bəddi kūn maʔraḥo*
8. *hal-ʔmnaḏḏef bizīl ʔl-bəʔaʕ*
9. *l-xaʕab nāʕef la-daraʕe byəʕtəʕel fīha b-ʔshūle*
10. *huwwe biḡār ʔktīr*
11. *hal-walad byəstāḥi*
12. *mā byətlāʕab* [EA-161]

'You can hire a car near the station'

'Do you know where I can find some good cloth?' (The main verb *bʔaʕref* is annunciatory [p.325].)

'You can pay me anytime'

'I wouldn't pay a piastre for it!'

'You'd like the man'

'I would never work for people of that sort'

'I wouldn't want to be in his place' (The quasi-verb *bəddo* 'to want' [p.412] is often translated as a dispositional, though it is not inflected for tense.)

'This cleaner will remove the spots'

'The wood is dry enough to catch fire easily'

'He's very jealous (in disposition)', i.e. 'He gets jealous a lot'

'That boy is bashful', i.e. '...gets embarrassed'

'He isn't deceitful', i.e. He doesn't (or won't) deceive'

13. *mā fī šī byənʕəmel?* 'Is there nothing to be done?'
14. *hal-ʔmāš byəngəssel?* 'Is this material washable?', i.e. 'Can this material be washed?'
15. *waḷḷa hal-manḡar mā byəntāsa* 'This view is unforgettable', i.e. 'This view cannot be forgotten'
16. *huwwe xašʔm byənxāf mənno* 'He's an adversary to be feared'
17. *kān fərša mā btəttamman ʔəli* 'It was a very lucky break for me', i.e. '...an occasion(that) cannot be evaluated...'

Note that the verbs in the last eight examples above (ex. 10-17), most of which are translated into English with adjectives, do in fact function much like dispositional adjectives [p. 277]; thus *biḡār* in example 10 is (or at least can be) equivalent to the adjective *ḡayyūr* 'jealous' (in disposition). Like dispositional adjectives, they are all intransitive and most are not complemented at all.

This ADJECTIVAL USE of dispositional verbs contrasts overtly with the ordinary use, in the case of verbs that are normally transitive, since the object is suppressed: *haš-zalame biḡəšš* 'That fellow cheats', i.e. 'He's a cheater' = *haš-zalame ḡəššəš*; as contrasted with *haš-zalame biḡəššak* 'That fellow will (or would) cheat you', which shows the true verbal construction. Further examples with object suppressed:

18. *hal-kalb mā biʕədd* 'That dog won't (or doesn't) bite'
19. *ʔakl ʔl-būḡa mā bəddərr* 'Eating ice cream won't do any harm'
20. *haš-šəḡle bətmallel* 'This job is boring', lit. "...bores"
21. *hayy masʔale mā bəddəḡḡhek* 'This is no laughing matter', i.e. '...a matter that doesn't cause laughter'
22. *lā təsraʕ ʕala ʔərʔāt bədzəḡḡle?* 'Don't speed on slippery roads', i.e. '...on roads that cause skidding'

Examples 19-22 show verbs with inanimate subjects; these (being transitive with object suppressed) generally correspond to agentive adjectives [p. 278] rather than to dispositionals: *bətmallel* = *mməlle*, *bəddəḡḡhek* = *məḡḡḡḡke*.

See also p. 409.

Note that English adjectives ending in -able (or -ible) are mostly passive dispositionals, e.g. 'washable' = 'can be washed'. Since Arabic dispositional and agentive adjectives are not normally formed from passives, it follows that the usual translation of these English adjectives will be with verbs: *byəngəssel* '(is) washable'. This is all the more true in the case of adjectives with a negative prefix *un-*, *in-*, etc., since Arabic has no such formative, thus *mā byəntāsa* '(is) unforgettable'. (There is, however, a limited use of passive participles in the dispositional sense [p. 275], mainly in Classicisms: *ḡər maqrūʔ* 'illegible', more colloquially: *mā byənʔāra*.)

USES OF THE PERFECT

Past Time Reference

While indicating that an event or state referred to is in the past, the perfect tense implies nothing, one way or another, about the definiteness or the current relevance of that event or state. It may, therefore, be rendered in English either by the simple past (*katab* 'he wrote') or by the present-perfect ('he has written'), depending on context and circumstances.

Examples translated with the simple past:

1. *ḡəḡek ʔl-malek ʔktīr* [AO-88] 'The king laughed heartily'
2. *fēn štaḡalt baʕʔd ma txarrašt?* [EA-206] 'Where did you work after you were graduated?'
3. *kān mən ʔadīm ʔz-zamān tāšer ʕando bənt* [AO-113] 'There was once upon a time a merchant who had a daughter'
4. *ʔabū kān faʔīr, w-bāʕ ʔarāḡī* [EA-160] 'His father was poor, and sold his land'
5. *lamma šāret l-ʔntixābāt, ntaxabū raʔīs baladiyye* [EA-161] 'When the elections took place, they elected him mayor'

Examples translated with the present perfect:

6. *ʔaxadʔt dawāk, wəlla ləssa?* 'Have you taken your medicine yet?'
7. *štamaʕt maʕo ʕəddet marrāt* [EA-158] 'I've met him several times'
8. *mā fī šī tḡayyar* 'Nothing has changed'

9. *šināʿet ʿs-sābūn šāret ʿl-yōm*
ʿaʿḡam šināʿa fi-trablos
 [PAT-183]

'The soap industry has become the biggest industry in Tripoli today.'

10. *šū šār maʿak?*

'What's happened to you?' (also 'What happened to you?')

A participle [p.262], in contrast to a verb in the perfect, may be used in reference to past events only if the consequent state is currently in force: *šū šāyer maʿak?* 'What's happened to you? (that you should be in this state)', while *šū šār maʿak?* can be said regardless whether the consequent state is still in effect or not.

Some Arabic verbs which are basically momentaneous are usually translated with English stative (or durative) verbs. (This happens most commonly with verbs of cognition, affect, etc. See p.272.) In such cases the Arabic perfect – when used in reference to past events whose consequent state is still in effect – is translated by the English present:

11. *hallaʿ ʿrtāḥ bālī*

'Now I feel relieved' (i.e. 'Now my mind has been relieved')

12. *ʿraʿft kif?*

'Do you know how it is?' (i.e. 'Have you found out how it is?')

13. *fhəmt ʿannak msāfer bukra*

'I understand you're leaving tomorrow' (i.e. 'I've been given to understand...')

14. *baʿd ma hallaʿ ʿalt-elli ʿasmo*
dzakkarto tamām

'Now that you've told me his name I remember him perfectly' (i.e. '... I've brought him to mind perfectly')

15. *mən malāmeḥ wəššak bəʿder ʿul*
ʿannak mā ḥabbēto

'From the expression on your face I can tell that you don't like it' (i.e. '...that you haven't taken a liking to it')

Similarly, some English verbs are put in the present in the annunciatory sense [p.325], while the Arabic counterparts remain in the perfect:

16. *ttafaʿna*

'We're agreed', 'It's a deal' (i.e. 'We've agreed')

17. *tšarrafna*

'I'm (we're) honored' (i.e. 'We've been honored')

18. *xaššaltni*

'You embarrass me' (i.e. 'You've embarrassed me')

19. *bašaʿṭni b-hal-xabar* [DA-243]

'I'm glad to hear that' (i.e. 'You've gladdened me with this news').

20. *šū hī ʿš-šrūṭ ʿlli ʿtaraḡta?*
 [SAL-170]

'What terms do you propose?' (i.e. 'What are the terms that you've thought up?')

Conditional Clauses

The perfect tense is commonly used in conditional clauses, usually associated with the particles *ʿiza*, *law*, *ʿən* (all translated 'if') and *ma* (translated '-ever' as in *fēn ma* 'wherever...').

With *ʿiza* 'if'. The perfect is used to indicate a condition which is presumably not fulfilled at present and may or may not be fulfilled in the future: *ʿiza rəḡət maʿna, mā btətʿaxxar* 'If you went with us, you wouldn't be late' or 'If you go with us, you won't be late'.

The English translation with 'went...wouldn't...' is used if the main verb (*btətʿaxxar*) is interpreted as dispositional [p.327], and 'go...won't...', if it is interpreted as future [324]. The English past tense in the 'if'-clause is required whenever the main verb is conditional ('would...'), but the Arabic perfect in the *ʿiza*-clause does not depend on its main verb.

Examples:

1. *ʿiza daʿart fīha btəfrot*

'If you touch it, it'll come to pieces' or 'If you touched it, it'd come to pieces'

2. *mnaṣal la-natāyeṣ ʿaḡsan ʿiza*
ttaḡaʿna ḥaṭ-ṭarīʿa

'We'll get better results if we follow this method' or 'We'd get... if we followed...'

3. *məmken rūḥ ʿiza ʿazamūni*

'I might (or may) go, if they invite me'

4. *ʿiza ʿawi l-waṣaʿ, bʿāt wara*
doktōr

'If the pain gets stronger, send for a doctor'

5. *nṭəḡərni ʿiza šār u-tʿaxxarət*
ʿana

'Wait for me if I happen to be late' (lit. "...if it happened and I was late")

6. *ʿiza mā kən ḥāḡer ḥaṭṭ ʿalāme*
ʿəddām ʿasmo

'If he's not present put a mark by his name'

7. *ʿiza ḡallet ḥaḡ-ḡōṣe laḡa-ṣənn*

'If that noise keeps up I'll go crazy'

8. *raḡa-nəṣi ʿəlla ʿiza nəzlet*
maṭar

'We'll come unless it rains' (lit. "...except if it rains")

In English the present tense must be used after 'if' when the main verb is imperative (ex. 4,5,6) or future (ex. 7, 8), while in Arabic the perfect may be used in these cases as well as in the others.

Note that in examples 1 and 2 the main verb is in the simple imperfect, which, in this type of sentence, can depict either a "real" future situation or (dispositionally) a hypothetical situation. The imperatives may also be used for both real and hypothetical situations, though in their case the English translation is the same for both.

Examples 7 and 8 differ from all the others in that they could not be used to depict a hypothetical situation; the particle of anticipation (*raḥa-*, *laḥa-*) [p.322] – unlike the simple imperfect – is not used dispositionally. Therefore the English translation is again limited to the present and future verb forms, but in this case the limitation is set by the Arabic meaning and not – as with the imperatives – by English grammatical constraints.

The perfect is not obligatory after *ʔiza*, however, unless the situation depicted is definitely hypothetical. When applied to a real situation, the *ʔiza*-clause may have a verb in the imperfect or no verb at all: *ʔiza bətrūḥ maʕna*, *mā btəṭʔaxxar* 'If you're going with us, you won't be late'; *btamm ʔiza lā bədd mənno* 'I'll stay if necessary'.

An imperfect or non-verbal *ʔiza*-clause sometimes implies that the condition is expected to be fulfilled – as contrasted with the perfect, which implies no particular expectations one way or the other.

Examples:

9. *nšāḷḷa mā fī māneʕ ʕandak ʔiza brūḥ hallaʔ* 'I hope you don't mind if I go now'
10. *ʔiza t-taqrīrēn byətnāqadu lā tsaddeʔ lā hād u-lā hād* 'If the two reports conflict, don't believe either one'
11. *ʔiza btəstannāni šī yōmēn yəmken ʔəṭlaʕ maʕak* [DA-172] 'If you'll wait for me a couple of days I might go up with you'
12. *ʔiza bəddak raʔyi hāda tanāzol ʕan mabādʔak* 'If you want my opinion, this is a backsliding from your principles'¹
13. *ʔiza ʕalēk šī lā tətʔaxxar mənšāni* [DA-243] 'If there's something you have to do, don't delay on my account'

¹This is a pseudo-conditional construction, i.e. *hāda tanāzol*...is not a genuine apodasis; it is logically independent of the protasis.

In example 13, the verbless clause *ʔiza ʕalēk šī* (theoretically) implies an expectation that you probably do have some pressing engagement or other, which makes it easier for you to excuse yourself than it would be if the speaker said *ʔiza kān ʕalēk šī*... (with the perfect *kān* which cancels out this expectancy) thereby putting more pressure on you not to excuse yourself. Thus the element of expectancy is converted into an element of politeness. Similarly, *ʔiza bətrūḥ maʕna*...is more of an invitation than *ʔiza rəḥʔt maʕna*..., and *btamm ʔiza lā bədd mənno* is more of an offer than *btamm ʔiza kān lā bədd mənno*.

Past Conditionals. The present tense after *ʔiza* may, of course, simply indicate past time:

14. *ʔiza sāfar əmbārḥa, byəṣal əl-yōm* 'If he left yesterday, he'll arrive today'

Note also *ʔiza sāfar əmbārḥa, bikūn wəṣel əl-yōm* 'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today' or 'If he left yesterday, he'll have arrived today' [p.341].

With *ʔiza* there is no distinction between possible conditions and contrary-to-fact conditions. The latter are indicated in English by a past-perfect phrase in the protasis ('if he'd left...') couples with a conditional phrase in the apodasis ('he'd have arrived...'), but in Arabic the same sentence (*ʔiza sāfar...bikūn wəṣel*) is used in either case – whether it is known that he has not arrived, or not known whether he has arrived or not.

ʔiza with the Linking Verb *kān* [p.452]. A hypothetical condition with *ʔiza* is often expressed by the verb *kān* in the perfect, followed by a complemental verb: *ʔiza kān šāfḥa, biḥākīḥa* 'If he saw her, he'd talk to her'.

15. *xāf ʔənno yətrok əš-šəḡəl ʔiza kān rafaḍ ṭalabo* [AO-103] 'He was afraid that he'd quit working if he denied his request'

The complemental verb may be in the simple imperfect indicative (i.e. with the *b-* prefix) to indicate a disposition or a generalization [p.326]:

16. *šī rxīš, ʔiza kān byəštəḡel əmnīḥ* [AO-47] 'That's cheap, if he does good work'

17. *lāzem ʔtkūn bala ḥass ʔiza mā kənt ʔbtatʔassar b-hal-maṅar*

'You must be devoid of feeling if you're not moved by that sight' (i.e. 'You'd have to be...if you weren't disposed to be moved...')

The hypothetical *kān* may likewise be followed by a verb in the imperfect with the particle of anticipation [p.322]:

18. *xallīni ʔaʔref ʔabl ʔb-salaf ʔiza kənt raḥa-taʕi*

'Let me know ahead of time if you're coming' (i.e. '...if you anticipate coming')

Note, however, that the simple imperfect is never used after *kān* in reference to a hypothetical future event. While a main clause may use the simple imperfect in the future sense (*mənlāʔi bukra* 'We're meeting him tomorrow'), this is an "assumed" future event [p.324], corresponding to a "positive-expectancy" conditional clause [332]: *ʔiza mənlāʔi bukra* 'If we're meeting him tomorrow...'. A "hypothetical" future event, on the other hand, requires the perfect tense in a conditional clause, with or without *kān*: *ʔiza (kān) lāʔənā bukra* 'If we meet(met) him tomorrow...'. Examples:

19. *ʔiza kān mā mətʔt bəddi ʔəʔtaʔ rās hal-kazzāb* [AO-95]

'If I don't die, I intend to cut that liar's head off'

20. *ʔiza kān laʔēt wāḥed ʔaṭ-ʔarīʔ halli ʔal-lak sʔīni, xallī yaʕrab...* [AO-99]

'If you meet someone on the road who says to you "Give me water", let him drink' (Note the perfect tense of the attributive verb *ʔal(-lak)*, as well as *laʔēt*; the attributive clause is also part of the hypothetical condition.)

The hypothetical *kān* may be used with *ʔiza* in two ways: either inflected, as in examples 17 and 18, or uninflected, as in examples 19 and 20. When uninflected, *kān* must come right after *ʔiza*; when inflected, it may be separated from *ʔiza* by the subject or by a negative particle [p.383]. Further examples of the uninflected *kān*:

21. *ʔiza kān ʔl-ʔaʕāye ʔaʕhareṭ u-warraʔet ʔl-yōm ʔt-tāni, ʔrēf ʔanno ʔaʕḷa ḡafar xaṭāyāḵ* [AO-99]

'If the stick has grown blossoms and leaves by the next day, know, then, that God has forgiven your sins'

22. *ʔiza kān māli ʔaḥsan bətʕībī-li l-ḥakīm* [AO-51]

'If I'm not better you'll bring the doctor to (see) me'

23. *bḵūn ʔandak...baʔd sʔʔa... ʔiza kān ʔl-ḥallāʔ mū maʔʕūʔ* [DA-197]

'I'll be at your place in an hour, if the barber's isn't crowded'

24. *ʔiza kān fī balkōnāt bikūn ʔafḍal* [DA-290]

'If there are(were) balconies, that will(would) be preferable'

Compare the inflected versions: *ʔiza l-ʔaʕāye (kānet) ʔaʕhareṭ...* (cf. 21); *ʔiza mā kənt ʔaḥsan...* (cf. 22); *ʔiza l-ḥallāʔ mā kān maʔʕūʔ...* (cf. 23).

With *ʔən*, *n-* 'if'. The perfect is always used in conditional clauses expressed with *ʔən*:

1. *ʔən mā sakatt bəḡʔrbak*

'If you don't shut up I'll hit you!'

2. *w-ʔən mā ʔəʕa, šū mnaʔmelʔ*

'And if he doesn't come, what'll we do?'

3. *r-rāḥ brūḥ maʔo, w-ʔən mā rāḥ brūḥ waḥdi*

'If he goes, I'll go with him, and if he doesn't go, I'll go alone' (r- for n- before r [p.27])

4. *nšāʕḷa mā fī māneʔ ʔn-daxxant*

'I trust there's no objection if I smoke (?)'

Note also the set phrases *n-šā ʔaʕḷāḥ* and *n-rād ʔaʕḷāḥ* 'If God wills', and *n-ʔaʕḷa saḥḥal* 'If God eases (the way)'.

Like *ʔiza*, *ʔən* is often followed by *kān*: *n-kān mā ʔəʕa...* 'If he doesn't come...'

With *law* 'if'. Most conditions expressed with *law* are hypothetical, and most, furthermore, are contrary to fact or to expectation. The verb of a *law*-clause is generally in the perfect tense:

1. *law kənt ʔb-maḥallak bəbʔa bəl-bēt*

'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay at home'

2. *law kān ʔl-mānāx ʔanʕaf b-ʔʕwayye bikūn ʔaḥsan b-ʔktīr* [DA-151]

'If the climate were a little drier, it would be a lot better'

3. *w-law mā daras, byənʕaḥ*

'Even if he didn't study, he'd do well'

4. *mənraʕʕə-lak ʔl-maʕāri ḥatta w-law kənna bəddna nəʕḥad*

'We'll(we'd) pay you back the money even if we have(had) to beg'.

5. *w-lu ʔalaphēt ʔaliyyi māli laḥ-ʔəʕi*

'Even if you insist, I won't go' (The form *-lu* is commonly used instead of *law* after emphatic *w-* [p.390].)

In desiderative ('if only', 'would that') conditions, however, *law* is commonly followed by verbs in the imperfect (indicative or subjunctive), or by non-verbal clauses. The apodasis is often suppressed:

6. *law btaɛref ʔəddēš ʔbħabbak*
[SPA-27] 'If you only knew how much I love you!'
7. *law ʔəħki kəlme wāħde*
btaħħall ʔl-məškle 'If he would just speak up once, the problem would be solved'
8. *law ʔandha šwayyet ħēl bass!* 'If she only had a little strength!'
9. *ʔāx law ʔəʔtlo ʔala ħēk*
ʔamal saxīf! 'I could kill him for doing such a stupid thing!' ('Oh, if I'd kill him...')

The desiderative *law* is often used in a milder sense, to express invitations:

10. *law bəšarrafna ʔal-ğada* 'Why don't you have lunch with us?'
(“if you would honor us for lunch”)

Hypothetical *kān* in the Apodasis. When a conditional clause is introduced by *law*, the apodasis (main clause) is commonly introduced by the linking verb *kān* in the perfect: *law šaftha kənt ʔbʔəl-lha* 'If I saw her, I'd tell her'.

Note that the *b* prefix of a verb in the imperfect is not dropped after the hypothetical *kān*, as it is, usually, when *kān* is used for past time reference [p.34].

This use of *kān* is not obligatory if the main verb is in the imperfect. Its omission makes the apodasis more vivid: *law šaftha, bʔəl-lha* (same translation). (See examples 1-5.)

11. *law kənt ʔb-maħallak, kənt*
bəbʔa bəl-bēt 'If I were in your shoes, I'd stay home' (Cf. example 1)
12. *kān byəṭlaɛ b-ʔido ykūn*
ʔammal wāħed bəš-šaff law rād 'He could be the first in his class if he wished'
13. *law kənti məštāʔtī-li*
kənti btašī laʔanna 'If you(f.) really wanted to see me you'd come to our house' [p.268]

But if the main verb is in the perfect – indicating a hypothetical event in the past – then it must be introduced either by *kān* (also in the perfect) or by the particle *la-*, or by *la-* plus *kān*: *law šaftha, kənt ʔəlt-əħa* (or *la-ʔəlt-əħa*, or *la-kənt ʔəlt-əħa*) 'If I had seen her, I'd have told her'.

14. *law ʔəlt-əlli kənt rəħt maʔak*
[DA-171] 'If you'd told me, I'd have gone with you'
15. *law kan-li l-ʔextiyār la-kənt*
rəħt bəṭ-ṭayyāra 'If the choice had been mine, I'd have gone by plane'

16. *law tarak ʔmbārħa, la-wəšel*
ʔl-yōm 'If he'd left yesterday, he'd have arrived today'
17. *law biṭəbbu baɛḏon ʔl-baɛʔd*
kānu tʔāmalu sawa mən zamān 'If only they liked one another, they'd have gotten together long ago'
18. *law fahħamna ʔanno ħōn kəna*
daʔēnā ʔal-ʔəštīmāɛ 'If he'd let us know that he was here, we'd have invited him to the meeting'
19. *w-law mən ħēk, ʔaḷḷa ħū*
ʔaɛlam šū kən šār fīna
[SAL-140] 'And if it hadn't been for that, God knows what would have happened to us'

With *law-la* 'if it were not for', 'but for':

20. *law-la l-ʔwlād la-kān tarak*
marto mən zamān 'If it weren't for the children, he would have left his wife long ago'
21. *law-la l-bōšle kəna ɛəna* 'Without the compass we'd have gotten lost'
22. *law-lāhon la-kəna mən kūn*
ħallaʔ ʔb-bāriz 'If it weren't for them, we'd be in Paris now'
23. *law-lāħa kənt šaħħād ʔl-yōm*
ʔana 'But for her, I'd be a beggar today'

(The form *law-la* is also commonly used before *mā*, in a negative verbal clause:)

24. *law-la mā staxaff ʔl-mawḏūɛ*
mā kən šār fī ħēk 'If he hadn't made light of the matter, that wouldn't have happened to him'
25. *law-la mā warṣa ġabāʔo mā*
kānu stašħalū 'If he hadn't displayed his stupidity, they wouldn't have thought him ignorant'

Quasi-Conditional Clauses

The perfect is used in its hypothetical sense in certain constructions similar to *law* conditionals, but which do not involve the conditional particle itself.

A prepositional phrase may occur in place of the protasis:

1. *bidūn ʔawṣiyyāto mā kənt*
ʔstaħsant ʔl-fəkra ʔabadan 'Without his recommendations, I wouldn't have approved of the idea at all.' (Cf. *law-la ʔawṣiyyāto...*)

2. baʕəd hal-maʕar ʕaret ʔasʕār
l-ʔħbūb ʔbtənzəl [DA-238]

[Ch. 12]
'After this rain, grain prices should
go down' (Cf. law batmaʕter... 'If it
would rain...')

The expression w-ʔəlla 'or else...!' is itself a condi-
tional protasis (← w-ʔən laʔ 'and if not'), and is commonly
followed by a verb in the perfect:

3. ʔəʕhak baʕdēn tərʕaʕ la-ħōn,
w-ʔəlla ʔataltak [AO-119]

'Don't come back here again, or I'll
kill you!'

Some clauses may be analyzed as an apodasis without a
protasis:

4. kənt ʔktīr batmanna rūħ, bass
ʔbtəʕzrūni [SAL-115]

'I'd very much like to go, but you'll
(have to) excuse me' (Cf. kənt ʔktīr
batmanna rūħ law ʕazamūni, bass...
'I'd very much like to go if they'd
invite(d) me, but...')

The perfect is commonly used after rēt- 'would that...':

5. rētni matət ʔabəl ma ʕabbart
ʕala raʔyi

'I'd sooner die than express my
opinion' (on a given matter) (Cf. law
ʕabbart...)

With ma 'ever'. The perfect is used for hypothetical conditions introduced
by kəll ma and ʔəmta ma 'whenever', šū ma, ʔəš-mən, ʔē-mən and mah ma 'what-
ever', mīn ma 'whoever', wēn ma (fēn ma) 'wherever', kīf ma 'however', ʔadd
ma 'however much':

1. šū ma ʕār lā təftaħ had-dərəʕ

'Whatever happens, don't open that
drawer!'

2. mā biħəmmni šū ma ħaka yəħki
[DA-213]

'I don't care, let him say whatever
he will'

3. lāsəmni bēt fēn ma kən ykūn
[DA-213]

'I need a house, no matter where it
is' (lit. "...wherever it be, let it
be")

4. kəll ma daʔ ʔl-kūz bəʕ-ʕarra
biħaddədna b-ʔəstiʔālto

'At every drop of the hat he threat-
ens us with his resignation' (lit.
'Whenever the mug hits the jar...')

5. fīki təʔali wēn ma kən
[SAL-192]

'You (f.) can ask anywhere' (lit.
'You can ask wherever it may be')

6. bəḥadda mīn ma kən yaʕmel
haš-šī!

'I challenge anyone to do that!'
(lit. "I challenge whoever it may
be...")

7. šū ma ʔəlt ħa-nrūħ

'No matter what you say, we're going'

8. ʔadd ma ʕaʕʕaltni haš-ʕaḡle
mā btəxloʕ ʔabkar

'No matter how much you hurry me,
this job won't be done any sooner'

9. biħəħhu ʕaš-ʕāyer kəll ma rād
irūħ məʕān yaʔʕod ʕwayye zyāde
[PAT-199]

'They urge the visitor, every time
he wants to go, to stay a while
longer'

10. biħəbb mīn ma ʕāf w-byəħki šū
ma səmʕ [RN-41]

'He takes a liking to whomever he
sees and tells whatever he hears'

Some of these forms may be preceded by law:

11. hal-ʕamāʕa mā byəstʕīdu
ʕənsīton law šū ma ʕəmlu

'That bunch won't get back their
citizenship no matter what they do'

12. law mah ma ʕəmlt māli laħ-ʔaʕtīk
məʕāri

'No matter what you do, I'm not
going to give you money'

13. law ʔəš-mən ʕār, māli ʔāyem mən
ʔarḡi

'No matter what happens, I won't
budge.'

With the attributive forms ʔayy and ʔanu 'any, whatever'
[p. 573], the perfect is also used, but without ma:

14. ʔaʕtīni ʔayy məʕrūbāt kənu
[RN-41]

'Give me whatever beverages there
are'

15. xōd ʔanu ktāb ʕaʕabak

'Take any book you like'

ma can also be used with the imperfect, in the general-
izing or dispositional senses, or for "expected" conditions
(or courtesy) [p. 332].

16. kəll ma bšūfo ʔaktar kəll ma
bħəbbo ʔaktar

'The more I see of him, the more I
like him'

17. ʔadd ma byaʕtīk, xōd mənno
[DA-215]

'As much as he'll give you, get
from him'

18. wēn ma bətrīd tākol ʔana
bākol [DA-213]

'Wherever you'd like to eat, I'll
eat'

19. la-wēn ma bəddak brūħ [DA-215]

'I'll go wherever you want' (The
tenseless bəddak, without a linking
verb kənt, is equivalent to the im-
perfect.)

The *ma* forms may also be used with *kān* for past time reference plus a complemental verb in the imperfect for generalization [p.326]:

20. *kəll ma kān ifakker fiha kān yətkarkar* 'Every time he thought about it he would chuckle'

TENSE SUBORDINATION

Time reference in a main clause is relative to the moment of utterance: *ʕam-yəktob maktūb* 'He's writing a letter' (at the present moment); *katab maktūb* 'He wrote a letter' (before the present moment). In an Arabic complemental clause [p.449], however, time reference is relative to that of the main clause: *ʕəfto ʕam-yəktob maktūb* 'I saw him writing a letter' (or 'I saw he was writing a letter'). Since the clause *ʕam-yəktob maktūb* is complemental to the main clause *ʕəfto* 'I saw him', the present actuality of his writing applies, not to the moment of utterance, but to the prior moment indicated by the perfect tense in *ʕəfto*. Likewise in *ʕəfto katab maktūb* 'I saw he had written a letter', the past time of his writing indicated in the complemental clause *katab maktūb* is prior to the past moment referred to in the main clause *ʕəfto*. Similarly: *ʕəfto ha-yəktob...* 'I saw he was going to write...', *ha-tʕūfo katab* 'You'll see that he'll have written...', etc.

In English – as in many other European languages – tense subordination of this sort does not exist. Either the tense of the complemental verb is shifted to agree with that of the main verb ("sequence of tenses"): 'I saw he was writing', or else the complemental verb is reduced to a "non-finite" form: 'I saw him writing', 'I saw him write'.

Examples (Main verb in perfect):

1. *hakā-lha šū ʕāf* [AO-113] 'He told her what he had seen'
2. *ftakart ʕənnak ʕbtaʕref* [EA-150] 'I thought that you knew'
3. *ʕāl bəʕder rūḥ* 'He said I could go'
4. *baʕdēn ʕāl ʕanno raḥa-yənʕəʕer ʕawāmer ʕdāde* 'Then he said that he was going to await new orders'
5. *tāni yōm ʕāf ʕanha warraʕet u-ʕazharet* [AO-100] 'The next day he saw that it had leafed out and blossomed'
6. *bass ʕmbāreḥ sməʕt ʕənnak marīq* [EA-149] 'Just yesterday I heard that you were ill' (Verbless complemental clause [p.403])
7. *kənt ʕmḥasseb ʕanno baddo yrūḥ* 'I was under the impression that he wanted to go'

8. *ʕənta b-ʕaʕli ʕiza brūḥ wella laʕ*

'I weighed it in my mind whether I should go or not'

9. *lāʕənā mā byəswa xabaro*

'We found him not all he was cracked up to be'

10. *kaʕənni sməʕt ʕl-ʕəʕəl ʕam-iʕaʕeʕ*

'I thought I heard the lock click'

In accordance with this principle of tense subordination, the tense of a main verb may be "compounded" by making it complemental to the linking verb *kān* 'to be':

kān 'he was' + *ʕam-yəktob* 'he is writing' → *kān ʕam-yəktob* 'he was writing'

kān 'he was' + *raḥa-yəktob* 'he's going to write' → *kān raḥa-yəktob* 'he was going to write'

kān 'he was' + *katab* 'he wrote' → *kān katab* 'he had written'

kān 'he was' + *byəktob* 'he writes' → *kān yəktob* 'he used to write'

The *b-* prefix of the simple imperfect is usually dropped after *kān* for past time reference, but is kept intact for the hypothetical sense [p.355]: *kān byəktob* 'he would write'.

bikūn 'he will be' + *ʕam-yəktob* 'he is writing' → *bikūn ʕam-yəktob* 'he'll be writing'

bikūn 'he will be' + *katab* 'he wrote' → *bikūn katab* 'he will have written'

(Etc.)

It should be noted that the linking verb and the complemental verb do not constitute a "verb phrase", properly speaking. The linking verb stands in construction with the whole predicate (exactly as it does with a non-verbal predicate), not with the verb as such. See p.452.

Examples of *kān* with verbal complement:

1. *t-trēn kān ləssā ʕam-yəḥararak* 'The train was still moving'
2. *kānet təʕtəʕel b-maktab* 'She used to work in an office'
3. *lamma wʕəlt, kānet ʕl-maʕar ʕnʕəʕet* [AO-67] 'When I arrived, the rain had stopped'
4. *bəkra nʕāʕla bəʕi bʕūrak w-ʕnʕāʕla batkūn ʕəḥḥet* [DA-217] 'Tomorrow I'll come see you and I trust you'll have recovered'

5. *mān yōmēn tlāte kānet sāʿti*
ʿamma-tʔaššer [AO-71]
6. *kāll mā ʿarfet šū baddo, kānet*
tarkod u-tašhad la-taʿmal-lo
yā [AO-111]
7. *la-bēn mā tēbes badʔltak*
ʔš-šāide bikūn pāpa wašel
[DA-298]
8. *ʔakīd bikūnu ʔahlak stawhašū-lak*
b-ḡēbtak
9. *lā tadros ʔd-dars ʔt-tālet*
ʔabʔl mā tkūn ʔatʔant ʔd-dars
ʔt-tāni
10. *bass yā rētak kēnt māʿi, kēnt*
ʿmbašaṭṭ ʔaktar [DA-171]
11. *law šaftha bār-rabīʿ, kēnt*
batʔūl ḡēr hēk [DA-250]

'For two or three day my watch was losing time'

'Whenever she found out what he wanted, she would run and take pains to do it for him' (i.e. 'she used to run...')

'By the time you've put on your new suit, Daddy will have arrived'

'Your family certainly must have missed you when you were away' (*bikūnu* is dispositional [p.327].)

'Don't study the third lesson before you've mastered the second' (*ʔatʔant* is in the perfect to emphasize the completion of mastery, but *ʔabʔl mā* requires the subjunctive [p.358], hence *tkūn*.)

'But if only you'd been with me, I'd have had a better time' (The second *kēnt* is used here for a hypothetical apodosis [p.336], not for past time reference.)

'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (*kēnt* for hypothetical apodosis)

Tense subordination is also commonly shown in certain kinds of attributive clauses [p.495], annexion clauses [p.490], and supplemental clauses [p.531]:

1. *š-šamʿ ʔstaʔbalo b-barbara*
baddəll ʿal-ʔmwāfaʔa
2. *b-hal-mašāri l-rəbḥūha ʿammaru*
byūton [PVA-30]
3. *stahlakna kāll ʔš-šābūn halli*
bəl-bēt
4. *ʿəmel kāll halli byəṭlaʿ b-ʔīdo*
5. *tnazzaht u-ʔana ʿam-bəʔra*
[RN-I.227]

'The gathering greeted him with a murmur of approval' (i.e. '...that indicated approval')

'With this money they had earned, they built their houses'

'We've used up all the soap we had in the house' (Verbless attributive clause [])

'He did everything he could'

'I walked while I was reading'

CHAPTER 13: MODE

Verbs in the imperfect tense are inflected for three modes: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Imperative.

The INDICATIVE, used in assertive predications [p.347], is expressed by a prefix *b-* or a proclitic *ʿam-* or *raha-* preceding the person prefix: *byəṭtaḥ* 'he opens', *ʿam-yəṭtaḥ* 'he is opening', *raha-yəṭtaḥ* 'he's going to open'. See p.320 ff.

The SUBJUNCTIVE, used in optative predications and in various subordinate syntactic positions, is expressed by a bare person-prefix (i.e. a prefix not preceded by *b-*, *ʿam-*, or *raha-*): *yəṭtaḥ* '(that)he open'.

The IMPERATIVE, used in commands or requests, is expressed by the imperfect stem without a person-prefix, and in some cases also by internal modification of the stem: *ftāḥ* 'open' [p.198].

The uses of the indicative mode are treated only insofar as they contrast with the subjunctive; that is to say, the indicative is taken as the "standard" or "neutral" mode which is used whenever the other modes are not used.¹ The indicative is fully exemplified, however, on p.320 ff.

¹It makes better sense morphologically, and is perhaps structurally more satisfactory on the whole, to take the subjunctive as the neutral or unmarked mode (non-assertive). Then the function of "assertion" is signalled 1.) by the subordination of a subjunctive verb to any non-subjunctive main term, including the proclitics *ʿam-* and *raha-* [p.320], or 2.) by prefixation of *b-* to the subjunctive form. (Non-verbal predications, together with verbal predications in the perfect tense, are generally – though by no means always – assertive.) For ordinary expository purposes, however, the fact remains that little needs to be said about assertion, while quite a bit needs to be said about non-assertion.

The subjunctive and indicative of Syrian Arabic should not be identified with the so-called subjunctive (*al-muḏāriʿ l-manšūb*) and indicative (*al-muḏāriʿ l-marfūʿ*) of classical Arabic *ʔiʿrāb*, though there is, of course, some similarity in use between the Syrian subjunctive and the combined subjunctive and jussive of Classical Arabic. (The latter, however, are not full-fledged grammatical categories at all, but only automatic syntactic alternants.)

The Subjunctive in Independent Optative Clauses

While the indicative is used to express or elicit assertions, the subjunctive is used to express or elicit exhortations, suggestions, and invocations:

AssertiveOptative

mənrūh ʕas-sinama.....	nrūh ʕas-sinama
'We'll go to the movies'	'Let's go to the movies'
bətrūh ʕas-sinama maʕna?.....	trūh ʕas-sinama maʕna?
'Are you going to the movies with us?'	'Will you go to the movies with us?'
blāʔi taksi b-haš-šāreʕ?.....	lāʔi taksi b-haš-šāreʕ?
'Can I find a taxi on this street?' [p.327]	'Shall I find a taxi on this street?'
ʔalla biwaffʔak.....	ʔalla ywaffʔak
'God will grant you success'	'May God grant you success'

Further examples of the independent subjunctive:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ʔaʕmel ʔahwe, wəlla šāy? | 'Shall I make coffee, or tea?' |
| 2. šāyef ʔmnih, wəlla
ʔəftah-lak ʔd-ɖaww? | 'Can you see all right, or shall I turn on the light for you?' |
| 3. rūh šib kam ʔanninet bira? | 'Shall I go get a few bottles of beer?' |
| 4. nartah-ʔlna nətfe hōn? | 'Shall we rest a bit here?' |
| 5. tfət-lak šī daʔiʔa? | 'Will you come in for a minute?' |
| 6. yalli lāheš tyābo yəši yšilon | 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up' |
| 7. ʔalla yəšmaʕna sawa marra tānye
[DA-253] | 'May God bring us together again' |
| 8. ʔəšbeḥ ʕala xēr | 'Good night' (lit. 'May you be well in the morning'). |
| 9. yaxrab bēto | 'A curse upon his house!' (lit. 'May his house be ruined'). |
| 10. lā ykən-lak fəkre | 'Don't give it a thought' (lit. 'Let there not be a thought to you'). |

See also p.355, example 17, and the paragraphs preceding and following it.

Note the formulaic phrases *sallem ʔidēk* and *katter xērak* (both translated 'thank you'; the first for work performed). The verbs are subjunctive (not imperative) aphaeretic forms for *ysallem*... 'May He protect (your hands)' and *ykatter*... 'May He increase (your well-being)'. (Cf. English 'Bless you' for 'God bless you', 'Thank you' for 'I thank you').

In the second person after the negative particle *lā* (or *mā*) [p.389], the use of the subjunctive extends to include direct commands and requests, in lieu of the non-existent negative imperative construction:

Positive Command (Imperative)		Negative Command (Subjunctive)	
rūh	'Go!'	lā trūh	'Don't go'
taʕa	'Come!'	lā taši	'Don't come!'
šibī-li yā	'Bring(f.)it to me'	lā dšibī-li yā	'Don't bring it to me.'

The Particle *la-* [cf. p.353] is sometimes used before a main verb in the first person subjunctive, expressing exhortation ('let...'):

la-nərʕaʕ la-masʔalt ʔl-bēt [DA-244]	'Let's go back to the matter of the house'
la-ħadder-lak tyābak [DA-181]	'Let me get your clothes ready for you'
ʔiza bəddak ʔtrūh tədzaḥlaʔ ʕat-talž, la-ʕirak ʔaʔmi	'If you intend to go skiing, let me lend you my suit'

The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses

In various kinds of subordinate clause, the mode of a verb depends – as it does in independent clauses – on whether the clause is assertive or optative. The indicative is used if the subordinate clause is assertive, i.e. if it depicts an objective state of affairs (actual, hypothetical, or anticipated): ʔāl ʔənnak ʔbtəši 'He said that you would come'. The subjunctive, on the other hand, is used if the clause expresses an exhortation, suggestion, wish, fear, intention, or the like: ʔal ʔənnak təši 'He said that you should come'. [See p.347.]

In Complementary Clauses [p.449]. The subjunctive is used after overt expressions of exhortation, suggestion, wish, fear, intention, etc. Many such clauses are introduced by ʔanno 'that':

After *ṭalab* 'to ask(for), request':

1. *ṭalab man rafaʔāto yastannū* 'He asked his companions to wait for him'

ʔamar 'to order, command':

2. *l-malek ʔamar ʔs-ʔayyad ʔanno yʔab-lo ʔarbaʔ samakāt* [AO-117] 'The king ordered the fisherman to bring him four fish'

ttafaʔ 'to agree':

3. *ttafaʔna nṭbādal ʔd-dōr* 'We agreed to take turns'

waʔad 'to promise':

4. *wʔadni ʔannak mā taʔmāla tāni marra* 'Promise me not to do it again'

naʔiḥa 'advice':

5. *naʔiḥti ʔanno nṭrok ḥālan* 'My advice is that we leave immediately'

xāf 'to fear':

6. *xāf ʔanno yəʔrku š-šəḡal* [adap.fr. AO-103] 'He was afraid they would quit the job'

xəʔar 'danger':

7. *fī xəʔar ʔanno yəxsar waʔiḥto* 'There's danger that he'll lose his job'

staḥaʔʔ 'to deserve':

8. *ʔanti mā btəstḥaʔʔi ʔanno ḥākīki* [AO-119] 'You(f.) don't deserve that I should speak to you'

kəreh 'to hate':

9. *bəl-ḥaʔiʔa bəkraḥ ʔezʔəʔak* 'I really hate to bother you'

ḥabb 'to like':

10. *bəḥəbbu ʔərʔaʔ ʔāxədkon?* [DA-129] 'Would you(pl.) like me to come back and pick you up?'

rād 'to wish, want':

11. *kān marra malek smīn ktīr w-rād yəḥaf* 'There was once a very fat king, and he wanted to reduce'

ʔəbel 'to accept, agree to':

12. *fārīʔna ʔəbel ināzəlon* 'Our team agreed to play them'

The indicative, on the other hand, is generally used after expressions of knowledge, assurance, supposition, assumption, and the like¹:

¹Note that the complemental verb may be indicative even though the superordinate predication is interrogative (ex. 1), negative (ex. 2), or optative (ex. 3) (below).

ḡann 'to think, suppose':

1. *bəḡənn ʔanno byaʔref l-ʔḥkāye?* 'Do you suppose he knows the story?'

ʔtaʔad 'to believe':

2. *mā bəʔtəʔed ʔannek btaʔrʔfi təʔəbxi* 'I don't believe you(f.) know how to cook'

faraʔ 'to suppose, assume':

3. *nəfroʔ ʔanno mā byəʔi* 'Let's suppose he doesn't come...'

tʔawwar 'to imagine':

4. *mā ʔədret təʔawwar ʔanno byəʔzbu ʔaləḥa* 'She couldn't imagine that they would lie to her'

ḥalaf 'to swear':

5. *ḥalaf ʔl-malek ʔanno mā byəʔəʔ* [AO-117] 'The king swore that he wouldn't return'

šāf 'to see':

6. *maʔi has-salle bass šāyaf-lak mā laḥa-təsaʔhon* [DA-106] 'I have this basket but I see that it's not going to hold them'

From the foregoing examples it should be clear that the difference in meaning between assertive and optative predications is not a difference between fact and hypothesis, nor between likelihood and unlikelihood. It is more like the psychological distinction between objective and subjective: an assertive predication depicts a (real or imaginary) state of affairs, while an optative predication projects a state of mind.

Not surprisingly, there are borderline cases in which speakers may choose either indicative or subjunctive: *waʔadni ʔanno byəʔəʔ* 'He promised me that he would come back' (assertive), but *waʔadni ʔanno yəʔəʔ* 'He promised me to come back' (optative).

Further examples of expressions complemented by subjunctive verbs:

bəddo 'to want, require, be supposed to, intend to, be going to':

1. *ʔana bəddi ʔərʔaʔ ʔal-bēt* [DA-77] 'I want to go back home'

2. *r-rəʔḡāl halli bəddna nṣūro šū byəʔtəʔgel?* [DA-75] 'The man we're going to visit - What's his work?'

3. *kān bəddi ʔəʔtrīha* 'I wanted to buy it' (or 'I was going to buy it')

4. *bəddak yāḥa təʔra w-təktob?* [DA-80] 'Do you want her (to be able) to read and write?'

5. *baddo l-bēt ikūn mafrūš?* - *ʔēwa w-ikūn ʔarīb ʔal-mufawwaḏiyye* [DA-289] 'Does he want the house to be furnished? - Yes, and (that) it should be near the legation'

6. *baddha tšatti* 'It's going to rain'

lāzem 'must, ought to, have to, necessary to'; *byalzam* 'to be necessary for (s.o.):

7. *lāzem ʔūfi b-waʔdi* [AO-116] 'I must keep my promise'
8. *lāzem ʔnkūn bəl-maṭār ʔabl ʔb-sāʔa* [DA-249] 'We ought to be at the airport an hour ahead of time'

9. *kənt lāzem təbʔa mərtāḥ bəl-bēt* [DA-218] 'You ought to have stayed and rested at home'

10. *byalzamak mara kbīre w-ʔtkūn ʔaššīyye* [DA-80a]: 'You need an older woman who would be a housekeeper' (lit. '...and (that) she be a housekeeper')

yəmken 'may, might, maybe, perhaps'; *məmken* 'possible':

11. *yəmken təšal maʔ l-ʔwlād baʔd xamṣtaʔšar yōm* [DA-198] 'She may arrive with the children in two weeks'

12. *ʔala hal-lōn yəmken ʔəštəri t-taʔm mən bərūt* [DA-199] 'In that case I might buy the suit in Beirut'

13. *yəmken ʔəbal iṣawwzak yāha* [AO-114] 'Perhaps he'll agree to give her to you in marriage'

14. *yəmken tkūn mā ḥabbēt ʔakʔlna* [DA-199] 'Maybe you don't like our food!' [p. 330]

15. *ʔāl məmken rūḥ* 'He said I might go'

16. *məmken tətwaṣṣat-li ʔābel ʔl-mudīr hallaʔ?* [DA-295] 'Is it possible that you might arrange for me to see the director now?'

ʔader 'to be able':

17. *btəʔdru təsbāḥu ʔēmta ma kən u-tətraṭṭabu* [DA-151] 'You can swim anytime and refresh yourselves'

18. *mā ʔader lā yākol u-lā ynām* [DA-107] 'He could neither eat nor sleep'

19. *btəʔder b-layāli kawānīn təʔʔod bəḡ-galt mən ḡēr nār?* [AO-87] 'Could you, on December and January nights, sit in the nude without a fire?'

20. *mā fī yəṭʔawwad ʔan-niḡām ʔl-ʔāsi* 'He can't get used to the strict discipline'

21. *fīni sāʔdak b-ʔayy ʔarīʔa?* 'Can I help you in any way?'

22. *btəʔrifi təṭʔbxi təbʔx ʔafranži?* [DA-99] 'Do you(f.) know how to cook European style?' (Cf. *ʔəref ʔanno*... 'to know that...', followed by an assertive clause)

23. *nəsi yʔarrex ʔl-maktūb* 'He forgot to date the letter'

24. *lā tənša ma tḥəṭṭ ʔl-mōzāt fōʔ ʔt-təffāḥāt* [DA-107] 'Don't forget to put the bananas on top of the apples'

After the negative command *lā tənša* 'don't forget', the particle *ma* commonly introduces the subjunctive verb. (Do not confuse this with the negative particle *mā*.)

Cf. *nəsi* (*ʔanno*) 'to forget that...', followed by assertive clause.

dzakkar 'to remember to':

25. *dzakkar təṭfi d-daww* 'Remember to put out the light'

(Cf. *dzakkar* (*ʔanno*) 'to remember that...', followed by assertive clause.)

bada 'to begin':

26. *b-ʔawwal ʔš-šəḥʔr l-ʔfēāle badu yəḥʔfru ʔasāsāt ʔl-bēt* [AO-75] 'On the first of the month the workers began to excavate (for) the foundations of the house'

ballaš 'to begin':

27. *l-bannāyīn biballšu yəbnu l-ḥīṭān* [AO-75] 'The masons will begin to build the walls'

baṭṭal 'to stop, cease':

28. *hal-walad ʔēmta ha-ybaṭṭel yəbki?*
'When is that child going to stop crying?'
29. *dall rūḥ w-ʔršāḥ laḥatta ybaṭṭel hada yaṭlob mənnaḥ* [AO-99] 'Keep going back and forth until everybody has stopped asking you (for it)'

yā rēt 'would that, I wish':

30. *yā rētak ʔtšūf ʔr-rabīḥ Ḥanna b-bērūt* 'I wish you could see the springtime we have in Beirut!'
31. *yā rēt ʔəʔder ʔəʔra har-rmūz ʔš-šīniyye* 'I wish I could read those Chinese characters'
(May also be used with the perfect: *yā rēto kān hōn!* 'If only he were here!' [p.338])

nšālla 'God willing', 'I hope':

32. *nšālla mā ykūn Ḥando wlād ʔgār* [DA-243] 'I hope he doesn't have any small children'
33. *nšālla kūn mā ʔasaʔt-šllak* 'I hope I didn't hurt you' [cf. ex. 9, p.342]
(Also used with the indicative, in the sense 'I trust': *nšālla bṭəmbaṣṭi Ḥanna* [DA-81a] 'I trust you'll have a good time here')

Ḥalē 'to have to, be obliged to':
[p.415]

34. *lassa Ḥalē yḥaṭṭ wadīḤa bʔl-ḥanḥ*
'He still has to make a deposit at the bank'
35. *ʔəlkon Ḥaliyyi kūn hōn ʔabl ʔb-Ḥašʔr daʔāye?* [DA-29] 'I'm to be here for you (pl.) ten minutes early' (lit.: 'I owe it to you to be here...')

ḏṭarr 'to be forced, obliged, required':

36. *ḏṭarrēt ʔeštāḡel sāḤāt ʔəḏāfiyye*
'I had to work extra hours'

məḥtāmal 'probable':

37. *məḥtāmal ʔanno hal-Ḥawāmel ʔtʔassem ʔl-waḏʔe* 'It is probable that these factors will precipitate a crisis'

məstahīl 'improbable, impossible':

38. *mn ʔl-məstahīl ʔanno yaṣi* 'It's highly improbable that he would come'

xalla 'to let, allow':

39. *xallīna nāxod ʔl-bāš* [DA-44]
'Let's take the bus'

40. *xallīhon yaṣṭaflu maḥ baḥḏon* [AO-83] 'Let them thrash it out between them'

41. *šlōn xallētī yaṭlaḥ b-hal-bard?* [DA-198] 'How could you let him go out in this cold?'

ʔaḥsan 'better':

42. *laʔa ʔanno ʔaḥsan yaṭtaḥo* [AO-115]
'He found that it would be better to open it'

fəkr 'idea':

43. *fəkrō tāni sane yaṣi ləl-blād ʔl-Ḥarabiyye* [DA-173] 'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

faḏḏal 'to prefer':

44. *n-nās hōn w-ʔhnīk bifaḏḏlu yaṣṭəru lʔaḥsan* [DA-129] 'People both here and over there prefer to buy the best'

ʔarrar, qarrar 'to decide':

45. *ʔēmta mḡarrer ʔtsāfer?* [DA-248]
'When have you decided to leave?'

Ḥazam 'to invite':

46. *r-raʔis Ḥazāmon yaḤašṣu maḤo* [AO-91] 'The boss invited them to dine with him'

hamm 'to be important (to)':

47. *biḥammni təḥkī-lha šwayyet ʔənglīzi* [DA-80] 'It's important to me that she (be able to) speak a little English'

ʔəṣḥa(k) 'be careful not to':

48. *ʔəṣḥak...tətrok ʔīd maryam* [DA-301]
'Be careful you don't let go of Mary's hand'

šarrab 'to try, attempt':

49. *šarreb taḤmel ʔaḥsan l-marra š-šāye* 'Try to do better the next time'

ḥāwal 'to try, strive':

50. *ḥāwel ikūn sardak mawḏūḥi Ḥan ʔl-ḥādes* 'Try to give an objective account of the incident' (Lit. 'strive that your account be...')

tḥāša 'to avoid':

tḥadda 'to defy':

xāyef 'afraid' (commonly followed by the particle *la-*):

kallaf 'to entrust, ask a favor of':

yā dōb 'hardly':

bəl-kād 'hardly':

ʕēb ʕala 'shame on...for':

mā baʔa ʔalla 'it only remains to':

ʕaʔa mähle 'to give...time to':

51. *tḥāšēt ʔəzkor šī* I took care not to mention anything...
52. *bəthaddāk ʔdšāweb ʕala suʔāli* 'I defy you to answer my question'
53. *huwwe xāyef la-ykūn maʕo s-zāyde* [DA-203] 'He's afraid he has appendicitis'
54. *ʔana xāyef la-mā yəši* [RN-I.248] 'I'm afraid he isn't coming'
55. *xāyef-lak ʔl-bēt yəhboʔ* 'I'm afraid the house will cave in'
56. *baddi kallef ḥaḍʔrtak təsʕā-li b-waʕīfe* [SAL-92] 'I'd like to ask you to see about a job for me'
57. *yā dōbi ʔūm bi-mašārīfi* 'I can hardly keep up with my expenses'
58. *kān hal-ʔadd daʔiʔ bəl-kād ʔtšūfo* 'It was so tiny you could hardly see it'
59. *ʕēb ʕalēk təḥki ḥēk* 'Shame on you for talking that way!'
60. *ḥaḍḍer ḥālak mā baʔa ʔalla nəṣal* [DA-250] 'Get ready, we're almost there'
61. *ʕaʔīni mähle fakker bəl-mawḍūʕ* [DA-297] 'Give me some time to think the matter over'

Translocative verbs (and their participles) [p.274] are often complemented by optative clauses:

1. *ʕammi šāye yzūrna l-yōm* [DA-172] 'My uncle's coming to visit us today'
2. *ʔšīt ʔāxdak la-ʕand wāḥed ʔəša mən yōmēn mən ʔamērka* [DA-75] 'I've come to take you to see someone who came two days ago from America'
3. *bāpa rāḥ iṣalli ṣalāt ʔl-ʕīd* [DA-298] 'Daddy has gone to pray the holiday prayer'
4. *rāyeḥ šībha w-ʔəši* [AO-115] 'I'm going to get it and come back'

5. *baʕd kam yōm, ʔən šā lḷāh, bəššfa w-bətrūḥ təštāḡel* [AO-51]

6. *nāzel waʔʔaf-lak bəš-šams ʔaddām bāb ʔl-ʔotēl* [DA-218]

7. *hallaʔ bəbʕat-lak ʔš-šānʕa tēxədhon* [DA-129]

'In a few days, God willing, you'll get well and go to work'

'I'm going down to wait for you in the sun in front of the hotel entrance'

'I'll send the maid to you right away to get them'

Optative clauses like those above are equivalent to clauses introduced by *la-*, *ta-*, *ḥatta*, or *laḥatta* '(in order) to', 'so that', which may complement any sort of main clause:

1. *ʔəša la-yšūf ʕēlto* [DA-75] 'He came to see his family'
2. *bəftāker ʕandi waʔt la-ʔəšš* [DA-180] 'I think I have time to shave'
3. *tfaḍḍal ləl-bēt la-tšūf ʔl-ʕarūs* [AO-114] 'Come to the house to see the bride'
4. *ḥaṭṭəṭhon ʕan-nār bəl-meʔlāye la-təʔlīhon* [AO-117] 'She put them on the fire in a frying-pan to fry them'
5. *kīf baddi ʔaʕmel la-yəḡfor ʔaḷḷāh xəṭiyyāti* [AO-99] 'What should I do so that God will forgive my sins?'
6. *hallaʔ bətrīd təftaḥ ʔt-ṭard la-nšūf šū fī?* [DA-245] 'Now will you open the package so we can see what's in it?'
7. *ʔaddēš baddo ta-yəxlaš?* [Leb.: SAL 169] 'How long will it take to finish?'
8. *ʔšīt la-hal-balad ḥatta ʔətrāfaʔ maʕo* [AO-114] 'I've come to this town so that I may accompany him'
9. *kallafni dabbər-lo bēt ḥatta yəskon fī* [DA-289] 'He's asked me to find him a house to live in'
10. *tfaḍḍal laḥatta ʔaršīk halli ʕandi* [AO-79] 'Come in, so that I may show you what I have'

Besides their use in optative clauses, these conjunctions are used in the sense 'until'. See p.358.

In complementation to *kān* and other linking verbs [p.452] the subjunctive is used in assertive complemental clauses:

1. *ʕand mīn kanti taštāgli mān*
ʔabʔl? [DA-81] 'For whom were you working before?'
2. *w-kān har-rāʕi yaftaʕ kəll yōm...*
maʕ ʔl-ḡanam w-yarʕāhon [AO-103] 'And this shepherd would go out every day with the sheep and let them graze'
3. *kəll ʕasmi kān yūʕaʕni, xšūšan*
ʔəʕrayyi [AO-51] 'My whole body ached, especially my legs'
4. *kānet tərkoḍ w-təʕhad la-taʕmāl-lo*
yā [AO-111] 'She would run and strive to do it for him'
5. *l-bənt ʔaʕet la-ʕando w-šāru*
yətlāʔu marrāt ʔktīre [AO-107] 'The girl came to him, and they began meeting often'
6. *šār yaḥki maʕon ʔašya ʕəlmiyye*
[AO-83] 'He began talking with them (on) scientific matters'
7. *l-xārūf...šār imāʕi wəs-saʕdān*
yəḍḥak ʕalē [AO-96] 'The sheep started to bleat, and the monkey, to laugh at him'
8. *ʕərt taʕref l-ʔblād ʔaktar*
mənni [DA-172] 'You've come to know the country better than I'
9. *w-kān yərmi l-baʕalāt bəl-ʔarḍ*
lamma yūʕal ʕal-barriyye
[AO-104] 'And he would throw the onions on the ground when he got out in open country' (Note that *yūʕal*, after *lamma*, is still governed by the linking verb *kān*.)
10. *w-tammet ʔtəʔuro w-təbki kəll*
yōm la-məddet səntən [AO-118] 'And she kept on going to see him and crying every day for two years'
11. *ḍallet ʔtnəʔʔ ʕaliyyi* 'She kept on nagging me'
12. *l-mākīna rəʕʕet taštāḡel* 'The machine is working again' (lit. "...has returned to work")
13. *ʔām ʔt-təlifōn idəʔʔ* 'The telephone began ringing'
14. *mā ʕād iṭwəʕni ʔabadan* 'He never obeys me any more'
15. *daḷḷ rəbʔ ʕ sʕa mā*
yəʕtaʕʕem bəl-ʔakʔl 'He didn't touch his food for a quarter of an hour' (lit. "He remained... not tasting the food")
16. *btaʕboʔ w-ʔtšūfni* 'You'll already have seen me' (lit. "You'll go ahead and see me")

A subjunctive verb sometimes stands independently in a generalizing or hypothetical sense (as if *kān* or some other linking verb had been suppressed):

17. *hək yaʕmāl-lo...; baʕdēn*
hadāk iʔəl-lo rūḥ ʔalla
yəblīk..., yʔəl-lo šūf
ḡammad, hal-ḡaki ḡāda
bəl-ḡerbe mū ḡalu... 'Here's the way he would do with him...; then that one would tell him "Go on, may God afflict you...", (and) he'd say to him "Look, Mohammad, that kind of talk (when you're) abroad isn't nice..."'

A similar but special use of the subjunctive is that of the verb *bəʔi* (or *baʔa*) 'to keep on', in the imperfect with a complement. The indicative is used for generalizations, in the usual way with no time limitations: *ʔaḡmad byəbʔa yzūrna kəll ʔaḡad* 'Ahmed visits (i.e. keeps on visiting) us every Sunday'; *hal-maʕʕam byəbʔa fī ʔakʔl ṭayyeb* 'This restaurant always has good food'. The subjunctive, on the other hand, indicates that the generalization applies to the past and not to the present: *ʔaḡmad yəbʔa yzūrna kəll ʔaḡad; baṭṭal, lēʔ* 'Ahmed used to visit us every Sunday; why did he stop?'; *hal-maʕʕam yəbʔa fī ʔakʔl ṭayyeb, mā ʕād fī* 'This restaurant used to have good food, but not any more'.

The subjunctive is also sometimes used in circumstantial complements [cf. pp.448, 531]:

18. *w-maḍḍēt ʔarbaʕaʕšar šaḥʔ*
sāfer mān ʔmḥaṭṭa la-mḥaṭṭa
[SAL-137] 'And I spent fourteen months traveling from station to station'
19. *šār-lak zamān təštʔḡel fi rās*
ʔl-məʕʕab? [SAL-136] 'Was it a long time you spent working in Ras el-Mish'ab?'
20. *ʔasmaʕo yaxṭob fəl-masāʔel*
ʔl-waṭaniyye [EA-159] 'Listen to him speak on national problems...'

While the subjunctive is normally used in these complemental clauses in the generalizing sense (e.g. ex. 2, 5, 8, 18, etc. above), the indicative (with *b-*) is used in the dispositional sense [p.327]:

1. *ṭ-ṭābe kānet mā btənṭāl* 'The ball was out of reach (*mā btənṭāl* 'it cannot be reached': *kanet mā btənṭāl* 'it could not be reached'). [p.328].
2. *ʕan ʔarīb biṣīr bisāʕdak* 'Soon he'll be able to help you' (*bisāʕdak* 'he's disposed to help you': *biṣīr bisāʕdak* 'he'll become disposed to help you')

3. *šāret ʔt-ʔayyārāt bətwaddīk*
la-wēn ma bəthəbb

'It's gotten so that planes will
take you wherever you like'
(*ʔt-ʔayyārāt bətwaddīk* 'the planes
will/would/can take you')

The indicative is also sometimes used – instead of the
subjunctive – in the generalizing or actualizing sense after
linking verbs, especially when something intervenes between
the linking verb and the complemental verb, or when the
linking verb is in the imperfect:

4. *šār ʔəbn ʔl-mīna byəʔammal*
yūšed šəḡʔl bəl-marfaʔ [PAT-181]

'The inhabitants (lit. "the son") of
El-Mina have begun hoping to find
work in the port'

5. *kān rāsi kəllo byūšəʔni*

'My whole head ached'

6. *bəḏḏall ʔbtəḥki w-ʔbtəḥki*

'She keeps on talking and talking
[cf. ex. 45, p.453.]

In Attributive Clauses [p.497]. A term that is indefinite – in reference as
well as in grammar – may be qualified by a clause with a subjunctive verb:

1. *mā fī taksi nrūḥ fīʔ*

'Isn't there a taxi we can go in?'

2. *mā ʔandi šī dīf ʔala hāda*

'I have nothing to add to that'

3. *fī ḥada yaʔṭi bālo ʔaḡ-ḡḡārʔ*
ʔaḡ-ḡḡārʔ

'Is there anyone to look after the
children?'

4. *lāsem ʔndawwer ʔala šī*
ʔarīʔa nʔāwno fiha

'We must look for some way to help
him'

5. *bəddi wāḥde taʔref təḥki-lha*
šwayyet ʔənglīzi [DA-98]

'I want someone(f.) who can speak a
little English'

6. *lāsem muḥāmi ʔāder ydāfeʔ*
ʔanno

'He needs an able lawyer to defend
him'

7. *ləssa ʔalēna šī ktīr naʔmlo*

'There's still a lot we have to do'

8. *šū fī ʔandek ʔabʔx tḥəṭṭi-lnaʔ*
[DA-198]

'What have you(f.) in the way of
food to offer us?'

9. *btaʔref ḥada ydabbər-li šī kīs,*
w-iwaṣṣəl-li yā ʔal-bētʔ
[SAL-195]

'Do you know anyone who will prepare
me a sack(ful) and deliver it to the
house?'

10. *ḥada ḡerak ykūn fī naʔṭet damm*
mā byəʔbəl-š hal-ʔār [SPA-30]

'Anybody else but you who had a drop
of blood in him would not accept this
disgrace'

A noun may, of course, be grammatically indefinite
[p.494] while referring to something quite definite; in such
cases an attributive verb is normally in the indicative:
ʔandi wāḥde btaʔref ʔənglīzi 'I have someone(f.) who knows
English' (Cf. ex. 5).

The subjunctive is not always obligatory, however, even
if the reference is indefinite: *mā baʔref ḥada bibīʔ swād*
[SAL-195] 'I don't know anyone who sells fertilizer';
b-ḥayāti mā šəft ḥada byākol xəbʔs hal-ʔadd 'I've never in
my life seen anybody who eats so much bread'.¹

In Prepositional Complement Clauses. After a preposition plus *ʔanno* 'that',
the subjunctive is used:

1. *huwwe ʔaʔla mən ʔanno*
yḡəšš ʔn-nās

'He's above cheating people' (lit.
'He's higher than that he cheat
people')

2. *wāfaʔ ʔala ʔanno yəbʔa*

'He agreed to stay' (lit. 'He agreed
on that he stay')

3. *l-ḥašwe kafīle b-ʔanno*
ṭṭayyərna kəllna

'The charge is sufficient to blow us
all up' (lit. "...in that it blow us
all up")

4. *mā šafi bēno w-bēn ʔanno*
yšībni ʔalla šaʔra

'It came within a hair's breadth of
hitting me' (lit. "There didn't re-
main between it and between that it
hit me but a hair")

Most complemental prepositions are lost when the comple-
ment is a clause [p.449].

In Supplemental Clauses [p.528]. The subjunctive is used after certain sub-
ordinating conjunctions, mainly in reference to future or hypothetical events:

After *ʔawwal ma* 'as soon as':

1. *ʔawwal ma təxi, fatteš ʔalē* 'As soon
as you get here, look it over'

la-bēn ma 'while, until, by
the time that':

2. *xalli l-ʔmšadd la-bēn ma yənšaf*
ʔl-ḡare 'Leave the clamp on until
the glue dries'

3. *w-la-bēn ma talbes badʔltak ʔḡ-ḡdīde*
bikūn ḥāḥa wəšel [DA-298] 'And by
the time you've put on your new suit
Daddy will be here'

bass 'as soon as'; 'provided that': 4. *bass yəxi byākol* 'As soon as he
comes, he'll eat'

¹The indicative in this sentence, however, distinguishes the attributive
clause from a circumstantial complement: *mā šəft ḥada yākol...* 'I
haven't seen anyone eat...'

mən ġēr ma, bidūn ma, bala ma
'without'

baʕəd ma 'after':

ʔabəl ma 'before':

la-, ta-, ɥatta, laɥatta 'until':
[cf. p. 353]

5. l-ʔəʒra mā bathamm ʔktīr bass ʔtkūn
maʕʔule [DA-290] 'The rate doesn't
matter so much provided that it's
reasonable'
6. l-balad ʔttāxadet mən ġēr ma
təndəreb wlā rʕāša 'The town was
taken without a shot's being fired'
7. btədxol ʔl-ʔaʕya b-ʕaʔlak bdūn ma
taʕref [PVA-60] 'The things will
enter your mind without your know-
ing (it)'
8. baʕd ma xalleʕ ʕəgli biʕīr ʕandi
waʔt [DA-249] 'After I finish my
work I'll have time'
9. məntalfən-lak baʕəd ma nrasteʔ
hālma 'We'll phone you after we
get ourselves organized'
10. salamāt, mnīh halli ʔʕit ʔabəl ma
ʔaʕlaʕ [DA-243] 'Greetings; it's
good that you've come before I left'
11. ʕu blāʔikon rāyħīn ʔabəl ma tāxdu
l-ʔahwe? [DA-199] 'What's this? Are
you leaving before having coffee?'
12. ʔabəl ma mūt bəddi mənnak hāʕe
[AO-116] 'Before I die there's some-
thing I want from you'
13. rūh dəġri la-tʕūf ʔl-bīnāye l-ɥamra
[DA-45] 'Go straight ahead til you
see the red building'
14. mā bbaʕfel ʔaʕlob ta-mūt [adap.fr.
SPA-30] 'I won't stop pleading till
I die'
15. ɥalaf ʔl-malek ʔanno mā byərʕaʕ...
ɥatta yaʕref ʔaʕəl hal-baɥra [AO-117]
'The king swore that he would not re-
turn until he discovered the origin
of that lake'
16. w-kīf w-ʔisa stannētak laɥatta
taxloʕ [DA-197] 'How about it if I
wait till you finish?'

After baʕəd ma, la-bēn ma, ɥatta, and other expressions, the perfect
tense is used in reference to accomplished facts, and the 'imperfect indica-
tive for generalizations:

17. lāha l-ʔwlād la-bēn ma ɥahret
ʔəmmon

'He entertained the children until
their mother came in'

18. w-baʕəd ma biʕalli, byāxod
zuwwatto w-birūh la-ʕəġlo
[PAT-195]

'And after he prays, he takes his
provisions (viz. lunch) and goes to
work'

19. stannēna bəs-sayyāra la-rəʕʕet

'We waited in the car till she came
back' (Cf. stannēna bəs-sayyāra
la-tərʕaʕ 'We waited in the car for
her to come back'.)

After ʔabəl ma, however, the subjunctive is almost always used, not
only in generalizations but even in reference to accomplished facts:

20. ʔamma kasr ʔs-ʕafra...byāxdūwa
t-ɥrabʔlsiyye ʔabəl ma ʔaʕlaʕu
mən bēton [PAT-195]

'As for breakfast, the Tripolitarians
have it before they leave the house'

21. ʔabəl ma yūʕal ʕal-balad laʔa
rāʕi [AO-83]

'Before he got to the town he met a
shepherd'

22. ʔabəl ma təʕi b-ʕʕwayye kānet
marti maʕ l-ʔwlād hōn [DA-218]

'A little while before you came, my
wife was here with the children'

In the Palestinian area, the subjunctive is used some-
what more broadly after subordinating conjunctions that it
is further north; after lamma(n) 'when', for example, (in
reference to the future): ləʕ mā byāxədhom maʕo lamman
yərʕaʕ 'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes
back?' (Cf. DA-75: ...lamma byərʕaʕ); after baʕəd ma for
generalization: kəll wāhed mənna baʕəd ma yʔūm fəʕ-ʕəbħ
byəlbəs tyābo [Cr-36] 'Every one of us, after getting up
in the morning, puts on his clothes'.

THE IMPERATIVE (al-ʔamr)

The imperative is used in ordering, requesting, or inviting the person
addressed to do whatever the verb designates: ftāh ʔl-bāb 'Open(m.)the
door', ʕədi 'sit down(f.)', ʕarrfūna 'visit(pl.)us' (lit. 'honor us').

Imperatives are inflected only for number/gender (mas-
culine, feminine, plural).

On the formation of imperatives, see Verb Inflectional
Forms [p. 198].

Imperatives cannot be used in the negative. Prohibitions and negative
requests are expressed by lā (or mā) with the second-person subjunctive
[]: lā təftaħ ʔl-bāb 'Don't open(m.)the door', lā təʔədi hōn 'Don't
sit(f.)here', mā trūhu 'Don't go(pl.)'.

Examples:

1. *xōd hal-ʕaṣāye w-ʕnṣabha b-maṭrah ma baddak* [AO-99]
'Take this stick and plant at where ever you wish'
2. *b-ʕhyātek ḥatti ḥaṭab bəl-ʕāḡān, w-šaʕʕlī-li l-ḥammām* [DA-180]
'Please put(f.)wood in the heater and light (it for) my bath'
3. *xallūkōn ʕam-ʕtrattbu l-mawādd ʕala han-namaṭ*
'Keep on (pl.) arranging the materials in this way'
4. *xtār, ya ṣayyād, l-ʕatle halli bətrīdha* [AO-116]
'Choose, O fisherman, the way you'd like to be killed'
5. *ʕūmi ya mara, kəli* [AO-112]
'Get up, woman, (and) eat!'
6. *baḷḷa ʕəb-ʕlna wāḥed ʕahwe w-wāḥed bīra* [DA-45]
'Please bring us one coffee and one beer'
7. *ʕkōr ʕəsmi, bidaxxlūk*
'Mention my name (and) they'll let you in'
8. *ʕʕadi ʕwayye nṭəgri* [AO-113]
'Sit down(f.) a while (and) wait'
9. *xallīni ʕaʕref ʕabl ʕb-salaf ʕəsa kənt raḥa-təʕi*
'Let me know ahead of time if you decide to come'
10. *ʕūf ʕiza ʕəʕet ʕl-bōṣṭa*
'See if the mail has come'
11. *ʕiza mā kən ḥāder ḥaṭṭ ʕalāme ʕəddām ʕəsmo*
'If he's not present put a mark by his name'
12. *yaḷḷa rūḥ sāmīha w-ʕltəʕen*
'Go ahead, do it and be damned!'
13. *starʕi w-xəda*
'(Just) dare and take it!'
14. *rkōd būs ʕīdo w-ʕāyed ʕalē* [DA-302]
'Run kiss his hand and wish him a happy holiday'
15. *ʕmēl maʕrūf, ʕəl-li mīn ʕante* [AO-108]
'Please tell me who you are' (lit. 'Do a favor, tell me...')

Note that a coördination of imperatives is often used where the sense would seem to require complementation by a subjunctive [p.345]. See example 13, above (syndetic). Most such coördinations are asyndetic [p.398]:

16. *dall rūḥ w-ʕrʕāʕ laḥatta ybaṭṭel ḥada yaṭlob mənnaḥ* [AO-99]
'Keep on going back and forth until everyone has stopped asking (of) you' (Lit. "Continue, go and return return...")

Similarly, an imperative is often used in complementation to an annunciatory verb [p.325]:

17. *bənṣaḥak ʕnsāha*
'I advise you to forget it' (lit. 'I advise you, forget it')
18. *bətraʕʕāk dāllni ʕal-ʕotēl* [DA-16]
'Please direct me to the hotel' (lit. 'I beg of you, direct me...')

A rather peculiar imperative construction is its use in complementation to the verb *kān* [p.341] in the second-person perfect. This construction produces an exclamatory hypothetical command, generally translatable into English as 'you should have...!' (The main stress of the sentence falls on the imperative):

19. *kənt ʕūfo ʕabʕl ma təʕi!*
'You should have seen him before you came!'
20. *kənt kōl lamma kənt fəl-bēt!*
'You should have eaten when you were at home!'

As in English, imperative in Arabic are sometimes used with subject pronouns (*ʕante*, *ʕanti*, *ʕantu* 'you') for emphasis:

21. *ʕantu rūḥu ḥkū maʕo*
'You(pl.) go talk with him'
22. *ʕanti ḥaḍḍri l-ʕaṣa l-yōm*
'You(f.) prepare dinner today'
23. *rūḥ ʕante w-hiyye ʕību ʕ-ʕanta*
'You(m.) and she go get the bag'.

Note, in the last example, that the first imperative is singular, applying only to *ʕante*, while the second (*ʕību*) is plural, its subject being the coordination *ʕante w-hiyye*.

CHAPTER 14: PERSON, NUMBER, AND GENDER

Person

Arabic verbs, like those of many other languages, are inflected for three "persons" called **FIRST** (*al-mutakallim*), **SECOND** (*al-muxāṭab*), and **THIRD** (*al-ḡā'ib*). See Verb Inflectional Forms, p.175.

Of the eight personal pronouns, each belongs inherently to one of the three persons. See Personal Pronouns [539].

All nouns and other nominal terms belong inherently to the third person.¹

The use of the Arabic person categories is basically identical with that of English. The first person designates the person speaking ('I') or – in the plural – the person speaking plus anyone else ('we'), either including or excluding the person spoken to. The second person designates the person or persons spoken to ('you') or – in the plural – the person(s) spoken to plus anyone else except the speaker. The third person designates anyone or anything excluding the speaker and person spoken to, or, in the case of "impersonal" predications [p.365], nothing at all.

The person of a pronoun is determined by agreement with its antecedent, if any [p.535]; if there is no antecedent, then it is determined directly by the role of its referent in the discourse.

A verb's person inflection is determined by agreement with its subject, if any; if there is no subject expressed, person is determined directly by the role of its subject-referent (if any) in the discourse; if there is no subject-referent, then the verb stands in the third (i.e. neutral) person.

Generalizing in the Second Person. As in English, the second person (masculine/singular) is often used to make generalizations that are applicable to anyone:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>lāzem tadros ḥqūḥ ḥatta ṭṣīr
kāteb ʿadāl b-sūriyya</i> | 'You have to study law in order to become a notary public in Syria.' |
| 2. <i>ṣaʿab talʿzmo b-ṣī</i> | 'It's hard to nail him down to anything' (lit. "It's hard for you to obligate him in anything") |
| 3. <i>mā batṣūfo ʿalla ʿam-yadṣammar</i> | 'You never see him but what he's grumbling' |

This usage is mainly limited to verbs in the imperfect, and does not in any case apply to the disjunctive pronoun *ʿante* [p.378].

¹Except insofar as they are used vocatively [p.378].

Also as in English, the third-person plural is often used with vague or unknown reference: *hēk biʔūlu* 'That's what they say'; *ʔafu n-nār ʔb-sarʔa* 'The fire was put out quickly' (lit. 'They put out the fire quickly').

The term *l-wāhed* (3rd p. sing.) is also used similarly to 'one' in English for indefinite or generalizing reference: *l-wāhed šū biʔarrfo* 'One never knows' (lit. 'What will let one know?').

Except in baby-talk, the third person is rarely used to designate the speaker or person spoken to; there is very little tendency de-personalize for the sake of formality or deference in Syrian Arabic. One may sometimes hear expressions like *l-bēk byaʔmor šī?* 'Does the bey order something?' (for *btaʔmor šī?*) or *šū byaqtāreh ʔl-ʔaxx?* 'What does our colleague suggest?' (for *šū btaqtāreh?*); such usage is limited to highly formal or stilted discourse.

A more ordinary formal or deferential reference to a person addressed is *haqʔrtak* (f. *haqʔrtek*, pl. *haqʔratkon*), literally 'your presence', which is sometimes substituted for *ʔante* (f. *ʔanti*, pl. *ʔantu*). This form, however, constitutes a "partitive" construct [p.467]; that is, the leading term (*haqʔret...*) is subordinate to the following term (*-ak*), which is second person and requires second-person agreement in the predicate: *haqʔrtak šū btaʔmor?* 'What would you like, sir?'.¹

Agreement. There are very few complications in the person-agreement of a verb with its pronoun subject, or of a pronoun with its pronoun antecedent: *ʔante wēn kant?* 'Where were you?', *ʔana mā baʔref* 'I don't know', *nəhna mā ʔanna maʔari* 'We have no money'. In coördinations [p.391], 1st p. + 2nd or 3rd p. → 1st p. pl.; and 2nd p. + 3rd p. → 2nd p. pl.:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 4. <i>ʔana w-ʔante merrūh sawa</i> | 'You and I will go together' |
| 5. <i>wlā ʔana wlā huwwe laha-nkūn ʔhnīk</i> | 'Neither he nor I will be there' |
| 6. <i>la-wēn rahtu ʔanti w-huwwe?</i> | 'Where did you(f.) and he go?' |

Note, however, *la-wēn rahtu ʔanti wiyyā?* 'Where did you and he go?' or 'Where did you go with him?'.¹

¹The difference between *ʔante* and *haqʔrtak* is of course not like the difference in European languages between (for example) 'tu', and 'vous', 'du' and 'Sie'. *haqʔrtak* is limited to polite initial encounters with strangers, or the like; *ʔante* (*ʔanti*, *ʔantu*) may be used by anyone to anyone, like English 'you'.

A verb attributive to a predicate such as *ʔawwal wāhed* 'the first one', *l-wahīd* 'the only one', or the like, commonly agrees with a first person pronoun subject of that predicate. (See *Equational Sentences*, p.405.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 7. <i>ʔana kant ʔaxer wāhed tarakt ʔl-bēt</i> | 'I was the last one to leave the house' |
| 8. <i>nəhna l-wahīdīn yalli mnaʔref ʔnsawīha.</i> | 'We're the only ones who know how to do it' |
| 9. <i>šū ʔana ʔawwal rəʔʔāl bəstek?</i> | 'Am I the first man to kiss you?' |

Impersonal Verbs. Verbs that have no subject and no subject-referent remain in the third (i.e. neutral) person (masculine/singular). These verbs include passives of intransitive verbs [p.237], and certain other complemented expressions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10. <i>ʔami ʔalēha</i> | 'She fainted' ('There came a fainting upon her') |
| 11. <i>hal-kalb lāzem yənhaʔt-ʔllo kammāme</i> | 'That dog ought to have a muzzle put on him' |
| 12. <i>byāxədni ʔəmʔa la-ʔatta ʔəʔʔəleʔ ʔala kəll hal-maʔākel</i> | 'It would take me a week to look into all these problems' |

Verbs with a clausal subject [p.451] are likewise in the third-person masculine; this construction is equivalent to that of an impersonal verb with a clausal complement:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 13. <i>biʔūz ʔəʔi maʔkon</i> | 'Perhaps I'll come with you(pl.)' (lit. 'That I come with you is possible' or 'It is possible that I come with you') |
| 14. <i>biḥammni taḥkī-lha šwayyet ʔənglīzi</i> [DA-80] | 'It's important to me that she speak a little English' |

Certain impersonal verbs are used in the feminine: *mā btafreʔ maʔi ʔanni rūh waḥdi* 'It doesn't matter to me that I go alone'. See p.428.

NUMBER

Pure number inflection occurs in Syrian Arabic only for nouns [p.209] (and rarely adjectives [201]). Verbs, pronouns, and generally also adjectives have number and gender combined in a single system; their number/gender inflection is determined by agreement with the nouns to which they are predicate [401], attribute [493], or sequent [535], or else by the "natural" number and gender of their referents. See Number/Gender Agreement [p.427].

Count Nouns

Singular (*al-fard*). The singular of nouns that purport to designate discrete (countable) entities is commonly used to indicate that the number is exactly one, in contrast to the dual and to numeral constructs with the plural: *ktāb* 'a book', i.e. 'one book' (vs. *ktābēn* 'two books' vs. *tlatt katāb* 'three books').

In a non-enumerative capacity, the singular of a count noun is used as a classificatory term [p.458] in certain kinds of annexion:

- 1). After numerals above ten: *ʿašrīn ʿktāb* 'twenty books', *ʿarbaʿašar sene* 'fourteen years', *xamsa ʿašrīn ʿarš* 'twenty-five piastres'.
- 2). After the words *kamm* and *kall* [p.467]: *kamm ʿktāb* 'several books' or 'how many books'; *kall ʿktāb* 'every book'.¹
- 3). Sometimes after substantives: *ʿald ʿašl* 'calf skin', *wašaʿ rās* 'headache'.

The singular (with the article prefix) is often used for generalizing: *tarbiyet ʿt-ʿafʿal* 'child rearing' (lit. 'bringing up the child'); *l-marʿa ʿalha hʿūʿ...* 'women have rights' (lit. 'the woman has...'); *mən ʿanʿ ʿl-ʿənsān* 'man-made' (lit. 'of the man's making').

In construct with a collective [p.279] or a plural, a singular is sometimes used distributively: *ʿarn ʿl-baʿar* 'the horns of cattle' (lit. 'the horn...'), *ʿāyšīn mən ʿabbon la-təmmon* 'They're living from hand to mouth' (lit. '... from their pouch to their mouth'). The partitives meaning '-self' [p.468] are also used in this way: *xallīna nsāwīha b-nafʿsna* 'Let's do it by ourselves' (lit. 'by our self').

[Ch. 14]

Dual (*at-taʿniya*). The dual is used to specify exactly two of whatever the noun base designates: *ktābēn* 'two books'.

Use of the numeral *tnēn* 'two' in construct with a plural puts somewhat more emphasis on the number than does the use of the dual inflection: *tnēn katāb* 'two books'. Still more emphasis is achieved by using the dual noun with the numeral following in apposition: *ktābēn ʿtnēn* 'two books'.

The dual inflection is more comparable in function to the numerals than to the plural. The dual need not be used every time two of anything are referred to. If the number happens to be two but is beside the point, or to be taken for granted, then the plural is used, just as in English: *ʿando banāt bass* 'He has daughters only' (applicable though he may have exactly two); *l-manto dayyeʿ ʿand l-ʿktāf* 'The coat is tight in the shoulders'. Cf. *ʿando bantēn bass* 'He only has two daughters'; *l-manto dayyeʿ ʿand ʿl-katfēn* 'The coat is tight in both shoulders'.

In reference to things that normally come in a pair, the dual is not ordinarily used in contrast to the plural, but only in contrast to the singular. Such duals (when definite) are usually translatable into English with 'both': *l-kaffēn* 'both gloves' (cf. plural *l-ʿkfūf* 'the gloves', in reference to a pair); *ʿašʿrtēno* 'both his legs' (cf. plural *ʿašrē* [p.170] 'his legs').

Note that the forms *ʿašrēn* 'feet, legs', *ʿidēn* 'hands, arms', *ʿēnēn* 'eyes', and *ʿadanēn* 'ears' are not duals in colloquial usage, but plurals: *ʿarbaʿ ʿašrēn* 'four legs'. The true duals of these words have connective *t* [p.163] before the suffix: *ʿašʿrtēn ʿittēn*, *ʿēntēn*, *ʿadʿntēn*.

Most duals tend not to be used with pronoun suffixes; such constructions are generally circumlocuted by using the plural with the suffix, followed by the numeral *tnēn*: *katbi t-tnēn* 'my two books'.

Notable exceptions include the duals of nouns designating paired parts of the body: *ʿēntēni* 'both my eyes'.

Plural (*al-ǧamʿ*). If the singular of a noun designates one of something, then its plural designates more than one: *ktāb* '(one) book', *katāb* '(two or more) books'. If the number is specified by a numeral in construct [p.471], however, the following term is put in the plural only if the number is between two and ten: *tnēn katāb* 'two books', *tmānn katāb* 'eight books'.

With numerals above ten, the following term is put in the singular: *ʿnaʿšar ʿktāb* 'twelve books' [p.472]. If the number is two, the dual, of course, may generally be used instead of *tnēn* with the plural.

¹ *kall* may be used with the plural, of course, in identificatory constructs: *kall ʿl-katāb* 'all the books'; *kamm*, however, is only used with the indefinite singular.

Abstract¹ and Mass Nouns

Many nouns which do not purport to designate discrete (countable) entities are normally used only in the singular, e.g. *ʔastaqlāl* 'independence', *dawām* 'duration, permanence', *saft* 'tar', *ṣade* 'rust'.

Certain others, contrariwise, are normally used only in the plural: *maʿlūmāt* 'information', *maḥāṣen* 'good points, advantages', *riyāḍiyyāt* 'mathematics', *maṣāri* 'money'.²

Some singular abstract and mass nouns may be put in the plural to indicate abundance, variety, or indefinite quantification: sg. *raml* 'sand', pl. *rmāl* 'sands', another plural *ramlāt* '(a batch, or batches, of) sand'; singular *ṭaṣarrof* 'behavior', pl. *ṭaṣarrofāt* '(various kinds or instances of) behavior'.

These are not count plurals – they are not used after numerals – and are not to be confused with the plurals of particularized abstract and mass nouns [p.284], which are count plurals. While *ramlāt*, for instance, might sometimes be understood to mean 'a batch, or batches, of sand', this translation should not be taken to imply that one could say *tlatt ramlāt* to mean "three batches of sand". (*ramlāt* as a count plural only means 'grains of sand'). See p.297.

No abstract or mass nouns are normally used in the dual.

Further examples of mass noun plurals, indicating abundance or variety:

Singular	Plural
<i>sēt</i> 'oil'.....	<i>syūt</i>
<i>ḥabb</i> 'grain, seeds'.....	<i>ḥbūb</i> ³
<i>mayy</i> 'water'.....	<i>mayāya</i> ⁴
<i>ṣbāle</i> 'trash, garbage'.....	<i>ṣabāyel</i>
<i>laḥ^{am}</i> 'meat, flesh'.....	<i>lḥūm</i> ⁵
<i>ṣaww</i> 'air, atmosphere'.....	<i>ʔaṣwāʔ</i>

¹The term 'abstract' here denotes a semantic category, broader than the derivational category of abstract nouns [p.284].

²Also *maṣriyyāt*. There is, actually, a singular *maṣriyye* – a defunct monetary unit referred to figuratively in expressions like *mā ʿandi w-lā maṣriyye* 'I haven't a cent'.

³Also used as a count plural of *ḥabbe* 'pill'.

⁴The plurals *mayyāt* and *miyāh* are also used [p.370], but *mayāya* is more strongly connotative of abundance or variety.

⁵The plural *laḥmāt* belongs more specifically to the singular *laḥme* 'meat', and, in the identificatory use [p.370], also to *laḥ^{am}* in the sense 'flesh', *laḥmāto* 'his flesh'. As a count noun, *laḥmāt* means 'pieces of meat' (sg. *laḥme* 'a piece of meat').

Plural of Abundance and Plural of Paucity (*ḡamē l-kaṭra wa-ḡamē l-qilla*).

Sometimes the plural of a singulative [p.297] – a count plural – stands in contrast to the plural of the underlying collective or gerund, which indicates abundance or variety, and which is not used after numerals:

	Singular	Plural
Unit	<i>samake</i> 'a fish'....	<i>samakāt</i> 'fish, fishes'
Collective	<i>samak</i> 'fish'.....	<i>ʔasmāk</i> '(many or various) fish'
Unit	<i>dabbāne</i> 'a fly'.....	<i>dabbānāt</i> 'flies'
Collective	<i>dabbān</i> 'flies'.....	<i>dababīn</i> '(many or various) flies'
Unit	<i>mōṣe</i> 'a wave'....	<i>mōṣāt</i> 'waves'
Collective	<i>mōṣ</i> 'waves'.....	<i>ʔamwāṣ</i> '(many or extensive) waves'
Instance	<i>ḡalṭa</i> 'an error'..	<i>ḡalṭāt</i> 'errors'
Gerund	<i>ḡalaṭ</i> 'error'.....	<i>ʔaḡlāt</i> '(various kinds or instances of) error'

When there is both a plural of abundance and a plural of paucity (i.e. a count plural), the plural of abundance is formed by a base pattern change [p.218] while the plural of paucity is usually formed by suffixation of *-āt*. An exception is *ʔālāf* 'thousands', the count plural of *ʔalf* 'thousand' which also has plurals of abundance *ʔlūf* and *ʔalafāt*. When a plural of paucity is used without a numeral (2-10), it still usually implies that the things referred to are few in number and individually discriminated.

In some cases, the distinction between plurals of abundance and paucity is not clearly maintained. The form *wrāʔ* 'leaves', for instance, may serve as a plural of abundance – as the plural of the collective *waraʔ*, but also as a count plural – as the plural of the unit noun *waraʔa* 'a leaf': *tlatt ʔwrāʔ* 'three leaves'. There is also a plural of paucity *waraʔāt*. Likewise the plural *wrūd(e)* 'flowers, roses' may serve as the plural of abundance (coll. sg. *ward* 'flowers, roses') and also as a count plural: *xams ʔwrūd* 'five roses', while *wardāt* is a plural of paucity (unit sg. *warde* 'a flower, a rose').

A plural of abundance which stands in contrast to a plural of paucity but which is also used with numerals may be called an "all-purpose plural".

Some count nouns ending in *-e/-a* have a plural of paucity in *-āt* and also an internally formed all-purpose plural, but no collective: *sigāra* 'cigarette', pl. of paucity *sigārāt*, all-purpose plural *sagāyer*; *xēme* 'tent', pl. of paucity *xēmāt*, all-purpose pl. *xiyam*; *ḥayye* 'snake', pl. of paucity *ḥayyāt*, all-purpose pl. *ḥayāya*.

Plural of Identification and Indefinite Quantification

Some nouns which in the singular designate a substance in general, or as a sample of its kind, have plurals (in -āt) designating a certain batch or indefinite quantity of that substance: sg. *ramʔl* 'sand', pl. *ramlāt*; sg. *ḥalīb* 'milk', pl. *ḥalībāt*; sg. *zēt* 'oil', pl. *zētāt*; sg. *ʔamḥ* 'wheat', pl. *ʔamḥāt*.

Examples of usage: (sg.) *ḥar-ramʔl mā byaswa ləl-bāṭōn* 'This sand (i.e. this kind of sand) is no good for concrete' vs. (pl.) *xōd ḥar-ramlāt mən ḥōn* 'Get this sand (i.e. this batch of sand) out of here'. Or, in reference to the milkman, one might say *šāb ʔl-ḥalībāt* 'He brought the milk' while in reference to the waiter in a restaurant one would say *šāb ʔl-ḥalīb*.

In the case of the waiter, milk is considered qualitatively, i.e. in contrast to the other kinds of things he brings to the table; but since it goes without saying that the milkman brings milk, the milk he brings is viewed quantitatively, as a batch.

This is indefinite quantification, however, and is not to be confused with quantification by numerals. To specify a certain number of batches or orders of milk, the numeral is used (in its absolute form [p.170]) followed by an appositive [510] singular: *tlāte ḥalīb* 'three (orders of) milk, three milks'.

This type of plural is also used in an identificatory sense, as opposed to the singular, which is qualitative, i.e. classificatory. That is to say, while the singular is commonly used in classificatory constructs, the plural usually marks an identificatory construct [p.458] (whether it is leading term or following term):

Classificatory	Identificatory
<i>ḥalīb ʔl-məʕze</i> '(the) goat's milk' (indicating the kind of milk)	<i>ḥalībāt ʔl-məʕzāye</i> 'the goat's milk' (i.e. the milk of a particular goat)
<i>mayyet ʔl-baḥʔr</i> '(the) sea water'	<i>mayyāt ʔl-baḥʔr</i> 'the sea's water'
<i>zēt ʔz-zētūn</i> 'the olive oil'	<i>zētāt ʔs-sammān</i> 'the grocer's oil'
<i>ṭaḥn ʔl-ʔamḥ</i> 'the grinding of wheat'	<i>ṭaḥn ʔl-ʔamḥāt</i> 'grinding the wheat'

The plurals of unit nouns [p.298] are generally also used in this identificatory sense, as opposed to collectives, which are generally classificatory: *ʕaṣīr ʔl-bardʔānāt* 'the juice of the oranges' vs. *ʕaṣīr ʔl-bardʔān* 'the orange juice'.

Since pronouns are always identificatory terms, it is usually the plural of identification (if any) that is used with pronoun suffixes, rather than the singular: *ʔamḥātna* 'our wheat', *zētātōn* 'their oil', *ḥalībātā* 'her milk', *laḥmātō* 'his flesh', *ʕənbātō* 'his grapes', *bərdʔānāti* 'my oranges', *mayyātā* 'its water'.

All this is not to say that the singular in such cases cannot be used in identificatory constructs, but only that it tends not to be so used, at least when an actual specific batch of something is referred to. The singular is more apt to be used in a (grammatically) identificatory construct if the reference is actually to a generality or a hypothetical case: *ʔaḥmad byəḥleb ʔl-baʔarāt w-bibiʕ* *ḥalībōn bəl-madīne* 'Ahmed milks the cows and sells their milk in the city', *š-šāzāt bibiḏu bēd w-ʔaḥmad byāḥol kamān laḥmon* 'The hens lay eggs, and Ahmed also eats their flesh' [AO-63].

Concerning plurals in general, one should keep in mind that it is not always possible to determine the Arabic number inflection by meaning, or by translation from English. Many kinds of "thing" may be regarded either as wholes or as aggregates of discrete parts. Compare *šabbāt* '(a pair of) shoes', which is singular, with *kfūf* 'gloves' (in reference to a pair), which is plural; *ʕədde* 'tools', which is singular, with *mašāri* 'money', which is plural; *baʔar* 'cattle', which is singular, with *šmāl* 'camels', which is plural. See Collectives and Units [p.298].

Not only the form of a plural, but also the kinds of plural a noun will have, or whether it will have a plural at all, are to a considerable extent questions of lexical idiosyncrasy.

Some nouns lack one or another inflection for no obvious reason. *šī* 'thing', for instance, is a count noun (*tlətt ʔašya* 'three things'), but it has no dual. (Its more elegant doublet *šēʔ*, however, does have a dual: *šēʔēn* 'two things'). The noun *mara* 'woman' has neither dual nor plural, though the plural is supplanted by the word *nəswān* 'women'.

Many nouns have different plurals corresponding to different meanings: *lsān* 'tongue', pl. *lsānāt* 'tongues' (literal anatomical sense), plurals *ʔolson* and *ʔalsine* 'tongues' (figurative linguistic senses).

Sometimes different plurals are stylistically significant: sg. *ʔasəm* 'name', plurals *ʔasāmi* (informal) and *ʔasmāʔ* (more formal). In still other cases, different plural forms may be virtually equivalent, or a matter of person or regional variation: sg. *lḥāf* 'blanket, cover', pl. *lḥāfāt* or *ləḥʔf*; sg. *šahʔr* 'month', pl. *šhūr* or *ʔəšhor*.

GENDER OF NOUNS

Arabic nouns (in the singular) belong either to the masculine or to the feminine gender, or, in a few cases, to both genders. It is the function of noun gender to govern the gender inflection of verbs and adjectives and the gender selection of pronouns [pp.420,428,501,535].

Natural Gender

A noun that designates human beings is masculine if the person is male, and feminine if the person is female:

Masculine		Feminine	
ʔabb	'father'	ʔamm	'mother'
ʔabʔn	'son'	bant	'daughter, girl'
ʔaxx	'brother'	ʔaxt	'sister'
ʕarīs	'bridegroom'	ʕarūs	'bride'
ʕalame	'man, fellow'	satt	'lady'

Certain animal designations (mainly domestic animals) are also limited by sex:

tōr	'bull, steer'	baʔara	'cow'
kabʔš	'ram'	ḡaname	'ewe'
tēs	'billy goat'	ʕanze	'nanny goat'
xārūf	'young male sheep'	məʕzāye	'nanny goat'
dīk	'cock' (male of any fowl)	faras	'mare'

The masculine noun *ʔafəl* 'child, infant' is used to refer to children in the abstract (*tarbiyet ʔt-ʔafəl* 'bringing up a child') or to predicate childishness of a person of either sex (*ləssāta ʔafəl* 'She's still a child'); otherwise it is used only in reference to a male, or a child whose sex is not known. The specifically female counterpart is *ʔafle*: *hayy ʔafle həlwe* 'She's a pretty child'. Similarly: *kalb* 'dog' (male or sex unspecified) and *kalbe* 'bitch', *ḡsān* 'horse' and *faras* 'mare'. On the other hand *ʔaʔt* 'cat' is used mainly to specify the male, while the feminine *ʔaʔta* may be applied not only to females but also when the sex is unspecified: *hal-ʔaʔta dakar wəlla ʔantāye?* 'Is that cat male or female?'

The nouns *ʕaʕūz* 'elderly person'¹ and *bēbē* 'baby' have

¹Some speakers, however, tend to pair off *ʕaʕūz* as 'old woman' with *ʔaxtyār* 'old man'. The forms *ʕaʕūze* and *ʔaxtyāra* are used exclusively in reference to females.

fluctuating gender depending on their reference: *l-bēbē baddo yərdaʕ* 'The baby (boy, or sex unspecified) wants to nurse', and *l-bēbē badda ʔərdaʕ* 'The baby (girl) wants to nurse'.

Some nouns, though often or usually applied to human beings, do not actually designate human beings as such; their gender generally does not fluctuate even though they may denote persons of either sex: *maxlūʔ* 'creature' (masculine), *ḡaḡiyye* 'victim' (feminine), *wāʕta* 'intermediary, mediator, means' (f.), *ʕaxʕiyye* 'personality' (f.), *ʕaxʕ* 'person' (m.).

Some noun stems are used with and without the suffix *-e/-a* [p.138] to designate female and male respectively: *ʔabbāx* 'cook' (m.) and *ʔabbāxa* (f.), *ʕabi* 'boy' and *ʕabiyye* 'girl, young lady', *xāl* '(maternal) uncle' and *xāle* '(maternal) aunt'. See p.304. Unless paired in this way, however, the *-e/-a* suffix is not a sign of feminine gender for human beings: *ʕalame* 'man, fellow', *xalīfe* 'caliph', *ʔāḡye* 'tyrant', etc. For animals, it indicates feminine gender but not necessarily female sex (except as qualified above).

Gender of Names

Names of towns, cities, etc., and most countries, states, etc., are feminine. Note the feminine agreement in these examples:

ʕ-ʕām kabret ʔktīr mən ʕaʕr ʔsnīn	'Damascus has grown a lot in the last ten years'
maʕar maʔhūle ʔaktar mən sūriyya	'Egypt is more populous than Syria'

The names of a few countries and regions, however, may be construed either as masculine or feminine: *ləbnān* 'Lebanon', *naʕʕd* 'Nejd', *l-ʔḡāz* 'The Hejaz', *l-yaman* 'Yemen', *l-ʔardon* 'Jordan', *l-ʕirāq* 'Iraq', *l-maḡreb* 'Morocco' or 'Northwest Africa', *l-barazīl* 'Brazil'. E.g. *ləbnān ʕamīl*, *maʕ hēk?* 'Lebanon is beautiful, isn't it?' [PVA-30].

Names of ships (and planes, automobiles) are feminine: *l-ʕampolyōn ʕanḡet ʕal-ʔwzāʕi* 'The Champollion ran aground off Ouzai'.

Names of the letters of the alphabet are feminine: *sāwi n-nūn mʕawwafe ʔaktar mən hēk* 'Make the nūn deeper than that'.

It is said that the names of cities, countries, ships, etc., are feminine because they are elliptical for construct or appositive phrases [pp.462,506] headed by feminine words such as *madīne* 'city', *blād* 'land, country', *bāxra* 'ship', etc.: *madīnet berūt* 'the city of Beirut', *blād ʔl-yunān* 'The land of Greece', *l-bāxra ʕampolyōn* 'the ship Champollion'.

This explanation does not hold true for the names of the letters, however, since *ḥarf* 'letter' is masculine: *ḥarf* *ʕl-bē* 'the letter *bē*'.

Formal Gender

For nouns that are neither names nor human designations, gender cannot be inferred from meaning, but can usually be inferred from form. Those which (in the singular) have a suffix *-e/-a* [p.138], *-a* [165], *-ā* [164], or *-t* [164] are feminine. Most others are masculine:

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>maktab</i>	'office'	<i>maktabe</i>	'library'
<i>daraž</i>	'staircase'	<i>daraže</i>	'step, degree'
<i>xafaʔ</i>	'wrong, transgression'	<i>xaṭīʔa</i>	'sin'
<i>zakʔr</i>	'mention'	<i>zakra</i>	'commemoration, memory'
<i>nasʔr</i>	'eagle'	<i>būme</i>	'owl'
<i>namʔl</i>	'ants' (collective)	<i>namle</i>	'an ant'
<i>ʔastaqlāl</i>	'independence'	<i>ḥarriyye</i>	'freedom'
<i>murād</i>	'desire, intention'	<i>mubārā</i>	'match, game'
<i>nabāt</i>	'plant(s)' (Here <i>t</i> is part of the Root: <i>n-b-t</i> , Pattern <i>Faʕāl</i>)	<i>ḥayāt</i>	'life' (Here <i>t</i> is a suffix; Root <i>ḥ-y-y</i>)

Defective [p.43] nouns ending in *a* or *e*, however, are generally masculine; the vowel is part of the stem, not a suffix:

<i>ʕaša</i>	'supper' (masc.):	Root ʕ-š-y with Pattern <i>Faʕāl</i> [p.146]
<i>šate</i>	'winter, rain' (masc.):	Root š-t-w with alteration of Pattern <i>Faʕāl</i> [147]
<i>maʕna</i>	'meaning' (masc.):	Root ʕ-n-y with Pattern <i>maʕāl</i> [153]

Note that *sane* 'year' and *mara* 'woman' are biradical nouns [p.162]; the *-e/-a* is a suffix (cf. construct forms *sant*, *mart* [168]), hence these words are feminine. (And *mara* is feminine par excellence in any case, by virtue of its meaning.)

The ending *-āʔ* is usually not a suffix (*ʔ* replacing a final radical semivowel, as in *duʕāʔ* 'supplication', masculine, Root *d-ʕ-w*, Pattern *Fuʕāl*), but in the rare cases where it is actually a suffix the noun is feminine: *kabrīyāʔ* 'pride, arrogance' (Root *k-b-r*).

Exceptions

There are a few feminine nouns whose gender is not indicated either by form or by meaning:

<i>ʕēn</i>	'eye', 'waterhole'	<i>rīḥ</i>	'wind' (also masc.)
<i>ʔīd</i> , <i>yadd</i>	'hand, arm'	<i>ʔarḍ</i>	'land, ground, earth'
<i>ʔažʔr</i> , <i>ražʔl</i>	'foot, leg'	<i>šams</i>	'sun'
<i>ʔadʔn</i>	'ear'	<i>sama</i> , <i>samāʔ</i>	'heaven' (also m.)
<i>daʔʔn</i>	'chin, beard'	<i>mayy</i>	'water' (also <i>mayye</i>)
<i>raḥʔm</i>	'womb'	<i>sakkīn</i>	'knife' (also <i>sakkīne</i>)
<i>ṭīʔ</i>	'backside, arse'	<i>dakkān</i>	'shop'
<i>nafs</i>	'spirit, self'	<i>ʔašbaʕ</i>	'finger' (also <i>ʔašbaʕa</i>)
<i>rōḥ</i>	'soul, spirit'	<i>ṭāḥūn</i>	'mill' (also <i>ṭāḥūne</i>)
<i>dār</i>	'house'	<i>maṭar</i>	'rain'
<i>balad</i>	'town, community, country'	<i>ḥarb</i>	'war' (also masc.)
<i>blād</i>	'country'	<i>ṭarīʔ</i>	'road, way' (also masc.)

The noun *sūʔ* 'market' is generally feminine in its abstract or general sense, e.g. *s-sūʔ* *ʔs-sōda* 'the black market', otherwise masculine.

ʔarḍ is masculine in its sense 'floor'.

rōḥ is masculine in the sense 'ghost, disembodied spirit'.

The feminine gender of *šhannam* 'Hell' might be attributed to its being a place name [p.373].

The words *nās* 'people' and *xēl* 'horses' are feminine, though they often take plural agreement. See p.426.

In the case of ethnic collectives [p.301] the question of gender does not come up, since they consistently have plural agreement.

The gender of other kinds of collectives depends on their form as in the case of ordinary singulars: *baʔar* 'cattle' (masculine), *maʕze* 'goats' (feminine); *ʕadas* 'lentils' (masculine), *fāšūliyye* 'kidney beans' (feminine).

All questions of number/gender function in verbs, adjectives, and pronouns are dealt with under Number/Gender Agreement, including the number/gender of verbs and adjectives without subjects [p.427].

CHAPTER 15: SYNTACTICAL PRINCIPLES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Sentences and Clauses (*al-ğumla*)

A sentence is not just a string of words, but a string of words pronounced as a "prosodic unit". A prosodic unit has rhythmic, melodic, and dynamic features which contribute to the phrasing and meaning of the word string.

A COMPOUND sentence is a coördination [p.391] of word strings each of which could be used to form a complete sentence by itself. These potentially sentence-forming word strings are called CLAUSES.¹

In the sentence *ħuwwa ʔādami w-ʔana bħabbo* 'He's a nice person and I like him', there is a non-verbal clause [402] *ħuwwa ʔādami* coördinated by the conjunction *w-* 'and' with a verbal clause [407] *ʔana bħabbo*.

A COMPLEX sentence consists of a (prosodically unified) SUPERORDINATE CLAUSE which contains, as one of its parts, a SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

In the sentence *baxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraʒ* 'I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates', the (one-word) clause *byətxarraʒ* 'he graduates' is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a supplemental (adverbial) capacity [528] by the conjunction *lamma* 'when'.

A superordinate clause may in its turn be subordinated, as in *bəddi ʔal-lo ʔanno baxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraʒ* 'I intend to tell him that I'll ask her hand in marriage for him when he graduates'. The clause *baxtəb-lo yāha lamma byətxarraʒ* is subordinated to the rest of the sentence in a complementary capacity [449] by the conjunction *ʔanno* 'that'.²

A sentence containing only one clause is a SIMPLE SENTENCE.

¹The definition of 'clause' depends, of course, on that of 'complete sentence', which is simply a sentence whose word string can be analyzed in terms of one of the clause-forming constructions. The circularity of these definitions is perfectly tolerable, so long as all those utterances which do not qualify as complete sentences can either be 1.) analyzed as incomplete sentences, i.e. analyzed in terms of complete sentences, or 2.) dismissed as trivial for present purposes.

In this book 'clause' designates a much more abstract entity than 'sentence', since the latter is defined as a prosodic unit while a clause is defined merely as a word string, stripped of prosody. If this grammar dealt systematically with intonation (prosody) it would probably be better also to define 'clause' as a kind of prosodic unit, but since intonation is not dealt with, the present definition - being in accord with traditional usage - should be less confusing for most readers.

Note that the Arabic concept of *ğumla* includes both 'sentence' and 'clause'. In fast uninterrupted monologue especially, it is often impossible to distinguish between a coördination of clauses and a coördination of simple sentences.

²A supplemental clause may be contrasted with the MAIN clause, which is complete in itself, while a complementary clause is an integral part of the superordinate clause.

Sentence Types

Syrian Arabic has six main types of complete sentence, insofar as conversational function may be correlated with clause structure and prosodic structure: 1.) Exclamations, 2.) Calls, 3.) Commands, 4.) Declarations, 5.) Yes/No Questions, and 6.) Substitution Questions.

Exclamations. Many kinds of clause may be used in exclamations, but the simplest and only exclusively exclamatory kind consists of an **INTERJECTION**, which is a word that neither undergoes inflection nor enters into construction with other words: *ʕafārem!* 'Bravo!', *mašāllā!* 'Isn't that wonderful!'. Some exclamations consist of the vocative particle *ya* plus an adjective or noun: *ya laṭīf* 'Good grief!', *ya ʕēb ʕš-šūm!* (expression with which a host at dinner disclaims guests' praise).

Calls. A call generally consists of a noun or noun phrase – very often a personal name – which may or may not be preceded by the vocative particle *ya* (or sometimes *ʔa*): (*ya*)*ḥasan!* '(O) Hassan!'

Most interjections and Vocative phrases, of course, are more often used in supplementation to a main clause than as full sentences: *šlōnkon ya ṣabāya* 'How are you, girls?', *ʕaṣīm waḷḷa!* '(That's) great, by golly!'

Declarations. The clause of a declarative sentence may be a predication [p.401] or an extraposition [429]: *maḍḍēt ʔawwal šahrēn ʕand xāli* 'I spent the first two months at my uncle's', *ʔawwal šahrēn maḍḍēthon ʕand xāli* 'The first two months, I spent (them) at my uncle's'.

The category of declarative sentences includes statements, which are characterized by verbs in the indicative or by a non-verbal clause [402]: *marrūḥ sawa* 'We'll go together', *ʔana maʕak* 'I'm with you'; and also exhortations and invocations, which are characterized mainly by verbs in the subjunctive, but sometimes also by non-verbal clauses: *nrūḥ sawa* 'Let's go together', *ʔaḷḷa maʕak* 'God be with you'. (See p.344.)

Yes/No Questions. A yes/no interrogative sentence generally has the same kind of clause as the corresponding declarative sentence, but the intonation is different. (See p.379.) *maḍḍēt ʔawwal šahrēn ʕand xālak?* 'Did you spend the first two months at your uncle's?', *ʔawwal šahrēn, maddēthon ʕand xālak?* 'The first two months – did you spend them at your uncle's?', *marrūḥ sawa?* 'Will we be going together?', *nrūḥ sawa?* 'Shall we go together?'

The particle *ši* is often used to indicate a question: *ʔūmti ʔəšet mən ʕand ʔl-kawwa ši?* [DA-237] 'Have my suits come back from the cleaners?'. The interrogative particle may come at the end of the sentence, as above, or it may precede a complement, thereby setting it off and emphasizing it: *ʕam-ʔəʔod ši ʔənni kazzāb?* 'Are you implying that I'm a liar?', *zərt b-ʔhyātak ši l-ʕāšme?* 'Have you ever visited the capital?'

Yes/no questions may be pronounced with a rising intonation similar to that of (American) English questions, or else with a level or slightly rising medium-high pitch and a long drawl on the last syllable [p.17].

Substitution Questions. Sentences formed with the question-words *šū* 'what', *mīn* 'who', *wēn* 'where', etc., are also derivable from declarative sentences by substitution of the question word for some particular part of the clause, and by certain changes in word order: *wēn maḍḍēt ʔawwal šahrēn?* 'Where did you spend the first two months?', *ʔawwal šahrēn, wēn maḍḍēthon?* 'The first two months – where did you spend them?' (See p.566.)

Substitution questions are commonly pronounced with level medium or medium low final pitch, and a drawl. The question usually begins with with high pitch, on the question word itself.

Commands. A declarative sentence may generally be converted into a (positive) command by dropping the subject (if any) and changing the verb to imperative [p.359]: *maḍḍi ʔawwal šahrēn ʕand xālak* 'Spend the first two months at your uncle's'. (A negative command, however, is formed with the subjunctive: *lā tmaḍḍi ʔawwal šahrēn...* 'Don't spend the first two months...'.)

Predication: The Basic Clause Type

The sort of clause that can be made into both a declarative and a (yes/no) interrogative sentence is called a **PREDICATION**.¹ For example:

Declarative	Interrogative
<i>šāyīna dyūf ʔl-yōm</i>	<i>šāyīna dyūf ʔl-yōm (ši)?</i>
'We're having guests today' (lit. 'Guests are coming to us today')	'Are we having guests today?'
<i>lāzem nəḥtəfel fīhon</i>	<i>lāzem nəḥtəfel fīhon (ši)?</i>
'We must give them a big welcome'	'Must we give them a big welcome?'
<i>ʔaxūk mā byəži</i>	<i>ʔaxūk mā byəži?</i>
'Your brother isn't coming'	'Isn't your brother coming?'
<i>maḥbūṭ</i>	<i>maḥbūṭ?</i>
'(That's) right'	'(Is that) right?'

¹This does not mean that every declarative sentence can be converted, as it stands, into a normal interrogative sentence (or vice versa), but only that every one has the same grammatical structure as other sentences which can be so converted, or (if compound), that it can be broken down into simple clauses which can be so converted. For instance the compound declarative sentence *sažžalna ḥalaʔa w-bukra bəṣṣūfūha* 'We've recorded a [television] spot and tomorrow you'll see it' could not be made into a normal interrogative as it stands, but the two coördinate clauses could be converted separately.

Declarative

mā ʿandak maṣāri.....
'You have no money'

naṣṣaʿ ʿal-bēt.....
'Let's go back to the house'

Interrogative

mā ʿandak maṣāri?
'Don't you have any money?'

naṣṣaʿ ʿal-bēt?
'Shall we go back to the house?'

Predication is the most important and basic clause-forming construction type, since not only does it account for all declarative and interrogative sentences, but indirectly also for commands [p.359], and substitution questions [566], as derivative from predications. Only the most peripheral sentence types - calls and interjections [378] - are fundamentally independent of predication.

The Parts of a Predication

A predication consists of a **PREDICATE**, with or without a **SUBJECT**: *r-rəṣṣāl šāf ʿl-kalb* 'The man saw the dog' or *šāf ʿl-kalb* 'He saw the dog'; *ʿante maṭʿakked?* 'Are you sure?' or *maṭʿakked?* '(Are you) sure?'

A simple predicate consists of a word or phrase, which is ordinarily:

(1.) a verb or verb phrase: *fhamʿt* 'I understand' (lit. "I have understood"), *fhamʿt kalāmak* 'I understand what you say', *fhamʿt ʿalēk* 'I understand you'.

(2.) an adjective or adjective phrase: (*ʿana*) *zaʿlān* 'I am displeased', (*ʿana*) *zaʿlān mənnaḥ* 'I'm displeased with you'.

(3.) a preposition or a prepositional phrase: *hunnwe ʿaddām* 'He is in front', *hunnwe ʿaddām ʿl-bēt* 'He is in front of the house'.

(4.) a noun or noun phrase: *hāda maktūb* 'This is a letter', *hāda maktūb ʿalak* 'This is a letter for you', *hāda ʿawwal maktūb* 'This is the first letter'.

The subject of a simple predication is usually a noun, or a noun phrase, or a pronoun: *r-rəṣṣāl šāfo* 'The man saw it', *ʿabʿn har-rəṣṣāl mū hōn* 'That man's son isn't here', *hāda ʿabno* 'That's his son'.

¹Independent optative clauses [p.344] are marginally predicative; in the first-person plural they may be used freely as either declarative or interrogative, while in first-person singular and the second person they are usually interrogative, and in the third person normally declarative.

Phrase-Forming Constructions

A **PHRASE**, roughly speaking, is a constituent of a clause that consists of more than one word but is generally not itself a clause. In this book most of the many ways in which words are combined in phrases come under one or another of several major headings, including:

ATTRIBUTION [Ch.19], whereby the elements of a predication are converted into a noun phrase: *l-bēt l-ʿkbīr* 'the big house' (cf. *l-bēt ʿkbīr* 'the house is big').

COMPLEMENTATION AND SUPPLEMENTATION [Ch.17,20], which account for almost all verb phrases and many noun and adjective phrases: *šāf ʿl-bēt* 'saw the house', *trūḥ ʿawām* '(that)you go quickly', *maḥṣūṭ fī* 'pleased with it', *kaṣān wāḥed* 'one more'.

ANNEXION [Ch.18], which forms many noun-type phrases and all prepositional phrases: *farṣ ʿl-bēt* 'the furniture of the house', *ʿawwal bēt* 'the first house', *ḥunnwāt ʿl-bēt* 'inside the house'.

The Parts of Speech

The so-called parts of speech are syntactical form classes - categories based on the way words function in clauses and phrases.¹

The broadest category is that of **PREDICATORS** - words which may normally be used as the main term of a predicate. In Arabic, predictors include verbs, adjectives, nouns, and free prepositions.

Non-predictors include adverbs and all kinds of particles, such as conjunctions and bound prepositions.

NOUNS are distinguished as the only predictors that may normally also be used as the main term of a subject.

ADJECTIVES are distinguished by their use as attributes.

FREE PREPOSITIONS are also used as supplements.

VERBS have no use other than predication and command.²

Of the non-predictors, **ADVERBS** are distinguished from particles by their use as main terms in supplements.

¹A clear-cut part of speech system commonly also depends, to some extent, on correlation with non-syntactical matters such as inflection [p.35]. It is a mistake to suppose that any single criterion can establish the membership of every word that obviously belongs to a particular form class. By the same token, certain words belong to different classes, depending on which (usually convergent but sometimes divergent) criteria are used.

²This is not to say that a verbal clause (which may be a one-word clause) cannot be subject, attribute, complement, etc.

Pronouns and other substitutes are a special case, not adequately definable in terms of syntactical form classes [p.535].

Noun-Type Words (*al-ism*). Nouns in the strict sense – SUBSTANTIVES – may be distinguished syntactically from other NOUN-TYPE WORDS such as elatives [p.310], numerals [170], pronouns, and adjectives.

Numerals and elatives are distinguished by the fact that they are used freely as attributes as well as in the more typical noun-like capacities: *l-walad* *al-ʔakbar* 'the oldest boy' (cf. *ʔakbar walad*).

Certain substantives may also be used attributively: *l-waṭan* *al-ʔamm* 'the mother country' [p.506]. Certain others may be used adverbially: *šəfto marra* 'I saw him once' (lit. "...a time"). [p.521].

Adjectives are typically quite different from nouns in that they do not normally occur as subject, but do occur as attribute. There are, however, many adjectives applicable to human beings which are also freely used in a substantive capacity: *gḡīr* 'small, young' or 'child'; *kazzāb* 'lying' or 'liar' [p.201]. This widespread overlapping of the two syntactic classes – plus their morphological similarities – makes it desirable to include adjectives also under the category of 'noun-type word'.

Pronouns clearly qualify as noun-type words since they are used as subject [p.548], though they only marginally qualify as predicators at all [551].

The rest of this chapter is devoted to two types of construction and not dealt with elsewhere in the book: negation and coördination.

NEGATION

The most common negative particles are *mā*, used mainly with verbs and a few other expressions, and *mū*, used mainly with non-verbal predicates. *lā* is used mainly with the independent subjunctive [p.389]. These particles come immediately before the negated term and are usually accented more strongly than the negated term. For *laʔ* 'no', see p.536.

Commonly in Palestine and to a lesser extent in southern and central Lebanon, *mā* is paired with a suffix –š which is attached to the negated term (cf. French *ne...pas*). (In some dialects –š may be used without *mā*, or with *ʔa-* instead of *mā*. Thus *mā baʔref* 'I don't know' = *mā baʔrəf-š* = *baʔrəf-š* = *ʔa-baʔrəf-š*.) The –š form corresponding to *mū* is *maš* or *muš*.

The Particle *mā*. Examples with verbs:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>mā šarrabʔt liʔanno mā kān maʔi waʔʔt ʔaʔʔod u-ʔəʃfon</i> | 'I haven't tried (it) because I haven't had time to sit and think' |
| 2. <i>mā ʃafi gḡer ʔašʔr daʔāyeʔ</i> | 'There's not but ten minutes left' |
| 3. <i>hayy mā baʔʃəḥḥ-əlli hnīk</i> | 'That won't do me any good over there' |
| 4. <i>lāzem təḥləf-li mā taʔmel maʔha šī</i> [AO-114] | 'You must swear to me not to do anything to her' |
| 5. <i>l-wāḥed mā bilāʔi matʔl balado</i> | 'There's no place like home' (lit. 'One doesn't find the like of his community') |
| 6. <i>mā baʔlaʔ ʔal-hāra bəl-bižāma</i> | 'I wouldn't go out on the street in pajamas' |
| 7. <i>mā byəʔəʒbo šī, šū ma ʔəbt biʔal-lak mā bikaffi, mā byənfaʔ, lēš mā sūweto hēk u-hēk</i> | 'Nothing pleases him; whatever you bring he tells you it isn't enough, it's won't do, why didn't you do it thus and so' |
| 8. <i>fī tlətt ʔaʔtibārāt lāzem mā nədžāḥdilon</i> | 'There are three considerations we should not overlook' |
| 9. <i>ʔal-li, baʔʔd mā zərt ʔāsārāt ləbnān?</i> [SAL-115] | 'Tell me, haven't you visited the ruins of Lebanon yet?' |
| 10. <i>hayy ḥāle mā btəḥāmel</i> | 'It's an unbearable situation' [p.328] |
| 11. <i>ṭ-ṭābe kānet mā btəṭāl</i> | 'The ball was out of reach' |

12. *l-ʔaḡlab mā laḥa-yeḥṣal*
ʔaš-šaḡle 'Chances are, he won't get the job'
13. *yelli ʔaxatto laḥadd ʔl-māster*
mā ḥa-yzīd ʔktīr ʔal-Ph.D. 'What I took for the master's isn't going to add much to the Ph.D.'
14. *ʔana mā ʔam-bḥākīk* [SPA-221] 'I'm not talking to you'
15. *ʔabūk mā ʔam-yākōl* 'Your father is not eating'
16. *ʔana mā ʔam-bəštōḡel hal-ʔiyyām* 'I'm not working these days'

Verbs with *ʔam-* and *raḥa* (*laḥa*, *ḥa-*, etc.) [p.320] are also often negated with *mū*, *mālo* [pp.387,388].

Active participles are sometimes negated with *mā*:

17. *kīf, mā məštāʔ ləš-šāmʔ* 'Aren't you homesick for Damascus?'
18. *mā barmi šabʔkti ḡēr ʔarbaʔ*
marrāt u-mā safyān-li ʔella
marra wāḥde [AO-115] 'I don't cast my net more than four times, and there isn't but one time left to me'

mā with Other Verb-like Expressions. The words *baddo* 'to want, intend, (etc.)' [p.412], *fī* 'there is' and 'to be able', *ʔando*, *maʔo*, and *ʔalo* 'to have' [413], and a few similar expressions, are negated with *mā*:

19. *mā bəddak ʔl-ʔarādaʔ* 'Don't you want the publicity?'
20. *mā bəddha tākol* 'She doesn't want to eat'
21. *hal-ʔktūb mā baddo*
wala taʔb [PVA-56] 'This book doesn't require hard work'
22. *mā fī ʔəxtilāf ʔktīr* 'There's not much difference'
23. *šu mā fī ḥada bəl-bētʔ* 'Isn't there anyone home?'
24. *b-mūšeb ʔānūn l-ʔḥkūme l-ʔzdīd*
mā fī l-wāḥed yəstamlek ʔaktar
mən ʔarbaʔ byūt 'According to the government's new law, one may not own more than four houses'
25. *mā fīna naʔmlo hallaʔ* 'We can't do it now'
26. *mā fīkon wala wāḥed ʔmnīḥ* 'There's not a good one among you'

In the last example *fīkon* stands for *fī* 'there is' + *fīkon* 'among you', collapsed into a single form; cf. *mā fī wala wāḥed ʔmnīḥ fīkon* (same translation).

27. *mā bo šī* [p.415] 'He's all right' or 'There's nothing the matter with him'
28. *l-ḥaʔīʔa mā ʔandi waʔət ʔalḥa* 'The truth is, I haven't time for it'

29. *mā ʔando dars ʔl-yōm* 'He has no lesson today'
30. *mā ʔalēk; ʔana bḥākī* 'It's not your responsibility; I'll talk to him' (lit. "It's not on you...")
31. *mā ʔalkon ḥaʔʔ* 'You (pl.) are in the wrong' (lit. "You have no right.")
32. *mā ʔali ʔalāʔa bəṭ-ṭawṣīf*
[SAL-92] 'I have nothing to do with hiring'

Instead of the disjunctive forms *ʔalo*, etc. [p.479], the suffixing forms may be used with *mā*:

33. *ʔīd l-ʔkbīr mā-lo tārīx ʔmʔayyan*
[DA-303] 'Easter has no fixed date'
34. *l-ʔmḥāšəṣe mā-la ʔāxer* 'There's no end to the argument'
35. *l-yahūd biṣallu b-ʔknīs wāḥed,*
mā-lhon ḡēro [Bg. 1] 'The Jews pray in one synagogue, they have no other'
- mā* with pronouns. In equational sentences [p.406], *mā* may be used before personal pronouns (especially third person)
36. *mā huwwe l-masʔul ʔan ʔl-ḥādes* 'He's not the one responsible for the accident'
37. *mā ḥənnen halli rafaʔu d-daʔwa* 'It is not they who initiated the suit'
38. *mā hiyye halli kasret ʔl-vāz* 'She's not the one who broke the vase'
39. *mā huwwe ʔella t-tanāzoʔ*
ʔl-ʔazali bēn ʔl-xēr wəš-šarr 'It's nothing else than the eternal conflict between good and evil'
40. *mā ʔana yalli ḥakēt* 'It's not I who spoke'

mā huwwe and *mā hiyye* are sometimes apocopated to *mā-hu*, *mā-hi*, or *mā-u*, *mā-i*: *mā-hu huwwe* [Bart.-776] 'It's not he'; *mā-u ʔabūk..*, *ʔabūyi ʔana* [DS] 'It's not your father, it's my father!'

mā is used with the indefinite noun *ḥada* 'anyone, someone' (translated 'no one, nobody'):

41. *mā ḥada šāfna* 'No one saw us'
42. *mīn ḥaka ʔat-talīfōnʔ*
- *mā ḥada; wāḥed galṭān*
bən-nəmre 'Who was it (lit. "Who spoke") on the phone?' - Nobody... somebody who got the wrong number'

Similarly, *mā* is sometimes used with *šī* 'something, anything' (translated 'nothing'), but this locution is limited mostly to answers ("incomplete predications"):

43. *šū ʕam-taʕmel?* - *mā šī* 'What are you doing?' - 'Nothing'

The Particle *mū*

Practically any non-verbal predicative term may be negated with *mū*:

1. *l-ħaʔīʔa mū ħāteṭ bi-bāli t-taʕlīm* 'The truth is, I haven't seriously considered teaching' (*ħāteṭ* is a participle [p.265].)
2. *ʔaxdet ʔl-bakalōryus, mū ħēk?* 'She's gotten her bachelor's degree, hasn't she?' (lit. "isn't it so?")
3. *ħal-ħaki ħāda mū ħalu* 'That (kind of) talk isn't nice'
4. *ʕēna mū šūʕāne, mā baddha tākol šī* 'She doesn't have a hungry look; she doesn't want anything to eat' (lit. "Her eye isn't hungry..")
5. *fa-maʕnāta kəll ʔl-ʕamaliyye mū zyādet maʕlūmāt* 'So the significance of the whole business is not acquisition of more knowledge'
6. *mū masʔalet mā baddi ħal-ʕarāḍa* 'It's not a question of my not wanting the publicity'
7. *ʔana ħabbēt ʔəši la-ħōn mū bass məšān ʔš-šahāde, bass məšān ʔl-xəbra* 'I wanted to come here not only for the degree, but for the experience'
8. *mū ħāda yalli waššēt ʕalē* 'This isn't what I ordered'
9. *ʔana mū mabšūṭ ʔl-yōm* 'I'm not feeling well today'
10. *kānu mū mawšūdīn lamma daʔʔənā-lon talifōn* 'They were out when we phoned them' (lit. "They were not-to-be-found...") Cf. *mā kānu mawšūdīn...* 'They were not in...'
11. *hayye fəkra mū ʕāṭle* 'That's not a bad idea' (lit. "an idea [that is] not bad")
12. *ħuwwe sālek ʔarīʔ mū mnīḥ* 'He's following a bad course' (lit. "...a road [that is] not good")
13. *mū mətʔl ʔaxi l-ʔkbīr, ʔana rəḥʔt ʕaš-šāmʕa* 'Unlike my older brother, I went to the university'

14. *mū mən zamān šəfto*

'Not long ago I saw him' (Cf. *mā šəfto mən zamān* 'I haven't seen him for quite a while')

15. *mū lāzem tətaxfef b-našāyeḥ wāldak*

'You shouldn't take your father's advice lightly'

Logically, *mū lāzem* should mean 'needn't' or 'it is not necessary', while 'mustn't' or 'shouldn't' would be expressed as *lāzem mā...* (as in example 8, p. 386). Actually, however, *mū lāzem* usually means 'mustn't, shouldn't, ought not to'.

mū is sometimes used with *raħa-* and *ʕam-* verb forms. (Cf. examples 12-16, p. 386):

16. *mū raħa-ṭkūn ʔmšībe kbīre ʔiza mā ḥšəlt ʕalē* 'It won't be a great misfortune if I don't get it'
17. *mū ʕam-ʔəštōḡel hallaʔ* 'He's not working now'

mū may also occur before other kinds of verb forms, when they form part of a clause to be negated emphatically as a whole, or as a quotation, or the like:

18. *l-yōm bēt ʕammtak šāyīn ʔəsharu ʕanna; mū taʕmal-li nādi w-rəfaʔāti...* 'Today your aunt and her family are coming to spend the evening with us; there'll be none of your [excuses to go out such as] "club and companions"'

The use of *mū* before *ʕand*, etc. [p.413] generally indicates a true prepositional phrase with a subject rather than the quasi-verbal expression with a complement: *ktābak mū ʕandi* 'Your book is not at my place' or '...among my things' (vs. *mā ʕandi ktābak* 'I don't have your book').

Before personal pronouns, *mū* focuses more emphasis on the pronoun than *mā* [p.385]: *mū hiyye halli šābet walad, ʔəxta* 'She's not the one who had the baby; it's her sister'; *mū ʔana yalli ħakēt* 'I'm not the one who spoke' (Cf. ex. 40, p.385).

mū šī 'nothing' may be used as well as *mā šī* [p.386], but *mū* is not ordinarily used with *ħada* (: *mā ħada* 'no one').

The Negative Copula

Instead of using an independent subject pronoun with *mū*, pronoun suffixes may be attached to the stem *māl-* or *mān-*: *māli rāyeḥ* or *māni rāyeḥ* 'I'm not going' (instead of *ʔana mū rāyeḥ*). These forms constitute a sort of quasi-verb, like *baddo*, etc. [p.412], with pronoun suffixes for subject-affixes.

The form *māl-* is typically Damascene; the most usual Lebanese form of the negative copula is *mann-*: *mannak šāyef?* 'Don't you see?'. (There are other variants, e.g. *maynak, manak*.) In some areas this type of form is not used in the third person at all, for which *mā-hu, mā-hi*, etc. are used [p.385]. The most usual Palestinian forms have *ma-* + apocopated "independent" pronoun form + *-š* [383]: *mahūš* 'he is not', *mahiš* 'she is not', *mantiš* 'you(m.) are not', *mantīš* 'you(f.) are not', *mahnāš* 'we are not', etc.; but *manīš* 'I am not'.

Examples:

1. *mālak ʿāmāl-lak šī bēt šəʿr?* 'Haven't you composed any verse of poetry?'
2. *ʿam-yədros handase ʿaw fīzya, māli ʿakīd manna* 'He's studying engineering or physics - I'm not sure about it'
3. *lēš hal-labake?...mālna ǧaraba* 'Why [go to all] this bother? We're not strangers'
4. *šlōnak ya ḥasan? wəššak mālo mnīḥ* [AO-51] 'How are you, Hassan? You don't look well' (lit. "your face isn't good")
5. *lamma bfiʿ, ʿiza kām māli ʿaḥsan bətšībī-li l-ḥakīm* [AO-51] 'When I wake up, if I'm not better you can get the doctor for me'
6. *w-ṭəlʿet w-ʿtlaʿet maḥa w-hiyye māla šāʿra* [AO-118]¹ 'And she went out, and I went out along with her, without her noticing' (lit. "...and she was not perceiving")

The *māl-* forms are commonly also used before verbs with *ʿam-* and *raḥa-* [p.320]:

7. *hallaʿ māli ʿam-rūḥ ʿaš-šāmʿa* 'I'm not going to the university now(adays)'
8. *šar-lon zamān mālon ʿam-yasmaʿu manno* 'They haven't been hearing from him for a long time'
9. *mālo ʿam-yəʿder yəṭṣawwar ʿš-šī yalli ʿam-naʿmlo* 'He can't imagine what it is we're doing'
10. *mālna raḥa-nəttšfeʿ ʿabadan* 'We're not ever going to reach an agreement'

¹The AO text actually reads *w-hīye mā-lha šaʿrha* ('not having her hair') which seems not to make sense in the context.

Note that *māl-* + pronoun suffix is indistinguishable in form from *mā* + *-l-* + pronoun suffix. See examples 33-35, p. 385. Thus in Damascus *māli* means both 'I am not' and 'I haven't (got)', but in many other parts of Syria *māli* means only 'I haven't got', while *māni* means 'I am not'.

The Particle *lā*

Verbs in the independent subjunctive [p.345] (especially in negative commands) are negated with *lā*:

1. *lā tətʿaxxar* 'Don't be late'
2. *lā tʿāxxzūni* 'I'm sorry', 'Excuse(pl.) me', lit. 'Don't blame me, Don't hold it against me'
3. *lā trawweḥ ʿalēna šammet ʿl-hawa* 'Let's not miss the outing', lit. 'Don't let the outing get away from us' (*rawweḥ* 'to let go, make go', causative of *rāḥ*)
4. *lā ykəl-lak fəkre* 'Don't give it a thought', lit. 'Let there not be a thought to you'
5. *ʿaḥḥa lā yʿadder* 'God forbid!' lit. 'May God not decree'

In many parts of Greater Syria, however, *mā* is generally used in negative commands rather than (or as well as) *lā*: *mā tətʿaxxar* 'Don't be late', *mā tʿāxxzūni* 'I'm sorry', etc.

lā is used before the second-person perfect of *ʿād* and *baʿa* 'to keep on (doing something), to do...again', as a negative command 'don't...any more':

6. *lā ʿadtu dzūrū* 'Don't(pl.) visit him any more'
7. *lā baʿēt ʿtḥākīhon* 'Don't talk to them any more'

Cf. *mā ʿadna nzūro* 'We don't visit him any more', *mā baʿēt ḥākīhon* 'I don't talk to them any more'. Though *ʿād* and *baʿa* in these locutions are inflected as full-fledged verbs, they function syntactically as a sort of intrusive adverbial element, coming between the negative particle and the verb it really applies to. Thus *lā...dzūrū* 'Don't visit him...', *lā...ḥākīhon* 'Don't talk to them...'.¹

lā also occurs with a verb in the perfect in the expression *lā samah ʿaḥḥa* 'God forbid!', lit. 'May God not have allowed!'

There are a number of classicisms in which *lā* is used with a verb in the imperfect without *b-* (but as an indicative):

8. *mḥassbe ʔanno lā yustaḡna ʔanna* 'She thinks she is indispensable'
 9. *hāda ʔamʔr lā yaḡtāṣ la-bərḥān* 'That's a matter that needs no proof'
 [SPA-214]

Also in classicisms, *lā* is used before nouns, in the sense of *mū* 'no' or *mā fī* 'there is no' (*lā li-nafyī l-ḡins* 'the generic *lā*'):

10. *lā šakk ʔanno ʔaḥsan* 'There's no doubt that it's better'
 11. *lā šakʔr ʔala wāṣeb* 'You're welcome', lit. "There's no thanks for [something done as a] duty"
 12. *xnāʔa maʔo lā bədd mənna hallaʔ* 'An argument with him is inevitable now'
 13. *šamāl hal-bənt lā šēʔ* 'That girl's beauty is nothing compared to her sisters'
bən-nəsbe la-ʔəxwāta

In coördinations: *lā...w-lā* 'neither...nor':

14. *lā ʔana w-lā humme laḥa-nkūn* 'Neither he nor I will be there'
ʔhnīk
 15. *lā baʔʔrfo w-lā byaʔrəfni* 'I don't know him and he doesn't know me'
 16. *ʔaddēš ḥəlwe hal-ʔiyyām, lā fī* 'How nice it is these days, there
bard u-lā fī šōb [DA-239] is neither cold nor hot weather'

The first term of a coördination with *w-lā* can have *mā* or one of the other negativizers instead of *lā*; see ex. 21, p.384. Also:

17. *ʔana māli maʔ l-ʔəqtirāḥ w-lā* 'I am neither for the proposal nor
ḡəḡḡo against it'

lā is used with the "emphatic *w-*" in the sense 'not even': *w-lā* (or *wala*). See p.384, ex. 26. (Cf. *w-law* 'even if', p.335.)

18. *w-lā wāḥed mn ʔd-dakātra ʔəder* 'Not one of the doctors could
išaxxeṣ ʔl-maraḡ diagnose the disease'
 19. *w-lā šawāb mn ʔš-šawābēn maḡbūṭ* 'Neither of the two answers is cor-
 rect'

If a complement or a post-posed subject [p.407] has *w-lā*, the main term of the predicate must also be preceded by a negative particle:

20. *mā fī w-lā nətfet xəbʔz bəl-bēt* 'There's not even a piece of bread
 in the house'
 21. *s-sama zraʔʔet w-lā ʔād fī w-lā* 'The sky became blue and there
ḡēme [AO-67] wasn't a single cloud left'
 22. *mā ʔād naṭaʔ w-lā b-ḥarf w-lā* 'He neither pronounced another
tkallam w-lā kəlme [AO-118] letter nor spoke another word' (The
w-lā before *tkallam* is 'nor', in coördination with *mā ʔād...*, while the *w-lā* before *b-ḥarf* and before *kəlme* is the emphatic particle.)

COORDINATION

Coordination is a type of construction in which none of the two or more terms is grammatically subordinate to – or dependent on – the other (or others). SYNETIC coordinations are marked by a conjunction between the co-ordinated terms, such as *w-* 'and', *ʔaw* 'or', *lāken* 'but', etc., while ASYN-DETTIC coordinations [p.398] simply have their terms juxtaposed with no conjunction. (POLYSYNETIC coordinations [396] have a conjunction before the leading term as well as before the following terms: *yā...yā...* 'either... or...'.)

The Conjunction *w-* 'and'. This conjunction is a proclitic, i.e. it is pronounced as a prefix on the following word [p.18], though the coordinated term may be whole clause or phrase. The use of *w-* in coordinations is similar to the use of English 'and', but unlike 'and', *w-* is also used as a subordinating conjunction [p.531] and as a particle of emphasis [390, 335].

In close phrasing [p.21] between a word ending in a consonant and a word beginning with a single consonant, this conjunction is regularly transcribed 'u-' in this book: *təffāḥ u-mōz* 'apples and bananas'; otherwise it is transcribed as a consonant: *w-mōz kamān* 'and bananas too', *ʔalam w-ʔktāb* 'a pencil and a book'.¹ In combination with the article [493], the conjunction is written in our transcription without the hyphen and with a following *ə* (rather than *ʔ*): *l-ʔalam wəl-ʔktāb* 'the pencil and the book'. See p.476.

¹In actual pronunciation, there is a good deal of free variation and indeterminacy as between *w* and *u* in some positions, since the difference between them is subtle and non-phonemic [p.9].

Examples. Coordination of noun-type words and phrases:

1. *šlōn ʔl-ʔarūs wəl-ʔarīs?* 'How are the bride and groom?'
2. *maʔi nəmret talifōno w-ʔənwāno* 'I have his telephone number and address'

Note, in the foregoing examples, that the article prefix and the pronoun suffixes must be repeated for each coordinated term to which they apply, while in English 'the' and 'his' can apply to the coordination as a whole.

See also ex. 1, p. 394.

3. *bəddna šī badle w-šabbāt*
u-ʔəmšan, w-šī šwayyet ʔgrād 'I (lit. "we") want a suit and (a pair of) shoes and shirts, and a few [other] things'

Multiple coordinations like that in example 3 are in English often converted into a listing, with 'and' kept only before the last term: '...a suit, shoes, shirts, and a few other things'. In Arabic, however, *w-* is usually kept between all the terms.

4. *huwwe w-samīr kānu b-fard šaff* 'He and Samir were in the same class'

For further examples of personal pronouns in coordinations, see pp. 364, 551.

5. *l-marḥale t-tālte wəl-ʔaxīre...*
[DA-305] 'The third and final stage...'
6. *ʔandi baṭṭīx ʔaḥmar u-ʔašfar*
(lit. "...red and yellow melon") 'I have watermelon and canteloupe'
7. *la-ʔawwal u-ʔāxer marra, laʔ!* 'For the first and last time, no!'
8. *...ʔaḡamet u-faxāmet farš byūt*
ʔl-ʔaḡanya [PAT-191] '...the magnificence and elegance of the furnishings in the houses of the rich'

Examples 7 and 8 illustrate coordinations as leading term in annexion; see p. 456.

Coordination of verbs and verb phrases:

9. *...badu yənʔəʃu w-yəḥyu l-ʔadab*
ʔl-ʔarabi l-ʔadīm [DA-304] 'They began to stimulate and revive the old Arab culture'
10. *ʔana rāyeḥ ʔəšlah ʔawāʔiyyi*
w-ʔalbes bišāmti 'I'm going to take off my clothes and put on my pajamas'

See also p. 320, top.

Coordination of clauses and sentences:

11. *ʔāl mudīr ʔl-barāmeš ʔanna*
ḥəlwe w-ʔašʔbto ktir 'The program director said it was nice and he liked it a lot'
12. *biḥabb banāt ʔammto w-biḥabb*
yəšhar maʔhon 'He likes his aunt's daughters and he likes to spend the evening with them'
13. *waḷḷa šāṭer w-ʔēn ʔaḷḷa ʔalē* 'He is certainly clever, and God's eye is upon him'
14. *rūḥ ʔasʔal ʔammak bəddha šī,*
w-baʔdēn sāwi yalli bəddak yā 'Go ask your mother if she wants anything, and then do what you wish'
15. *byəḡhar ʔannak kaslān w-ʔbtətrok*
ʔl-waḡīfe yōmēn wara baʔdḥon
w-kəll yōm bəʔūl "bakra" 'It seems that you're lazy and you leave your assignment [undone] for two days in a row, and every day you say "tomorrow".'
16. *ḥaṭṭet ʔl-ʔaša ʔəddāmo, w-mā*
rəḍyet tākol maʔo [AO-111] 'She set the dinner before him, but wouldn't eat with him'

Followed by the negative *mā*, as in example 16, *w-* is sometimes better translated 'but' than 'and'.

17. *šəft fəlm ʔz-zahraʔ fī šī*
ḡarīf? - rawʔa, w-bəl-ʔaxašš
l-ʔmmassle. - wəl-ʔəššaʔ 'Have you seen the picture at the Zahra? Is there anything good in it? - It's great, especially the [leading] actress. - And [what about] the story?'
18. *mʔakker tərʔaʔ ləš-šām b-ʔšbāṭ?*
- laʔ, bərʔaʔ b-ʔḥzērān. -
w-bəttamm ʔala ṭūl bəš-šām? 'Are you planning to go back to Damascus in February? - No, I'm going back in June. - And will you stay permanently in Damascus?'

Like English 'and', *w-* is often used to link clauses in a significant sequence - the order of coordinated terms representing a time sequence or a cause-and-effect sequence of events:

19. *nḥana w-tarak ʔl-masrah* 'He bowed and left the stage'
20. *zaḥlet rəʔlo w-wəʔeʔ la-wara* 'His foot slipped and he fell over backwards'
21. *bass ʔkbēs hal-maske wəl-bāb*
byənʔateḥ 'Just press this handle and the door will open'
22. *ʔməl-lak ṭaṭlīʔa b-sərʔa*
w-šūf ʔiza ʔəʔet ʔl-bōšṭa 'Take a quick look and see if the mail has come'

Like 'and' again, *w-* is used in ANAPHORIC coordinations. The following term is a repetition of the leading term, and has augmentative [p. 253] significance:

23. *bəddall ʔbtəhki w-ʔbtəhki* 'She keeps on talking and talking'
 24. *l-ʔmnāqaše stamarret sēʔāt u-sāʔāt* 'The argument went on for hours and hours'
 25. *kəll šī ʔam-yəgla ʔaktar u-ʔaktar* 'Everything is getting more and more expensive'

SYNONYMIC coordinations are commonly used for rhetorical emphasis:

26. *ʔāšu b-taʔāse w-bəʔs* 'They lived in misery and wretchedness'

See also examples 8 and 9, above.

Conjunctions translated 'or'

ʔaw 'or' is used mainly to coordinate words or phrases, more rarely clauses. Examples:

1. *byəʔbaḍ ʔl-fallāh taman ʔhbūbo ʔaw fwākī ʔaw xədrāto mn ʔs-səmsār* [PAT-185] 'The farmer collects the price of his grain or fruit or vegetables from the broker'
 2. *l-yōm mā fī rōḥa ʔal-ʔahwe ʔaw ʔas-sinama ʔaw la-hōn u-la-hon* 'Today there's [to be] no going to the coffeehouse or to the movies or hither and yon'
 3. *səntən ʔaw tlāte bən-nəsbə la-mhandes ktār* 'Two or three years for an engineer are a lot'
 4. *l-malābes ʔl-franžiiyye hiyye ʔibāra ʔan baṇṭalūn u-sūka maʔ ʔaw bidūn šəḍriyye* [PAT-197] 'The Western outfit consists of trousers and jacket with or without a vest'

Example 4 shows a coordination of prepositions, which is a rather uncommon construction in Arabic. Cf. p. 456.

5. *ʔiza mū ḥāteḥ bi-būlak ʔt-taʔlīm bəš-šāmʔa ʔaw ma ʔašbah mā-la ʔaʔme* 'If you don't have your mind set on teaching in a university or something similar there's no sense in it'

Like English 'or', *ʔaw* is used in synonymic coordinations:

6. *l-madīne mʔassame la-ʔəddet ʔaʔsām ʔaw ʔaḥya* [PAT-179] 'The city is divided into a number of sections or quarters'
 7. *bisammū l-ʔašr ʔl-ʔabbāsi ʔaw ʔl-ʔašr ʔz-zahabi* 'They call it the Abbasid Period or the Golden Age'

The conjunction *yā* 'or' is used similarly to *ʔaw*, but not for synonymic coordinations. (See also polysyndetic coordinations, below.) Examples:

8. *šāye l-yōm yā bəkra* 'He's coming today or tomorrow'
 9. *bəʔd ʔl-ʔakʔl byāxod šəkʔl fwākī yā šəkʔl ḥalu* [PAT-195] 'After eating [the main courses] he has some kind of fruit or some kind of sweet'
 10. *z-zyāra fi trāblos bəddūm waʔt ʔawīl, sēʔtēn yā tlatt sēʔāt w-ʔiyyām ʔaktar* [PAT-197] 'Visiting in Tripoli takes a long time, two or three hours and sometimes longer'
 11. *kəll yōm šamʔa w-ʔaḥad bəʔd ʔd-ḍəḥʔr bəʔšūfon rāyḥīn ʔal-ʔahāwi, yā ʔa-šamm ʔl-hawa ʔal-bəddāwi, yā ʔal-mīna, yā ʔa-zḡarta, yā ʔal-mānye, yā ʔal-ʔalmūn, yā ʔa-bəzḥ rās ʔn-nahʔr* [PAT-187] 'Every Friday and Sunday afternoon you see them going to the coffee houses, or on an outing to el Beddawi, or to el Mina, or to Zghorta, or to Méniye, or to Almoune, or to Bordj Rās en Nahr'

The conjunctions *yamma* (or *yamma*) and *wəlla* 'or, or else' are to some extent synonyms of *yā* and *ʔaw*, but are used most commonly in ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS:

12. *ʔatīna warʔtēn. - daraše ʔūla yamma daraše tānye?* [DA-26] 'Give me two tickets. - First class or second class?'
 13. *w-hallaʔ mnēn merrūḥ? mən ḥōn yamma mn ʔhnīk?* [DA-77] 'And now which way do we go? This way or that way?'
 14. *ṭləʔt mən bēṛūt raʔsan, wəlla mn ʔš-šām?* 'Did you leave directly from Beirut, or from Damascus?'
 15. *w-laḥ-təzəʔ ʔaš-šām wəlla laḥ-ʔḍall ḥōn?* 'And are you going back to Damascus, or will you stay here?'
 16. *bḥəṭṭ-əllak zēt šaʔʔr wəlla bass mayy?* [DA-180] 'Shall I put hair tonic on, or just water?'

Alternative questions are commonly pronounced with an intonation similar to that of substitution questions [p. 379]. The first term (which ends just before the conjunction) has a slightly rising pitch, while the following term may end on a medium-low level pitch; or else - as in English - fall all the way to the "bottom".

17. *s-səne fiḥa... šahʔr wāḥed ʔəlo bass tmāna w-ʔəšrīn wəlla təšəa w-ʔəšrīn yōm* [AO-71] 'There is one month in the year which has only twenty-eight or else twenty-nine days'
 18. *staʔḫel wəlla btəʔaxxar* 'Hurry up or you'll be late'

19. *mā tšədd ʔīdak, wəlla mā byədxol* 'Don't tense your arm, or the medi-
 ʔd-dawa [PVA-60] cine won't go in'
20. *skōt wəlla bəḏʔrbak* [SPA-431] 'Hush up or I'll hit you'
21. *rūḥ ʔəl-lo ʔənt yamma ʔana brūḥ* 'You go tell him or else I'll go'
 [SPA-433]

Examples 18-21 illustrate another common use of *wəlla* (less common for *yamma*, *yamma*), namely the coordination of a command with a predication. The predication depicts the consequence of not obeying the command.

Polysyndetic Coordinations. *yā*, and sometimes also *yamma* (or *yamma*) and *ʔaw*, may be used before the first term of a coordination and repeated before the following term (or terms), thus constituting a conjunction set like 'either...or...' in English:

1. *yā ʔana brūḥ yā huwwe* 'Either I go or he goes!'
2. *ʔēmta bəddak ʔdšība? - yəmken* 'When do you want to bring her? -
 yā bəkra yā baʔd bəkra [DA-99] Perhaps either tomorrow or the day after'
3. *ʔamma l-laḥme la-ḥāla huwwe* 'As for meat by itself, he eats it
 byākšəla məšwiyye yā kəfta roasted, either as meatballs [done]
 bəl-fərn yā bəs-sīx [PAT-195] in the oven, or on a spit'
4. *lāzem ʔāxod hal-bənt, yamma* 'I must have that girl, either with
 b-rəḏa mʔallmi yamma b-ḡəšmen my master's approval or in spite of
 ʔanno [AO-107] him'
5. *ʔaw byəšrab ḥalībən, ʔaw bisāwi* 'He either drinks their milk, or
 mənno šəbne w-zəbde [AO-63] makes cheese and butter from it'

The form *ʔamma* or *ʔamma* is often used as part of an 'either...or...' conjunction set, in various combinations, for contrastive emphasis. In some cases it is preceded by *yā* or *w-*:

6. *ʔamma ʔana w-ʔamma ʔənte* 'It's either you or I in this house!'
 b-hal-bət! (i.e. One of us has to go)
7. *ʔamma bṭəṭlaʔ mən hōn ʔaw* 'Either you get out of here or I'll
 b-awwəšak! shoot you!'
8. *ʔana msāfer yā l-yōm yā ʔamma* 'I'll be leaving either today, or
 bəkra tomorrow'

'Neither...nor...' coordinations are expressed with *lā* ...*w-lā*..., literally 'not...and not...'.¹ See p. 390. Further examples:

9. *byāklū b-ʔidon w-mā byəstaʔmlu* 'They eat with their hand(s), using
 lā šawke w-lā səkkīn [PAT-193] neither fork nor knife'
10. *ṭūl ḥayāto mā šāf lā haš-šabal* 'In all his life he had never seen
 u-lā hal-barriyye [AO-117] either that mountain or that plain'
11. *mašrūfo ʔalīl; lā sīnama w-lā* 'His expenses are slight; no movies,
 ʔahwe w-lā taman ʔtʔūme no coffeehouse, and no cost of West-
 franšīyye [PAT-195] ern clothes'

Clause Conjunctions

The conjunction *fa-* 'so, and' differs from *w-* in that it is only used to conjoin sentences or clauses, and always implies significant sequence [p. 393] or some sort of conclusion or summation:

1. *ṭ-tayyāra tāhet fa-ṭṭaṭamet* 'The plane got lost and crashed in
 bəl-barriyye the desert'
2. *ʔasās ṭarīʔet ʔt-taʔlīm* 'The basis of the teaching method
 bṭatṭayyar ʔalēk fa-kəll šī will be different for you, so every-
 bikūn ʔšdīd thing will be new'
3. *kān ʔanna dyūf, w-šāyihon dyūf* We had guests, and they had guests
 mən ʔammān, fa-ʔəžu səhru from Amman, and they [all] came and
 ʔanna spent the evening with us'
4. *mā beʔder ʔəṭlaʔ la-ykūn maʔi* 'I wouldn't be able to leave until I
 ʔbūl mən šāmʔa ʔraʔt kīf; had acceptance from a university, you
 fa-maʔi, ʔəšāni ʔbūl mən see; and I have; I've got acceptance
 šāmʔetēn from two universities'

lāken and *bass* 'but':

5. *maḥmūd byəʔrabo la-ḥsən,* 'Mahmoud is related to Hussein, but
 lāken ʔarbe šwayye bʔīde it's a rather distant relationship'
6. *wəlla ʔana bḥəbb ʔl-fətuwwe* 'I do like the Youth Club but I want
 lāken bəddi rūḥ ʔas-sīnama to go to the movies'

¹ These coordinations are not exactly polysyndetic, since *lā* is a negative particle, not a conjunction. The fact that the leading term has *lā* rather than *mā* or *mū*, however, does constitute a mark of coordination.

7. *kənt bəddi ʔaʔrā-li ʃwayye lāken maʔlēʃ, mənʔəz bakkīr bukra*
'I was going to do some reading, but never mind, we'll get up early tomorrow'
8. *taʔlīqo ʔal-ʔaxbār kən mənʔəz bakkīr lāken wādeh*
'His commentary on the news was brief but clear'
9. *ballaʃt ʔs-səne, bass b-ʔšbāʔ ʔš-ʔāye bxalleʃ*
'I've started the year, but next February I'll finish'
10. *ʔana baʔʔrfo mn ʔš-ʔām bəl-madrəse, bass kən faʃʔūn ʔgḡīr*
'I know him from Damascus at school, but he was just a little kid'
11. *bəddha xams ʔsnīn, bass xams ʔsnīn mdrəsiyye..., fa-badaʔwumu ʔarbaʔ ʔsnīn bass ʔbtəntəʔel la-xams ʔʃfuf, ʔraʔt kīf*
'It takes five years, but five school years...; so they stay four years but you go though five classes, you see'

Asyndetic Coordinations

Certain kinds of terms are often coordinated without a conjunction. Consecutive numerals (including nouns in the dual), for instance, are commonly juxtaposed in the sense '...or...':

1. *ʔš-ʔamāʔa kallhon ʃar-lon ʔarbaʔ xams ʔsnīn, w-mū zalame zalamtēn, kən fī xams sət ʔlāf zalame ʔāʔdīn mən kall nawāhi ʔamērka*
'The whole group had been [here] four or five years, and it wasn't just one or two people; there were five or six thousand people present from all parts of America'
2. *baʔdēn bəddi ʔarʔaʔ ləʃ-ʔām ʔaʔʔad-li ʃahrēn tlāte*
'Then I expect to go back to Damascus to stay two or three months'
3. *d-doktōr ʔāl lāzem nəstanna tlāta rbaʔt iyyām [DA-217]*
'The doctor said we'd have to wait three or four days'

Note in ex. 3 the special form *tlāta rbaʔ* (instead of *tlāte ʔarbaʔ*)

Adjectives and nouns are often coordinated asyndetically in sentences like the following:

4. *mā btaʔfreʔ maʔi bēda sōda*
'I don't care whether it's black or white'
5. *ʔaʔla ʔarḡama ḡayye mayyte*
'God have mercy on her, alive or dead'
6. *hal-ʔakle mā baʔref ʃū nāʔʔša, mālʔh fəlfəl, mā baʔref*
'I don't know what it is this food lacks; salt? pepper? I don't know'

As in English, attributive adjectives [p.502] are coordinated asyndetically in the sense '...and...' more often than not: *bənt laʔife ḡelwe* 'a nice pretty girl' (for *bənt laʔife w-ḡelwe*). The *w-* is kept, however, if the adjectives apply distributively – contrastively to different instances of something referred to by a plural or collective: *mənʔaʔāt ʔaskariyye w-sināʔiyye* 'military and industrial installations', *samak ʔabyaʔ u-ʔaḡmar u-ʔazraʔ u-ʔaʃfar* [AO-117] 'white, red, blue, and yellow fish'.

Note also the set phrase *ʔaʔraʃ ʔaxras* 'deaf and dumb, deaf-mute'.

Verbal clauses with the same subject-referent are often conjoined asyndetically in the sense of 'and', but such clauses are usually in significant sequence [p.393] and may often be interpreted as complemental:

7. *ḡāḡā hamm kalme xallā yəstəhi*
'He said a few words to him and embarrassed him'
8. *staḡkamto b-ḡarbe xalaʔt-əllo nīʔo*
'I aimed a blow at him and loosened his jaw for him'
9. *tfaʔḡalu ya ʔamāʔa kall wāḡed imədd ʔīdo yətsallā-lo ʃwayy*
'Come on, folks, everybody help himself and have a good time'
10. *l-ʔḡbīr hallaʔ mawʔūd bi-ʔamērka biʔāwen ʔabū [DA-75]*
'The eldest is now in America and helps his father'
11. *w-ʔbtərʔaʔ ʔand ʔš-ʔəbʔh btaʔfox ʔala wəʃʃo, bətraʔweh ʔanno l-banʔ [AO-118]*
'And she comes back in the morning and blows on his face, and drives the anesthetic away from him'

This kind of construction is particularly common when the first clause has a translocative verb [p.274]:

12. *bəmoʔ bāxdak mn ʔl-ʔotēl s-sāʔa xamse w-nəʃʃ [DA-249]*
'I'll come back and pick you at the hotel at half past five'
13. *ʔante ʔūm la-taxtak strəḡ-lak ʃwayye [DA-217]*
'You go on up to bed and rest a while'
14. *bakra bəḡi bəḡḡadda ʔandek*
'Tomorrow I'll come and have lunch with you'
15. *rāyeḡ bʔəb-lak yāha [AO-115]*
'I'll go and get her for you'
16. *ʔāye bəddo yāha ʔtarreḡ ḡāla*
'He comes along and wants her to have an abortion'
17. *byərʔaʔ ʔal-bēt biʔāyed ʔalēna w-byəʔtar maʔna [DA-300]*
'He'll come back home and wish us holiday greetings and break his fast with us'

The *w-* in ex. 17 links *biʿāyed ʿalēna* with *byaʿtar maʿna*, while this coordination is linked asyndetically as a whole with *byarʿa ʿal-bēt*.

Asyndetically linked phrases and words:

18. *matli matlak mā baʿref, bass*
ʔalla kbīr mā byansa ḥada
[DA-243] 'I don't know any more than you do,
but God is great and forgets no one'
19. *s-samakāt šāru sūd sūd* [AO-117] 'The fish became very black' (Cf.
p.394, ex. 23-26).
20. *zaʿel ktīr ʔktīr* [AO-115] 'He got very, very angry' (Cf. *zaʿel*
ʔaktar u-ʔaktar [AO-115])

Miscellaneous further examples of asyndetic coordination:

21. *ʔannaʿto ktīr, mā ʔtanaʿ*
[Bart. 685] 'I did all I could to persuade him,
but he wouldn't be persuaded'
22. *maʿʔūl ʔabʔa hōn, maʿʔūl mā*
ʔabʔa 'It would be reasonable for me to
stay here, but also reasonable for
me not to stay'
23. *mā taʿmel ḥarake bʔamweš!* 'Don't make a move or I'll shoot!'
24. *šlōnkon ya šabāya ya šabāb?* 'How are you, young ladies and
gentlemen?'
25. *hal-barnāmeš biwarʿi...kīf*
lāzem yaʿšarrfu, kīf lāzem
idīru šarkathon, kīf lāzem
iʿāmlu mwaḡḡafīnhon w-iḥassnu
ʔawḡāʿhon 'This program shows...how they should
act, how they should manage their com-
panies, and how they should treat
their employees and improve their
conditions'

CHAPTER 16: PREDICATION AND EXTRAPOSITION

Predication – defined in Chapter 15 [p.379] – is the basic clause-forming construction. The constituents of a predication are the SUBJECT and the PREDICATE. The subject, however, is commonly suppressed, especially in verbal predications, so that many predications consist of a predicate alone: *batrūḥ ʿal-bēt?* 'Are you going home?' (for *ʔante batrūḥ ʿal-bēt?*), *rāḥ iṣūfak* 'He went to see you' (for e.g. *ʔaxūk rāḥ iṣūfak* 'Your brother went to see you').¹

The relationship of subject and predicate is expressed mainly by number/gender agreement [p.420]. The predicate (if inflectible for number/gender) usually agrees with the subject.

The word order of subject and predicate varies, depending partly on what the subject and predicate consist of, and partly on emphasis, stylistic considerations, etc.

¹The subject-affix of a verb [p.175] is sometimes analyzed as a pronoun, and as subject of the verbal clause. Since it is an obligatory part of the verb, however – since it must be present whether or not a syntactic subject is also present – it is in fact a genuine inflectional affix and cannot be counted as a pronoun or a subject-surrogate in the full sense of these terms. (In this respect subject-affixes differ fundamentally from the complemental pronoun suffixes [p.539], which generally occur in place of – not in addition to – a syntactical complement. [But see p.434].)

Traditional Arabic grammar makes a fundamental distinction between the construction of a verbal clause (*ḡumla fiʿliyya*) and that of a nominal clause (*ḡumla ʔismiyya*). The subject (*al-fāʿil* 'the agent') of a verbal clause is treated in effect as another kind of complement, since it normally follows – or may follow – the verb (while preceding the object or other complements) and since a verb often shows no agreement with a following indefinite subject [421].

A nominal (or a non-verbal) clause, on the other hand, is traditionally analyzed in terms of the topic-comment construction (*al-mubtadaʔ wal-xabar*), since the subject normally precedes the predicate. The type of topic-comment construction here called 'extraposition' [p.431] has an anaphoric pronoun in the comment whose antecedent is the topic; note that when verbal subject-affixes are considered pronouns, then the subject of a following verbal predicate also qualifies as an extrapositive topic, since it is antecedent to the subject "pronoun" in the verb.

Arabic predication is more diverse (both in constituency and in word order) than predication in English. The main differences are 1.) that in Arabic the subject may be suppressed in many cases where English requires a subject pronoun; 2.) that the Arabic subject in many cases follows the predicate – or a part of the predicate – where in English it generally must come first; 3.) that in Arabic the predicate may consist of a prepositional, adjectival, or nominal phrase as well as a verbal phrase, while in English it is always verbal.

Non-Verbal Predications

An indefinite [p.494] nominal, adjectival, or prepositional predicate is used to depict a present (or permanent) state or characteristic of the subject referent. The subject ordinarily comes first (but see pp.414,419) and is usually definite. In the English translations the predicate (or in questions, the subject) is usually introduced by 'is', 'are', or 'am'.

Prepositional Predicates:

1. *ʔabūk bāl-bēt wəlla barraʔ*
'Is your father in the house, or outside?' (On "free" prepositions, see p.485.)
2. *bēto hadd ʔs-sīnama*
'His house is next to the movie theater'
3. *l-ʔblād taht ʔl-ḥəkm ʔl-ʔərʔi*
'The country is under martial law'
4. *sayyāra hallaʔ barrāt ʔəmkānītna bāl-marra*
'A car just now is altogether beyond our means' (Indefinite subject.)
5. *ʔana bēn ʔl-ʔayādi* [DA-197]
'I'm at your service' (lit. "I'm between the hands")
6. *ḥkāyti maʔak matl ʔḥkāyet malek ʔl-yūnān maʔ ʔl-ḥakīm rayyān* [AO-116]
'My experience (lit. 'my story') with you is like the story of the king of Greece with the doctor Rayyan'
7. *ḥal-ʔktāb tabaʔ šāḥbi*
'This book belongs to my friend' [p.489]
8. *ṭūl ʔəmra ʔaḷḷa fōʔ u-bēta taḥʔt*
'All her life [her only concern has been that] God is above and her house is below' (i.e. She's a home-body)

Most cases in which a prepositional predicate precedes its subject come under the heading of 'quasi-verbal predication', e.g. *ʔanna dyūf* 'We have guests', lit. "With us (Fr. chez nous) are guests". See p.413. To translate

an English sentence with an indefinite subject such as 'A plate is on the table' or 'On the table is a plate', the impersonal predicator *fī* 'there is' [p.415] is used: *fī ṣaḥʔn ʔaṭ-ṭāwle* or *ʔaṭ-ṭāwle fī ṣaḥʔn* 'There is a plate ...', etc.

Note, however: *taḥt ʔīdi wāḥde mā fī manḥa* [DA-80A] 'I have one(f.) that can't be beat' (lit. "Under my hand is one of which there are none"). The idiomatic sense of *taḥt ʔīdi* is similar to that of the quasi-verbal *ʔandi*, *maʔi*, etc.; perhaps for that reason it is also assimilated to them syntactically.

Note also: *man ʔalʔan ʔxšālo t-taraddod* 'One of his worst qualities is indecision', which has a prepositional predicate preceding a definite subject. In this case the phrase *man ʔalʔan ʔxšālo* ("of the worst of his qualities") functions like a nominal phrase, and the sentence is similar to an equational predication [p.405] (cf. *ʔalʔan ʔxšālo, t-taraddod* 'His worst quality is indecision'), in which the first term is interpreted as subject and *t-taraddod*, as predicate.

On the predicative use of the prepositional-phrase substitutes *hōn* 'here', *hnīk* 'there', *wēn* 'where', etc., see Ch. 21.

Adjectival Predicates:

9. *maṣrūfo ʔalīl*
'His expenses are slight'
10. *l-maʔkarōna xafīfe ʔal-maʔde*
'Macaroni is easy on the stomach'
11. *xzāntak matrūse tarʔs*
'Your wardrobe is chock full' (pass. participle with paronymous complement [p.442])
12. *manṣar ʔl-baḥʔr ktīr ḥalu* [PVA-20]
'The view of the sea is very beautiful'
13. *ʔəntu mabṣūṭīnʔ*
'Are you(pl.) well?'
14. *ḥāret ʔl-ʔəslām dayyʔa ktīr, lāken ʔandaf man ḥāret ʔn-naṣāra* [Bg.I.1]
'The Muslim quarter is quite crowded but is cleaner than the Christian quarter'
15. *ḥēkal māmūt maʔrūḍ bāl-maḥaf*
'The skeleton of a mammoth is on exhibit in the museum' (Note that the Arabic subject is indefinite.)

Nominal Predicates:

16. *ʔaxū ḥallāʔ, ʔəsmo ḥasan*
'His brother is a barber; his name is Hassan' (*ḥasan* is definite; see p.405.)
17. *bēt ʔl-xūri ʔēle kbīre* [SAL-65]
'The Khourys are a large family'

18. *hāda maktūb mn ʔš-šerke*
'This is a letter from the company'
19. *mašrūʔi ʔastaxrāš ʔzyūt nabātiyye* [DA-296]
'My plan is [for the] extraction of vegetable oils'
20. *d-doktōr xayyāṭ doktōr šāṭer* [DA-202]
'Dr. Khayat is a good doctor'
21. *šāmaʔt Indiana šāma ktīr ḥalu*
'Indiana University is a very pretty place' (lit. '...a very pretty university')
22. *d-dānye ʔašʔa ktīr* [DA-301]
'It's very crowded (outside)' (lit. 'The world is much a crowd')
23. *l-ʔaslām fəl-balad ʔasmēn, sanniyye w-ʔalawiyye* [PAT-179]
'The Muslims in the town are [in] two parts: Sunnis and Alawis'
24. *wan-našāra šiyaʔ ʔktīre* [Bg.I.1]
'And the Christians are [of] many sects'

Examples 23 and 24 illustrate a use of nominal predicates that is unlike English; the predicate designates those things which the subject-referent is composed of or divided into.

Arabic lacks the distinction sometimes made in English between CLASSIFICATORY and DEFINITIONAL predication by changing the article of the subject: 'The eagle is a large bird' (classificatory) vs. 'An eagle is a large bird' (definitional). In Arabic the subject takes the article prefix in either case: *n-našār ʔktīr ʔkbīr*. Similarly:

25. *l-ʔansān ḥaywān nāṭeq*
'Man is a rational animal'
26. *l-mūs sakkīn ʔbtatsakkar*
'A jackknife is knife that can be closed'

A nominal predicate may be definite. In that case, the predication is usually EQUATIONAL, i.e. the subject and predicate are interchangeable and refer to the same thing¹:

27. *ʔabūhon ʔādel / ʔādel ʔabūhon*
'Their father is Adel' / 'Adel is their father'
28. *raʔīs ʔl-wazāra, raʔs ʔl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi / raʔs ʔl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi, raʔīs ʔl-wazāra*
'The prime minister is the actual head of the government' / 'The actual head of the government is the prime minister'

Sentences like those in ex. 28 are usually pronounced with a considerable prosodic break between the subject and the predicate: the end of the subject is drawled, usually with a rising intonation, and there is often a pause before the beginning of the predicate. (Alternatively, the predication may be transformed by extraposition: *raʔīs ʔl-wazāra huwwe raʔs ʔl-ḥukūme l-ḥaqīqi* 'The prime minister, he is...'. See p.434.) Similarly:

29. *l-ʔādi, yalli byḥkom / yalli byḥkom, l-ʔādi*
'The judge is the one who makes the decision' / 'The one who makes the decision is the judge'

Or better: *l-ʔādi huwwe lli byḥkom / yalli byḥkom, huwwe l-ʔādi*.

30. *dāʔiman maʔbūdak ʔl-mašrūf wəl-mašārī*
'All you ever care about is expenses and money' (lit. 'Always your idol is...')

¹A predication that is equational in the strictest sense cannot be said to have a subject and a predicate; the two terms are grammatically (as well as referentially) equivalent. The word order in a nominal predication depends entirely upon definiteness (or pronominalization, see below), hence when both terms are definite the word order is irrelevant.

Actually, however, these predication are rarely if ever equational in the strictest sense. That is to say, the permutation of terms usually carries with it a change of meaning, such that while *abūhon ʔaḥmad* is felt to be a statement about their father, *ʔaḥmad ʔabūhon* is a statement about Ahmed. We continue to speak, therefore, of the leading term as 'subject' and the following term as 'predicate' even while calling the predication 'equational'.

The term 'equational sentence' has sometimes been used in Arabic grammar more broadly, to denote all non-verbal predication. Though this may seem a gratuitous abuse of the concept of 'equation', it might also be argued (rightly or wrongly) that 'equational predication' in the narrow sense is merely a semantic category for Arabic, while in the broader sense it is formal.

Elatives and ordinals in construct with an indefinite term [p.473] may also enter into an equational predication. That is to say, they may occur either as following term or as leading term in a predication where the other term is definite (even though they are indefinite by the criterion of agreement [494]):

31. *ʕali ʔaḥsan laʕʕib bəl-farīʔ* / *ʔaḥsan laʕʕib bəl-farīʔ, ʕali*
 'Ali is the best player on the team' /
 The best player on the team is Ali'
32. *š-šokolāṭa ʔaṭyab šī ʕandi* / *ʔaṭyab šī ʕandi š-šokolāṭa*
 'Chocolate is my favorite flavor' (lit. "Chocolate is the tastiest thing with me") / 'My favorite flavor is chocolate'
33. *ʔabni tālet wāḥed baš-šaff* / *tālet wāḥed baš-šaff, ʔabni*
 'My son is the third one in the line' / 'The third one in the line is my son'

Cardinal numerals, likewise, count as definite terms in arithmetical statements such as *tlāte w-satte tasʕa* 'Three and six is nine'.

A statement to the effect that X is the name of Y is grammatically an equational predication (though of course the two terms do not refer to the same thing): *ʔasmo ḥasan/ḥasan ʔasmo* 'His name is Hassan'/'Hassan is his name':

34. *ʔasəm blādna š-šamḥūriyye* / *l-labnāniyye* [SAL-152] / *š-šamḥūriyye l-labnāniyye* / *ʔasəm blādna*
 'The name of our country is "The Lebanese Republic"' / "The Lebanese Republic" is the name of our country'

There are some nominal predications in which both terms are definite, but which are nevertheless classificatory, not equational: *tnēna wlād ʔs-šahra* [SAL-138] 'We are both sons of the desert'. The predicate *wlād ʔs-šahra* is a classificatory construct [p.458], depicting something characteristic of the subject-referent, not something identical with it. The subject and predicate therefore cannot be interchanged. Similarly, *ḥasan šāḥbi* 'Hassan is my friend' does not necessarily mean that he is my only friend; therefore it is not always permutable to *šāḥbi ḥasan* 'My friend is Hassan'.

The most common type of equational predication is that in which the subject is a personal or demonstrative pronoun [pp.539,552]: *hāda ʔabūḥon* 'That's their father', *huwwe r-raʔīs* 'He's the boss', *hāda huwwe* 'That's him'. A pronominal predicate is rarely used with a definite nominal subject, however (as in *ʔabūḥon, hāda* 'Their father is that one'); the two terms are therefore not generally interchangeable.

35. *ḥayy ʔaxti ḡ-ḡḡire* 'That's my little sister'
36. *hadōl ʔl-katʔb halli ṭalabtonʔ* 'Are these the books you ordered?'

37. *huwwe raʔīs ʔl-baladiyye* 'He's the mayor'
38. *hāda ʔabḡaḍ šī ʕandi* 'That's what I dislike most of all'
39. *ʔana ʔawwal wāḥed wšəlt* 'I was the first to arrive' (lit. "I am the first one that arrived")
40. *hādi tālet waṭīfe ʔaxadha* [EA-181] 'This is the third job he's had'

The pronoun subject usually appears to agree with the predicate in number/gender; actually this is not grammatical agreement but merely a consequence of the fact that the two terms have the same referent. (Predicates agree with subjects, not vice-versa [p.420].) When there is a conflict between the number/gender of the predicate and the "natural" number and gender of the pronoun's referent, then the natural number/gender usually prevails:

41. *ʔanti ḡ-zalame w-ʔana l-ʕarūs* 'You(f.) are the man and I'm your bride' (as in a masquerade)
ʔalek [AO-115]

Verbal Predications

The placement of the subject in verbal predications depends on a number of different factors, and is to a considerable extent optional.

All the statements about word order in these sections apply only to "normal" or basic word order; for the predicate-subject inversion, see p.419.

If the subject is indefinite, it usually follows the verb: *šāfha rəḡḡāl* 'A man saw her'. If it is definite, it may generally either precede or follow: *r-rəḡḡāl šāfha* / *šāfha r-rəḡḡāl* 'The man saw her'. If the verb has complements (other than pronoun complements), a post-verbal subject ordinarily precedes them: *šāf ʔr-rəḡḡāl ʔl-bənt* 'The man saw the girl'.

Examples, indefinite subject following verb (subject underscored):

1. *nəzel zalame ḡarīb ʕand wāḥed mən ʔahāli d-dēʕa* [AO-108] 'A strange man came to stay with one of the villagers'
2. *ʔəḡāni ʔbūl mən šāmaʕtēn* 'I was accepted by two universities' (lit. "Came to me acceptance from...")
3. *daxal fallāḥ mən dawāḥi l-ʔəds bəl-ʕaskariyye* [AO-91] 'A peasant from the outskirts of Jerusalem joined the army'
4. *lā tənzel mən ʕar-raṣīf, btadʕasak sayyāra* 'Don't get off the sidewalk; a car will run over you'

5. *mā šafi ġēr bākētēn bāl-bēt*

'There are not but two packs left in the house'

The subject commonly follows a complemental preposition with pronoun suffix:

6. *mā rāḥ ʕalēk šī*

'You haven't missed anything' (lit. 'There has not gone by you a thing')

7. *wəšəlmi manha ʔəʕlām ʔmbāreḥ*

'I got a note from her yesterday' (lit. 'Reached me from her a note yesterday')

8. *nšaʔʔ ʔl-ḥēt w-ʔaleʕ manno ʕabd ʔaswad byəšbah ʔt-tōr* [AO-117]

'The wall opened up and out of it came a black slave who looked like a bull'

Examples, definite subject following verb:

9. *nšarafu wlād ʔl-madraxe*

'The children have gotten out of school' (lit. 'The school children have been let out')

10. *batġīb ʔš-šams ʔs-sāʕa xamse taʔrīban* [AO-71]

'The sun sets at approximately five o'clock'

11. *byəltəʔa ġaraḡna bi-hal-maxzan* [DA-252]

'What we need can be found in this store'

12. *ḥamlət-li marti š-šarāb matl ʔl-ʕāde* [AO-118]

'My wife brought me the drink as usual'

13. *labbaset ʔl-bənt təmsāl ʔl-ḥalāwe rōb ʔl-ʕars* [AO-114]

'The girl dressed the candy statue in the wedding gown'

14. *waḷḷa byətrōḥan ʔalbi b-ḥakyo*

'It certainly does my heart good to hear him talk' (lit. 'By God my heart is revived by his talk')

15. *mā ʕād ʔl-wāḥed yəsməʕ ʔaxbār balado*

'One no longer hears the news from his home town' (The subject precedes the complemental verb *yəsməʕ* but follows the "linking" verb *ʕād*.)

Examples, definite subject preceding verb:

16. *d-doktōr waddā dəġri ʕal-məstašfa* [DA-202]

'The doctor took him directly to the hospital'

17. *hallaʔ sayyārt ʔš-šərke bətwəššəlma* [DA-251]

'The company car will take us there now'

18. *bāba rāḥ iṣalli šalāt ʔl-ʕīd* [DA-298]

'Daddy has gone to perform the holiday prayer'

19. *bər-rabīʕ kall ʔl-bəzʔr byəṭlaʕ mn ʔl-ʔarḡ* [AO-59]

'In the spring all the seeds sprout from the ground'

20. *l-fallāḥ byəḥšədhon bəl-manžal b-ʔawwal ʔš-šēf* [AO-59]

'The farmer harvests them with a scythe early in the summer'

21. *ʔahli w-ʔahlo byəʕʔrfu baʕdon*

'My family and his are acquainted with one another'

22. *hallaʔ ʔabi bikūn ʔāʕed la-ḥālo*

'Now my father will be all by himself'

A verb in the simple imperfect functioning adjectivally [p.328], or usually in any characterizing sense, is like a non-verbal predicate; i.e. it is normally only preceded, not followed, by a definite subject:

23. *haš-šabb byəštāġel*

'That young man (really) works' (= *haš-šabb šaġġil* 'That young man's a good worker')

24. *šəġlo byətmallal*

'His work is boring' (= *šəġlo mmalle*)

25. *hal-maṅar mā byəntdsa*

'That sight is unforgettable'

26. *r-rəžžāl byəʕʔbak* [EA-158]

'You'd like the man' (i.e. 'The man is likeable', lit. 'The man would please you')

27. *waḷḷāḥ sayyədna byəswa təʔlo* [AO-118]

'Our master is certainly a good man' (lit. 'By God, our master is worth his weight')

28. *l-walad byəšbah ʔabū*

'The boy resembles his father'

29. *ʕala kall ḥāl ʔs-zāyde mā bəthəmm* [DA-217]

'Anyway, appendicitis isn't serious' (lit. '...doesn't matter')

Under certain conditions, the subject usually precedes the verb regardless whether it is definite or not. A long subject phrase, for instance, is usually not inserted between a verb and its complements. It may follow pronominalized complements, as in ex. 8 above, but if there are non-pronominal complements, the subject normally comes before the verb:

30. *ḥayyaḷḷa rādyo mōže ʔašīre bižīb ʔl-qāhira bi-kall ʔshūle*

'Any short wave radio can get Cairo quite easily'

31. *w-lā dawa mn ʔl-ʔadʔwe halli wašafū-lo yā l-ḥakama mā naḥḥaf ʔl-malek* [AO-95]

'None of the medicines that the doctors prescribed for him reduced the king's weight'

32. *ʕīd l-ʕkbīr ʔaw ʕīd ʕl-ʔadha*
byūʔaʕ bī-ʕašara zal-ħašše
[DA-302]

'Greater Bairam or the Feast of Im-
molation falls on the tenth of Dhu'l
Hijjah'

This constraint is not a hard and fast rule. In narra-
tive style, particularly, there are exceptions as in example
3, above.

A subject phrase consisting of only two words often counts
as a "long subject phrase", particularly if the complement
consists of a single word:

33. *lazʔa bārde bətxaffef ʕl-wašaʕ* 'A cold compress will reduce the pain'
34. *wəl-yōm grūf saʕīde ʕamʕatna* 'And today happy circumstances have
sawa [SAL-60] brought us together'

An indefinite subject may also be put first for emphasis:

35. *ʕamʕ ʕkbīr ʕštamaʕ bəs-sāha* 'A large crowd gathered in the plaza'
36. *b-hadāk ʕl-waʔt ʕī ʔalīl kān* 'At that time very little was known
maʕrūf ʕan bawāʕso l-ħaʔīʔiyye about his real motives'
37. *ʔəmbor bikaffi la-naʔlet ʕgrāḍak* 'A cart will suffice for moving your
things'
38. *mīt sane maḍet w-mā ḥada* 'A thousand years passed and no one
naššāni [AO-116] let me out' (Note also that ḥada
ordinarily precedes the verb.)
39. *kān ʕb-balad ʔəxtēn, l-wāḥde* 'There were in a certain town two sis-
ʕāʔle wət-tānye mʕašše; šabbēn ters, one well-behaved and the other
rādu yetšawwasūhon [AO-111] intolerable; two young men wanted to
marry them'¹

¹In example 39 considerations of narrative style determine the placement
of the subjects; šabbēn comes before its verb perhaps for emphasis ("there
were a certain town two young men who...") or perhaps to counterbalance
the structure of the first sentence. In the first sentence the subject
ʔəxtēn follows the complement b-balad (a characteristically narrative con-
struction, cf. the English translation), especially in order not to be
separated from the following coordinated clauses, to whose subjects it is
the antecedent. The coordination l-wāḥde ʕāʔle wət-tānye mʕašše is
actually a separate sentence, but its referential dependence on the ante-
cedent ʔəxtēn gives it much the force of an attributive clause.

In subordinate clauses, certain conjunctions tend to be followed mostly
by verbs; verb-subject word order is favored in such clauses. The verb-
favoring conjunctions include the particle *ma* (as in *baʕʕd ma* 'after', etc.),
ʔiza, *law*, *ʔan* 'if', and to a lesser extent *lamma*, *waʔt*, etc. 'when', and
ħatta, etc. 'until, in order that'. As a conjunction, the particle *la-* 'in
order that, until' can only be followed by a verb:

40. *kīf bəddi ʔaʕmel la-yəḡfor* 'What should I do in order that God
ʔaḷla xatīyyāti? [AO-99] will forgive my sins?'
41. *bəddak təstaʕšəl ʔabʕl ma* 'You'd better hurry before the bell
yṭənn ʕš-šaraš rings'
42. *ʔ-ṭabīx lāzem yəstāwi mətʕl ma* 'The food must get done the same way
dfīt ʔana lamma kənt bəḡ-ḡalt I got warm when I was naked on top
ʕala rās ʕš-šabal [AO-88] of the mountain'
43. *nṭəḡer lamma byaršaʕ ʔabūha* 'Wait till (when) her father returns
mn ʕl-ħašš [AO-114] from the Pilgrimage'
44. *w-lamma šāb ʕl-xādem hal-ʕḡrād,* 'And when the servant brought those
ṭabxəthon ʕl-bənt ʕb-ħalle things, the girl cooked them in a
kbīre [AO-114] large pot'
45. *dall mādde tawīle w-mā sāfar,* 'He stayed a long time and didn't
ħatta tdāyaʔ l-ʕmʕazze mənno leave, until the host got fed up
[AO-108] with him'
46. *mā rəḍyet taʕmel ʕl-ʕərs ʔalla* 'She wouldn't agree to go through
ʔiza ḥədrū lēlātha ʔarəʕīn bənt with the wedding unless forty girls
[AO-113] would attend that night'
47. *w-hallaʔ bəṭšūf ʔaddēš byəfraḥu* 'And now you'll see how happy they
waʔt ʕbyəši l-laḥḥām [DA-299] are when the butcher comes'

The subject of an attributive clause [p.495] also gen-
erally comes after the verb (except for anaphoric pronouns
[p.497]):

48. *ʕəṭəto ləl-mara halli baʕatha* 'She gave it to the woman Ali Quick-
ʕali s-zēbaʔ [AO-114] silver had sent'

Examples of pre-verbal subject after *lamma*, *ħatta*, and

ma:

49. *lamma lūt ʔaxṭa, rāḥ laʕənd* 'When Lot sinned, he went to his
ʕammo brāḥīm [AO-88] uncle Abraham'
50. *w-naṭar ḥatta l-ʔaḍiyye ntaset* 'And he waited until the matter was
[AO-88] forgotten'
51. *baʕʕd ma l-kəll ʕtəaššu, ʔaʕlan* 'After everyone had eaten, the sultan
ʕs-šəltān ʔəbtidāʔ l-ʕməšādale announced the beginning of the debate
[EA-249]

After the complemental conjunction *ʔanno* [p.449], the subject usually precedes the verb:

52. *drīt ʔanno ʔaxi māt bəš-šihād* [AO-118] 'I've learned that my brother died in the holy war'
53. *w-ʔftakar ʔanno d-dēf*
b-ḥaṭ-ṭarīʔa yəmken yəfham
w-isāfer [AO-108] 'And he thought that in this way the guest might get the point and leave'

Quasi-Verbal Predications

The noun stem *bədd-* is used with pronoun suffixes to form a verb-like predicator meaning 'to want, require, intend, be going to':

<i>bəddo</i> 'he wants, etc.'	<i>bədd(h)a</i> 'she wants, etc.'
<i>bəddak</i> 'you(m.)want, etc.'	<i>bədd(h)on</i> 'they want, etc.'
<i>bəddek</i> 'you(f.)want, etc.'	<i>bəddkon</i> 'you(pl.)want, etc.'
<i>bəddi</i> 'I want, etc.'	<i>bəddna</i> 'we want, etc.'

The pronoun suffixes function as subject-affixes, agreeing with the subject (if any), which usually comes first: *l-walad bəddo ʔalam* 'The boy wants a pencil'. The complement may be either nominal (as *ʔalam*, above) or verbal: *bəddo yrūḥ* 'He wants to go'. The verbal complement may be suppressed: *mā bəddo* 'He doesn't want to'; the nominal complement may be pronominalized on the stem *yā-*: *mā bəddo yāha* 'He doesn't want it(f.)'.

bəddo, then, is syntactically verbal in almost every respect for most speakers (but see ex. 8, below), though in some parts of Greater Syria it enters certain constructions as a noun: *bəddi hiyye* 'I want it(f.)' [Bart. 31], *mā baʔa bədd* 'There's no more need (for it)' [ibid.]. If *bəddo* is construed as a noun, then *bəddo ʔalam* is a nominal predication meaning literally 'His requirement is a pencil', and *l-walad bəddo ʔalam* has to be interpreted as an extraposition [431] 'The boy, his requirement is a pencil'. These interpretations do not apply, however, insofar as pronominalizations are in the complemental form: *bəddo yā* 'He wants it' rather than the subject (or predicate) form: *bəddo huwwē*.

Examples of the use of *bəddo*:

1. *bəddi ʔarṣaē ləš-šām* 'I want (or intend) to go back to Damascus'
2. *ʔaxi l-ʔkbīr bəddo yəṭṣawwaz* [AO-55] 'My older brother wants (or is going to) get married'

3. *zalamtēn bəddhon ʔal-ʔaʔalli*
šamʔa la-yəḥʔšdu ḥaʔlet
ḥal-ʔamʔḥ 'Two men(would)need at least two weeks to harvest that wheatfield'
4. *mā bəddak yāhon?* 'Don't you want them?'
5. *ʔēmta mā bəddi, bāxod sayyāra*
w-ʔbšīr bəš-šām 'Whenever I want, I'll take a car and I'll be in Damascus'
6. *bəddna la-nəṣal šī nəṣṣ sāʔa* 'It'll take us about half an hour to get there' (lit. "We'll require...")
7. *bəddha xams ʔsnīn, bass xams*
ʔsnīn mdrasiyye 'It takes five years, but that's five school years' (Feminine impersonal predication [p.428])
8. *kənt bəddi ʔaʔrā-li šwayye* 'I wanted to read a little'

Note that the linking verb [p.452] in ex. 8 is inflected in agreement with *bəddi* (as with a verbal subjective complement [448]). This usage is optional, however; the linking verb before *bəddo* may also remain uninflected: *kān bəddi ʔaʔrā-li šwayye*, lit. "It was my intention to read a little"; in this respect, at least, *bəddo* may be construed as a noun.

9. *mā bəddha l-masʔale maṭāʔem,*
mnākol ʔanna bəl-bēt [DA-197] 'There's no question of restaurants, we'll eat at home' (lit. "The question doesn't require restaurants...")

Note the verb-subject word order in ex. 9: *mā bəddha l-masʔale...*

10. *šū bəddkon yāni ʔaʔmel?* 'What do you(pl.)want me to do?'

The prepositions *ʔand*, *maʔ*, and *la-* (*ʔal-*) [p.476ff] are used with pronoun suffixes to form verb-like predicators meaning approximately 'to have': *ʔando ʔēle* 'He has a family' (lit. "With him [Fr. chez lui] is a family"); *maʔak maṣāri?* 'Have you any money?' (lit. "Is there with you money?"); *ʔala ʔyūn ḥalwe ktīr* 'She has beautiful eyes' (lit. "There are to her, beautiful eyes").

These prepositional predicators are less thoroughly verb-like than *bəddo* in two main respects:

1.) The nominal term that follows them may usually be suppressed (like a subject [p.418]) rather than pronominalized on the stem *yā-* (like an object [438]): *maʔi* 'I have it' or 'I have some', etc. In the case of *ʔando*, however, the following term may either be suppressed or pronominalized: *ʔandi* 'I have some, I have it', or *ʔandi yā* 'I have it'.

2.) The prepositions are sometimes used in the same sense and same construction except with a noun rather than with a pronoun suffix: *la-ʔammi ʔaxwe ktīre* [AO-43] 'My mother has many brothers and sisters' (lit. "To my

mother there are many..."). The verb-like construction is *ʔəmmi ʔala ʔaxwe ktīre*, in which the pronoun suffix of *ʔala* is like a verbal subject-affix, agreeing with the subject *ʔəmmi*.

The verb-like nature of these prepositional constructions, then, consists in the predominance of pronoun suffixes over nouns after the prepositions, and the fact that a nominal subject (or quasi-object) almost always follows the prepositional predicator, while the case of ordinary prepositional predicator, the subject, which is usually definite, usually comes first. (But see p. 403.)

Secondly, the prepositional quasi-verbs are negativized with the particle *mā*, which is used before verbs, rather than with *mū*, etc., which is used with ordinary non-verbal predicates [p. 384ff].

Examples:

11. *maɛi nəmret talifōno w-ɛənwāno* 'I have his telephone number and address'
12. *ʃu ʔalak marāʔ bəʃ-ʃəɛr* 'You must have a mania for poetry'
13. *ɛādatan bikūn ɛandhon tlətt ʔfʃūle* 'They usually have three terms' (in an academic year)
14. *kān ɛanna ɔyūf* 'We had guests'

Examples 13 and 14 illustrates another non-verb-like feature of the prepositional predicators: the linking verb [p. 452] remains uninflected for number/gender when complemented by *ɛando*, *maɛo*, etc., whereas with verbs (and optionally with *bəddo*) it is inflected to agree with the complement: *kənnā nɛūr* 'we used to visit', *kənnā bəddna* (or *kān bəddna*) 'we wanted', but *kān ɛanna* 'we had' (not "*kənnā ɛanna*").

15. *mā ʔəlkon ʔaʔʔ* 'You're wrong' (lit. "There is not to you right")
16. *ʃəhrak ɛando rɛāl ʔl-yōm, mā byəʔder yəʃi* 'Your son-in-law has some men [visiting him] today, he can't come'
17. *bass lā tansa ʔanno ɛandkon ʔl-baʔr* [DA-151] 'But don't forget that you(pl.) have the sea'
18. *maɛak ʔkmālet ɛaʃər lērātʔ* - *maɛi, tfaɔɔdal* [DA-46] 'Have you change for ten pounds? - Yes, I have; here you are'
19. *t-tāwle ʔala ʔarbaɛ rəʃlən* 'The table has four legs'
20. *ʃəddi kan-lo tlətt ʔbyūt* 'My grandfather had three houses'

Note, in example 20, that *ʔalo* generally takes the form of a suffix when complementing a linking verb. [p. 482.] Similarly: *ʔali ʃəmɛa mā ʃəftak* 'I haven't seen you for a week' (i.e. I've had a week of not seeing you), or *ʃar-li ʃəmɛa mā ʃəftak* 'It's been a week now that I haven't seen you' (lit. "It's become for me a week..."). The suffix form is also commonly used with the negative *mā* [p. 385]: *ʃ-ʃawāreɛ mā-lon ʔarʔʃfe* 'The streets have no sidewalks'.

Three more prepositional quasi-verbs are *ɛalē* 'to have to, to have as a responsibility or a debt'; *fī* 'to be able to' or, in impersonal predications [p. 365], 'there is, there are'; and *bo* 'to be the matter with' (used only with *ʃū* or *ʃə* 'what' and *mā*...*ʃī* 'nothing'):

21. *ʃu ɛalēk ʃəʔl ʔl-yōmʔ* [DA-173] 'Do you have work to do today?'
'I have to go there too' (lit. "I also, there is on me an errand to there")
22. *ʔana kamān ɛaliyyi məʃwār la-hnīk* [DA-248]
- Note also the set phrase *maɛlēʃ* or *maɛlē-ʃī* 'never mind, that's all right' (- *mā ɛalē-ʃ[ī]* 'There's nothing on it'); *mā ɛalēk* 'never mind, it's not your responsibility'.
23. *ʃə-boʔ - mā-bo ʃī* 'What's the matter with him (or it)? - Nothing'
24. *mā fīhon yaɛʔmlū-lo ʃī* 'They can't do a thing for him'
25. *fīni sɛɛdak ʔb-kamm lēraʔ* 'Can I help you with a few pounds?'
26. *ʔayaʔla wāhed fī yafham ʔaʔʔet haʃ-ʃaxʃ* 'Anybody can see through that fellow' (lit. "...can understand the truth of that person")
27. *ʃ-ʃahāde fīk tāxədhā b-səne w-nəʃʃ* 'You can get the degree in a year and a half'

Examples of the impersonal *fī* 'there is, there are':

28. *fī wāhed xalaʃ w-wāhed ɛam-yədros* 'There's one who's finished and one studying'
29. *l-yōm mā fī ʃī mən hād l-ʔamdalla* 'Today there's none of that, thank God'
30. *mā bəɛtʃəd fī waʔʔt ləl-ʔādse yəlli bəɛrʃa* 'I don't think there's time for [me to recount] the incident I know of'
31. *kīf merrūh ɛal-ʔaʃʃāɛʔ - fī l-bāʃ wət-trāmūy wət-taksi* [DA-45] 'How shall we go to Qassaa? - There's the bus, the streetcar, and taxis'

32. *kān fī šamāla ktār ʔhnīk*

'There were a lot of people there'

33. *mā fī fīha ʔərne la-maḥrame*

'There isn't even room in it for a handkerchief' (lit. "There isn't in it a corner for...")

Example 33 illustrates the juxtaposition of the impersonal predicator *fī* and a supplemental phrase *fīha* 'in it (f.)'. In such cases the impersonal *fī* is often elided, thus: *mā fīha ʔərne la-maḥrame*. (See also p.384, ex. 26.)

fī is often complemented by *lando*, *mašo*, *ʔalo*, etc.:

34. *fī ʔalo muššabīn ʔktīr w-fī ʔalo nās nāqidīn ʔktīr*

'He has a lot of admirers and he has a lot of critics' (lit. "There are to him...")

35. *nəḥna mašlūmak hallaʔ fī ʔanna ṭašnīš bəš-šām*

'We of course now have industrialization in Damascus' (lit. "...there is with us...")

The quasi-complement of *fī* may come first, for emphasis (like a true subject), especially when negative:

36. *bəkra l-šəmša, šəḡʔl mā fī* [DA-199]

'Tomorrow's Friday; no work!'

37. *ʔaḥla mən hēk mā fī* [DA-150]

'There's nothing prettier than that' (Cf. object-verb inversion, p.439.)

The quasi-complement may of course be suppressed, as in the case of the other prepositional predicators:

38. *šū fī ḥaluʔ - l-yōm mā fī*

'What is there for dessert? - There isn't any today'

The construction with question-word and complement as in *šū fī ḥaluʔ* is treated on p.569.

Participial Predicates. Participles are like verbs and unlike ordinary adjectives, in that the subject of a participial predicate often follows it. (Subject underscored in examples):

1. *ṭāleʔ hawa barra* [DA-199]

'A wind is coming up outside'

2. *šāye mašhon ʔš-šəhr ʔš-šdīd*

'The new son-in-law is coming with them'

3. *ʔāyəl-li ʔaʔli ʔatfarraš ʔala ḥalab* [DA-248]

'I'd like to take a look around Aleppo' (lit. "My mind has told me to...")

4. *məawwad yāmo kall yōm mā ʔando dars byašši byaššod ʔandi*'Sonny¹ is accustomed to coming and spending some time with me every day he has no lesson'

Further examples of participial predicates - mostly with subject first or subject suppressed - are given on pp.263-75. (See especially p.266.) Others with subject following are given on p.422.

Clausal Subjects

The subject of a predication may be clause introduced by *ʔanno* (more rarely *halli*, etc.), or a paratactic verbal clause. Subject clauses virtually always follow the predicate, and are often also susceptible to analysis as complemental clauses. Some examples are given here, others on p.451.

1. *xəṭṭet l-ʔhkūme ʔannha tʔayyed ʔl-ʔaḏāya l-ʔarabiyye* [EA-232]

'The government's plan is to support the Arab cause(s)'

2. *məš mašʔūl ʔansākon* [EA-264]

'It's inconceivable that I should forget you' (lit. "It's not reasonable that...")

3. *yalli ʔam-bəḥki ʔanno təši tāxod doktōra bəl-handase*

'What I'm saying is that you should come and take your doctorate in engineering'

4. *labake ʔanno rūḥ ʔxšūši*

'It's a bother for me to go personally'

¹The word *yāmo* - like *ḥāba* 'daddy' and certain other kinship terms associated with endearment and baby-talk - is used reciprocally; i.e. *yāmo* is used by children to address their mother and by the mother to address her children, and in other relationships assimilated to that between mother and children. In this instance a paternal aunt (*ʔamme*) is referring to her nephew.

Suppression of the Subject

In English, the subject of an otherwise complete predication is rarely omitted except in certain kinds of casual conversational exchanges, where first and second person pronouns are sometimes suppressed, e.g. 'Didn't see him' (for 'I didn't...'), 'Want to go?' (for 'Do you want...'), etc. In Arabic, on the other hand, it is usual in all styles to omit the subject whenever it is clear from the context or the circumstances what the predicate applies to (and that it is in fact a predicate). See pp. 548-549.

Verbal and quasi-verbal predicates are the ones most commonly used without a subject: *rāḥ iṣūfak* 'He went to see you', *baddo yṣūfak* 'He wants to see you', *lando yā* 'He has it', etc.

Adjectival predicates, however, are also very commonly used without a subject, and nominal predicates, too, to a lesser extent. Examples of non-verbal predications with subject suppressed:

1. *ʕali, tarak waḡiṭto fi dāʔart*
ʔs-ṣəḥḥa; w-halla, kāteb ʔgḡir
fi ʔotēl ʔs-ṣarq. - bass, maḃṣūt
ʔb-ṣəḡlo? [EA-168]

'Ali left his job in the Department of Health; and now, he's a petty clerk in the Orient hotel. - But does he like his work?' (lit. "... pleased with...")

2. *ʔaxdet ʔl-bakalōrya mū hēk?*
- laʔ, bass brōvē, bass ḥəlwē
w-manṭaʔha səles

'She's gotten her bachelor's [degree], hasn't she? - No, just her [teacher's] certificate, but she's pretty and articulate'

3. *l-ḥāṣel ʔāxed waḡiṭe ʕəddan*
ʔmnīḥa

'The fact is, he's gotten a very good job'

4. *ʕiṣām bēk ʕāye maḥon, waḷḷa*
xaṭwe ʕaṣṭze

'Issam Bey is coming with them?! Well, that's a notable step!' (i.e. up the social ladder)

5. *ʕu lāʔi ḥāmel ʕarīde l-yōm*

'Well, I see you have a newspaper with you today' (lit. "[I] have found [you] carrying...") Both the main predicate *lāʔi* and the complemental predicate *ḥāmel*... are without subjects.

6. *kān ʕanna ɖyūf. - mn ʔṣ-ʕəns*
ʔn-nāʕem ḥatman. - lā waḷḷa,
ʔrāybīnna

'We had guests. - Of the fair sex, no doubt. - No indeed, they were relatives of ours'

In ex. 6 the phrase *mn ʔṣ-ʕəns ʔn-nāʕem* might perhaps be analyzed as a prepositional predicate with no subject: 'They were of the fair sex...'; Here we count it merely as an "incomplete" predication, supplemental to *ɖyūf* in the preceding sentence (cf. the English translation).

In general, prepositional predicates without subjects are uncommon except in response to questions or the like: *wēn ḥasan?* 'Where is Hassan?' - *bəl-bēt* 'In the house'

A predication with its subject suppressed is not to be confused with intrinsically subjectless or "impersonal" predications. See pp. 237, 365, 415.

The Predicate-Subject Inversion

Besides the basic kinds of word order in which the subject follows the main term of the predicate, there is also an INVERTED word order, in which a definite subject may be placed after the whole predicate, with the main sentence accent remaining on the predicate: *ʕāṭer ḥal-walad* 'That boy is smart', *raḥ-tākol ʔdtle ʔante* 'You're going to get a beating', *bəl-bēt ʔabūk?* 'Is your father in the house?'

This inversion gives the impression that the subject was at first suppressed (to be "understood" from context), then restored later as an afterthought. Its effect is to put relatively more emphasis on the predicate, less on the subject. In declarative sentences the inverted subject is usually spoken at a pitch considerably lower than that of the predicate where the main sentence accent falls, but in questions the subject remains at a medium-high pitch or may rise higher. [See p. 379.] Examples (with 'marking main accent of sentence):

1. *waḷḷa zakṭyye ḥal-bənt*

'That girl is certainly intelligent'

2. *mū ḥəlu ḥal-ḥaki*

'That [kind of] talk isn't nice'

3. *ḡarīf ʔktīr nabīl*

'Nabil is a lot of fun'

4. *ʕu mā btatzakkar ʕī ʔante?*

'Can't you remember anything?'

5. *btaʕref byānsa l-wāḥed*

'One forgets, you know'

6. *hallaʔ laḥa-dəʔʔ talefōn mən*
hōn ʔana

'Now I'm going to make a phone call from here'

7. *kān kātəb-li ʕənwāno hōn*
b-wāṣṣʔnṭon huwwe

'He'd written me his address here in Washington'

8. *tāza xəḍʔtak ʔl-yōm?* [DA-105]

'Are your vegetables fresh today?'

9. *bəl-kabīn tābaʕo huwwe, walla*
ʕaḍ-ḍahʔr?

'Is he in his cabin, or on deck?'

10. *hōn bēt ʔs-sayyed salāme?*
[EA-243]

'Is this Mr. Salameh's house?'

11. *mātlak ʔḥkāyti*

'It's the same with me as with you' (lit. "Like you, my story is")

12. *b-xamsīn ʔṣrṣ dazṣīnt ʔl-bēḍ*

'A dozen eggs [sells] for fifty piastres'

13. *ṣāʕb ʔṣ-ṣəḡəl maʕ nās ḡəṣəm*

'Working with inexperienced people is difficult'

Predicate-subject inversion should not be confused with the permutation of terms in an equational predication [p. 405].

Number/Gender Agreement

A predicate that is inflectible for number/gender usually agrees with its subject. That is to say, the number and gender of the subject (if any) usually determine whether a predicate adjective or verb will be masculine, feminine, or plural.

The subject also determines whether a verb will be in the first, second, or third person, but this a much simpler matter, treated in Ch. 14 [p.364].

The general rules of number/gender agreement given here must be qualified and modified by more specific rules given later:

- (1) A masculine singular subject requires a masculine predicate:

<i>hal-^oktāb ḡālī</i>	'This book is expensive'
<i>wəṣel ^oktābi?</i>	'Has my book arrived?'
<i>l-walad ḡūḡān</i>	'The child is hungry'

- (2) A feminine singular subject requires a feminine predicate:

<i>hal-barnēṭa ḡālye</i>	'This hat is expensive'
<i>wəṣlet barnēṭṭi?</i>	'Has my hat arrived?'
<i>l-bant ḡūḡāne</i>	'The girl is hungry'

- (3) A dual subject requires a plural predicate:

<i>hal-barnēṭṭēn ḡālyīn</i>	'Both these hats are expensive'
<i>wəṣlu l-^oktābēn tabaḡi?</i>	'Have my two books arrived?'
<i>l-bantēn ḡūḡānīn</i>	'Both girls are hungry'

- (4) A *w*-coordination of singulars requires a plural predicate [See p.502]:

<i>l-^oktāb wəl-barnēṭa ḡālyīn</i>	'The book and the hat are expensive'
<i>wəṣlu ṣ-ṣabi wəl-bant?</i>	'Have the boy and the girl arrived?'

- (5) A plural pronoun subject requires a plural predicate:

<i>hadōl ḡālyīn</i>	'These are expensive'
<i>wəṣlu hanne?</i>	'Have they arrived?'

- (6) Most animate¹ plural subjects require a plural predicate:

<i>l-^owlād ḡūḡānīn</i>	'The children are hungry'
<i>wəṣlu l-banāt?</i>	'Have the girls arrived?'

¹The term 'animate' should here be understood in a sort of theological sense, to include words designating human beings, but generally excluding animals [p.424].

- (7) Most inanimate plural subjects require either a plural or a feminine predicate, depending partly on whether the subject referents are viewed (respectively) as separate, particular instances, or as a collectivity or generality:

<i>wəṣlu kətbak?</i>	'Have your books arrived?'
or	
<i>wəṣlet kətbak?</i>	
<i>hal-baranīt ḡālyīn</i>	'These hats are expensive'
<i>l-baranīt ḡālye</i>	'Hats are expensive'

- (8) A clausal subject requires a masculine predicate:

<i>byəḡhar ^oənnha ḡālye</i>	'It seems that it's expensive'
<i>mnīḥ halli wəṣlu</i>	'It's good that they've arrived'

Since masculine is the base or neutral number/gender, intrinsically subjectless ("impersonal") predications also have masculine predicates [p.365].

A predicate noun – as well as a verb or adjective – often seems to agree in number and gender with the subject: *ḡmūmi dakātra* 'My uncles are doctors'; *^oəxta, mart ṣāḥbi* 'Her sister is my friend's wife'. This agreement, however, is not grammatically necessary; it is determined by the nature of the subject referent rather than by the grammatical category of the subject itself. Thus, for instance, *^oaxūha mart ṣāḥbi* 'Her brother is my friend's wife' is not ungrammatical, only "unnatural". Note also: *maḡbūdak ^ol-maṣāri* 'Your idol (m.) is money (pl.)'; *hayy modēl ^oḡdīd* 'This one (f.) is a new model (m.)', where *hayy* substitutes for e.g. *has-sayyāra* 'this car', as contrasted with *hāda modēl ^oḡdīd* 'This [thing you see before you] is a new model'. See also p.407, ex. 41.

Non-Agreement with Post-Verbal Subject

A verb followed by an indefinite feminine or plural noun subject does not necessarily agree with that subject, but may remain in the masculine form: *wəṣel banāt* (or *wəṣlu banāt*) 'Some girls arrived', *wəṣel bant* (or *wəṣlet bant*) 'A girl arrived'. Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>maḡa ta^orībān səne</i> | 'Almost a year has passed' |
| 2. <i>bukra biḡīni ṣatlāt ^omlāḥ</i>
[SAL-197] | 'Tomorrow I'll have some good plants'
(lit. "...will come to me good plants") |

3. *kān ʕb-balad ʔaxtēn* [AO-111] 'There were in a [certain] town two sisters'
4. *lēlt ʕmbārḥa ʔəšāna zuwwār* 'Last night we had visitors' (lit. "...came to us...")
5. *txarraš fīha ʔaṭabba w-ʔavokātiyye w-ʔmhadsīn* [PIPL-XIX] 'Doctors and lawyers and engineers have graduated there'
6. *mān zamān kān ʔəši nās ʔktīr la-hal-maṭʕam* [DA-238] 'A long time ago lots of people used to come to that restaurant'
7. *mā ʕəfi ġēr ʕašʔr daʔāyeʔ* 'There's only ten minutes left'
8. *lā ykəl-lak fəkre* 'Don't give it a thought' (lit. 'Let there not be to you a thought')

Participles with a following subject may be uninflected in the same way as verbs:

9. *bāʔi-lna mašye ʔawīle ʔəddāmna* 'We have a long walk ahead of us' (lit. "There remains for us...")
10. *ʕafyān tlətt əšhor la-ḥzērān* 'There are three months to go before June' (lit. "Are left three months...")
11. *šāyīni ḥawāle mān ʔafriṭya l-šunūbiyye* [DA-245] 'I've received a money order from South Africa' (lit. "Has come to me...")
12. *mabʕət-lak makatīb* 'Some letters have been sent to you'
13. *mawšūd ʕhnik ʕwlād ʕarab ʔktīr* [DA-237] 'There are many Arabs [to be] found there'
14. *ṭālə-lo ḥarāra b-kəll šəsmo* 'He has a rash all over his body' (lit. "Has broken out for him...")

Less commonly, a verb fails to agree with a following definite subject, when something intervenes between the verb and its subject, or when the subject is a coordination:

15. *ʔassar ʕaləḥon ʔl-mursālīn ʔl-ʔamērkan* [PIPL-XVII] 'The American missionaries have influenced them'
16. *kān ʕb-ʕəḥʔbto kibār ʔəbbāṭ ʔš-šəš* 'He was accompanied by the top army brass' (lit. "Were in his company...")
17. *bikūn ʕhnik hēʔet ʔl-wazāra wəl-ʔmwagṣafīn wəl-ʔakāber* [DA-300] 'The cabinet ministers and officials and big shots will be there'

18. *bəl-ʔkrūm byəltəʔa l-wāwi wət-taʕlab wəṭ-ḡabʔe* [PIPL-XIV] 'In the vineyards are found the jackal, the fox, and the hyena'

A subject phrase formed with *ʔalla* or *ġēr* 'except, but' does not affect the preceding verb even though the phrase is definite:

19. *mā biḥəmmha ġēr ʔl-ʔašyāʔ ʔl-māddiyye* 'Nothing interests her but material things'
20. *mū ḥāməma ʔalla rāḥəta* 'She's only concerned with her own comfort'
21. *rəḥt ʔana w-ʔabi la-nzūrkon* [DA-238] 'My father and I went to see you' (The verb *rəḥt* agrees in person, but not in number. Cf. p. 364.)

Feminine Agreement with Plurals and Collectives

Most inanimate plurals, and some animate plurals and collectives, have feminine agreement in the predicate when collectivity or generality is emphasized rather than heterogeneity or particularity. Examples, inanimate (with feminine predicate underscored):

1. *l-ʔmġamarāt kəlla bəṭlet maʕi mān zamān* 'All adventures ceased with me quite a while ago'
2. *ʕala ḥasab ma ʕam-təḥki š-šarāyed fī ʔazme wazāriyye* 'According to what the papers are saying, there's a cabinet crisis'
3. *mā ʕādt maʕi mašāri* 'I have no more money' (lit. "Does not continue with me money". The form *ʕādt* is a syncopation of *ʕādet*.) Note that *mašāri* is construed here as a full-fledged subject, not as a complement of *maʕi* [p. 413].
4. *waʔət merrūḥ la-ʕandon tūl ʔs-sahra mā btəxloš ʔaḥadīsa l-ḥəlwe* 'When we go to their house, there's no end all evening to her charming conversation(s)' (*ʔaḥadīs*, pl. of *ḥadīs*)
5. *hək bəṭṣīr maʕlūmātkon ʔawsaʕ* [PVA-42] 'Thus your knowledge will become broader' (*maʕlūmāt* 'knowledge, information', plural only [p. 368])
6. *ḥal-ʔmġallafāt halli šəbthon ʔkbīre* [DA-238] 'These envelopes you brought are too large'

In many circumstances it makes little or no difference whether one chooses the feminine or the plural; thus in ex. 6 the predicate could be *kbār* as well as *kbīre*. Sometimes, however, the difference in agreement can show whether a subject with the article prefix is meant generally or specifically: *l-kat^{ab} mā bathammo* 'Books don't interest him' vs. *l-kat^{ab} mā bihammū* 'The books don't interest him'. If the sentence begins with *hal-kat^{ab}* 'these books', the specificity of the reference is already established, and then it makes no crucial difference whether the predicate is feminine or plural.

Further examples with specific subject, in which feminine and plural predicates are interchangeable:

7. *l-krafatāt bāl-wāšha laftet* (or *lafatu*) *naḡari* 'The neckties in the display window caught my eye' (lit. "turned my glance")
8. *snāni ʕam-ʔṭṭaʔṭeʔ* (or *ʕam-iṭaʔṭu*) 'My teeth are chattering'

Note that plural animal designations commonly take feminine agreement:

9. *bāš-šabal batēš* *ʔd-dyāb* 'In the mountains live wolves'
10. *n-nsūra kānet ḡayme fōʔ* *bās-sama* 'The vultures were soaring above in the sky'

A number of collective or plural human designations may be used with feminine verbal predicates. These include *nās* and *ʔah^{al}* 'people, folks', and plurals ending in *-e/-a* [pp. 213, 229]:

11. *rāhet ʔn-nās ʔab^{al} našš ʔl-lēl* [DA-238] 'The people left before midnight'
12. *ya tara n-nās šū raḡa-tʔūlʔ* 'I wonder what people will say?'
13. *kəll ʔn-nās ʕanda xabar* [SPA-308] 'All the people know about it' (lit. "...have news")
14. *ʔahl ʔd-dēʕa batʔūl ʔannon* *mū mādšawwzīn* 'The villagers say that they are not married'
15. *ʕala nafxet ʔl-bōraḡān, š-šaggīle tfaṭaʕet bi-kəll ʔš-šihāt* 'At the sound of the horn, the workers scattered in all directions'
16. *lāken bəddi nafs ʔl-ʔasātze* *tʕalləmni* 'But I'll expect the same professors to teach me'

Plural Agreement

A verbal or adjectival predicate is put in the plural to agree with a plural subject, whenever the subject referents are thought of as diverse or individually discriminated:

1. *ʔawāʕīha kānu mlaḡwašīn ḡawāli* *l-maḡall kəll* 'Her clothes were strewn all over the place'
2. *kəll hal-makatīb wəšlu sawa* 'All these letters arrived at once'

Note, in ex. 2, that if the letters were not thought of in terms of their separateness, there would be little motivation for remarking that they arrived all together.

3. *wraʔo mašbūṭīn* 'His papers are correct'
4. *s-safāyen ʔltammuʔ* 'Have the notebooks been collected?'
5. *hal-ʔalwān mā bināšbu baʕdon* 'These colors don't go together' (lit. "...don't suit each other")

In ex. 5 the reciprocity that is made explicit by the object *baʕdon* requires that the colors be thought of individually. The same situation, however, could be referred to with a reciprocal verb in the feminine: *hal-ʔalwān mā btatnāsab* [p. 248] 'These colors don't match', in which the colors are considered in their overall effect rather than separately.

Plurals of paucity [p. 369], and especially plurals of unit nouns [297], almost always have plural agreement in the predicate, except that inanimate unit noun plurals do not take adjective agreement in *-īn*:

6. *hal-kūsāyāt mū mnāḡ ʔktīr* 'These squashes are not very good'
7. *t-taffāḡāt ʕam-yabdu yantəzeʕu* 'The apples are beginning to go bad'

Cf. *l-fawāki ʕam-təbda tantəzeʕ* 'The fruit is beginning to go bad' (*fawāki* is a mass noun plural: sg. *fākye.*); *t-taffāḡ ʕam-yabdu yantəzeʕ* 'The apples (collective) are...'

If an adjective has no internal plural [p. 205], however, then the feminine is used, or else the uncommon feminine/plural [p. 201]:

8. *had-derrāʔnāt māwiyye* or *had-derrāʔnāt māwiyyāt* 'These peaches are juicy'

Many singular nouns designating (or sometimes designating) groups of people are commonly used with plural verbal (and participial) predicates. These nouns include, again, *ʔahl* and *nās* (if this be considered a feminine singular noun) and their synonyms. Ethnic collectives [p. 301] have plural agreement almost exclusively. Names of various kinds of institutions are often applied to the sum of their members:

9. *š-šarta fattašu l-balad mən ʔawwāla la-ʔāxāra*
'The police searched the town from one end to the other'
 10. *fī ʔālam ʔktīr ʔam-ʔastannūk*
'There's a large crowd awaiting you' (*ʔālam* 'world', Fr. 'monde')
 11. *bēt ʔəxtak baddhon ʔəžu ʔəsharu ʔanna*
'Your sister and her family are coming to spend the evening with us' (lit. 'The house of your sister...')
 12. *fī nās ʔam-imūtu šūʔ*
'There are people dying of hunger'
 13. *ʔahl ʔl-balad šāfū ʔālem*
[AO-83]
'The people of the town took him for a learned man' (lit. "...saw him a...")
 14. *l-ḡawḡāʔ kānu raḡa-ʔəšʔnʔū*
'The mob was about to lynch him'
 15. *l-kəll byaʔʔrfu ʔanno ḡaššāš*
'Everyone knows he's a swindler'
- These words may also be used with singular agreement, however. For example:
16. *l-kəll ʔaddar ʔaʔmālo*
'Everyone appreciated his work' (cf. ex. 15)
 17. *š-šarṭa ʔam-ʔddawwer ʔalē*
'The police are looking for him' (cf. ex. 9)

Note also the singular agreement in the following:

18. *šēš mā byākālon hadōl*
'An army wouldn't eat all these!'
19. *ʔēlto sākne ʔarīb la-bētna*
'His family lives near our house'

Agreement with Constructs and Other Noun Phrases

Generally speaking, it is the leading term of a noun construct [p. 456] that determines agreement: *bənt šāḥbi ḡəlwe* 'My friend's daughter is pretty (f.)'; in the case of partitive constructs and certain others, however, the following term determines agreement: *kəll ʔl-banāt ḡəlwīn* 'All the girls are pretty'. See p. 466ff.

In some cases a prepositional supplement (in periphrasis of annexion [p. 460]) determines agreement rather than the supplemented term: *byaʔrūha ʔadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn* 'A large number of intellectuals read it'. Though *ʔadad* (masc. sing.) is formally the main term of the subject, the agreement (as in English) is with the supplemental term, which is plural.

In some abstract and gerundial constructs [p. 464], the following term sometimes determines the agreement of a verbal predicate: *ʔakl ʔl-būḡa mā bəddərr* 'Eating ice cream does no harm' (cf. *ʔakl ʔl-laḡəm mā biḡərr* 'Eating meat does no harm'). A coordination as following term does not produce plural agreement, however, but the verb may be masculine or feminine depending on the gender of the last term: *kətrət ʔl-laff wad-dawarān biḡayyeʔ ʔl-wāḡed* 'So much turning and circling gets one lost'.

In the case of numeral constructs [471], the agreement of a verbal predicate may be plural or feminine, depending to some extent on the same considerations as in the case of nouns without numerals: *tlətt ʔrḡāl ʔəžu ʔāmūha* 'Three men came and took it away' (plural) but *tlətt waʔʔāt bəl-yōm mā bətkaffi* 'Three meals a day are not enough' (feminine). In the latter sentence *waʔʔāt* is of course inanimate, and the phrase *tlətt waʔʔāt bəl-yōm* 'three meals a day' stands for a significant whole rather than disparate parts, and the sentence is a generalization [cf. p. 424].

In some cases a numeral construct is merely the name of a sum, so to speak, and the predicate is masculine: *ʔarbaʔ līrāt byəkfi* [SAL-39] 'Four pounds will suffice'.

Number/Gender with Subject Suppressed

When there is no subject expressed [p. 418], the number/gender of a verbal or adjectival predicate is usually "natural", i.e. not determined by the rules of agreement with the suppressed subject as if it were present, but by the more direct semantic classification of the referent by which pronouns are selected when they have no antecedent [p. 363].

Thus, if instead of saying *n-nsūra kānet ḡāyme fōʔ bəs-sama* 'The vultures were soaring above in the sky' we wish to say 'They were soaring...' (still in reference to the vultures), the linking verb and predicate adjective would probably be made plural: *kānu ḡāymīn...* (Usually, however, a subject referent of this sort will have been recently enough mentioned so that the noun may still serve as antecedent – though not subject – to the predicate; if its antecedence is clear enough in the context, then the feminine agreement may still hold.) Similarly in the case of certain collectives and other singulars used in a collective sense; if the subject is dropped from e.g. *šēš mā*

byākāla 'An army couldn't eat it', the verb would probably have to be made plural to preserve the sense: mā byāklūha 'They couldn't eat it'.

In the choice between masculine and feminine when there is no question of a plural, the suppressed subject is more likely to have an influence, even if the word has not yet come up in the discourse. Thus someone might say, looking at an automobile, *həlwe, mū hēk?* 'Pretty, isn't it?', with the feminine predicate adjective under the influence of the familiar feminine noun *sayyāra* – the suppressed subject. On the other hand, if no particular word is lurking in the speaker's mind in association with what he is referring to, he is perhaps more likely to use the masculine: *həlu, mū hēk?* (except, of course, if an animate referent is evidently female [p.372]).

Note that in certain expressions concerning the day, the weather, etc., a feminine predicate is used with the subject *d-dānye* 'the world' suppressed: *bəš-šēf bəṭṭattem mət'axxa* 'In summer is gets dark late', i.e. ...*d-dānye bəṭṭattem*...; *Ḥam-ṭšatti* 'It's raining', i.e. *d-dānye Ḥam-ṭšatti*.

There are certain kinds of "impersonal" expressions, usually with complements, in which the feminine is normally used, even though masculine is generally the base or neutral inflection [cf. p.365]:

1. *mā btəfere? maḥi ʔanni rūḥ wāḥdi* 'I don't mind going alone' (lit. "It(f.) does not differ with me that...")
2. *mū məḥʔrze tkasser rāsak b-hal-mawḍūc* 'It's not worth while for you to knock your brains out over this matter'
3. *rāyeḥ maḥna? – btəṭwaʔʔaf* 'Are you going with us? – It all depends'
4. *bəddha xams ʔsnīn* 'It takes five years'
5. *hallaʔ zādet šwayye Ḥan ḥadda* 'Now [matters] have gone a bit too far'
6. *mā kānet laṭīfe mənno ʔabadan* 'That wasn't very nice of him'

Uninflected Adjectives

There are a number of adjectives which show no agreement, for example *Ḥāl* 'fine, excellent', *ḍəḡri* 'straight', etc. (See p.501 for others):

- ʔalfēn u-xams miyye Ḥāl ləš-šihṭēn* [DA-291] 'Two thousand five hundred is fine for both sides'
- dāʔiman kānet ḍəḡri maḥi* 'She has always been straight with me'

EXTRAPOSITION

Topic and Comment (*al-mubtadaʔ wal-xabar*)

Several different kinds of clause come under the heading of TOPICAL, or TOPIC-COMMENT, clauses. The "topic" is a noun-type word or phrase which introduces the "comment" and delimits its scope or application. The comment itself is a predication: *Ḥali, baḤʔrfo mn ʔḥdaḤṣar səne* 'Ali – I've known him for eleven years'.

A subject-predicate clause (i.e. a predication with a subject preceding the predicate) is also traditionally analyzed as a special kind of topical clause. Thus in the sentence *Ḥali byaḤrafni* 'Ali knows me', *Ḥali* is called *al-mubtadaʔ* (topic) and *byaḤrafni* is called *al-xabar* (comment).¹

Topical clauses other than ordinary subject-predicate clauses differ from the latter, in that the comment itself has a subject – or subject-referent – of its own, and therefore a main verb or adjective in the comment is not inflected to agree with the topic. Examples:

1. *l-ʔḥsāb ʔl-ṣāri, bəṭṭəṭt maṣāri w-ʔbtəṣḥab mənḥon* [DA-293] '[In] a checking account you deposit money and withdraw (from) it'
2. *ʔana, l-ʔmḡamarāt kānet bēn Ḥəmr ʔṣ-ṣabaṭaḤʔṣ wəl-Ḥəṣrīn* '[For] me, the age of adventures was between seventeen and twenty'
3. *baṣal ṣassant ʔazraʔ, fī Ḥəndi xamse maṣrūḤīn bi-fəxxār* [SAL-197] '[As for] blue hyacinth bulbs, I have five, planted in pots'
4. *ḥal-bḥḍāṭ ʔd-dazzīne b-xamsīn ʔərṣ* 'These eggs are fifty piastres a dozen' (lit. "These eggs, the dozen is at fifty piastres")
5. *ṣnēnti w-ʔṣnēnto l-ḥḥṭ bəl-ḥḥṭ* 'My yard adjoins his' (lit. "My yard and his yard – the wall is at the wall")

¹Since comments are predications, the traditional analysis in effect equates 'predication' with 'predicate'. Though it is true as a general rule that predicates may stand alone as predications (i.e. that subjects may be suppressed), it is strictly speaking invalid to collapse the two levels into one, because that would imply that *al-xabar* (the comment) is a recursive element, which is not the case. In other words: if a comment may consist of a subject and predicate, and if a comment is a predicate, then there is no theoretical limit to the containment of predicates within predicates (just as there is no limit to the containment of annexion phrases within annexion phrases [p.456]). In fact, however, a predication may serve as comment to a topic, but the resulting topical clause may not serve, in its turn, as comment to still another topic. See also footnote on p.401.

6. *š-šetwiyye b-bērūt mā fī ʔaḥla mən hēk* [DA-152] 'The winter season in Beirut – there's nothing nicer than that!'
7. *hayy mā baʕref* '[As for] that, I don't know'
8. *hēʔtak mū mabšūṭ* 'You don't look well', lit. "[With respect to] your appearance, [you're] not well"
9. *šənsīti ʔamērkāni, lāken ʔašli ləbnāni* 'I'm American by nationality, but Lebanese by blood' (lit. 'My nationality – [I'm] American, but my origin – [I'm] Lebanese')

In example 9, the fact that *ʔamērkāni* (m.) does not agree with the feminine *šənsiyye* shows that this is not an ordinary subject-predicate sentence, which would be *šənsīti ʔamērkiyye lakēn ʔašli ləbnāni* (same translation). In ex. 8, *mabšūṭ* likewise does not agree with the feminine *hēʔa*. Cf. *hēʔtak mū mnīḥa* (same translation, but lit. 'Your appearance is not good'), which is an ordinary subject-predicate sentence.

Resumptive Pronoun in the Comment (*al-ʕāʔid*)

Examples 1-9 above illustrate the fairly uncommon kinds of topical clauses in which topic and comment are not linked grammatically by any means other than juxtaposition and "prosody" [p.377]. A far more important kind of clause is the kind with a pronoun somewhere in the comment whose antecedent is the topic:

- a.) *hal-bənt, btaʕrafə ʔante?* "That girl – do you know her?"
- b.) *hal-bənt, tʕarraft ʕalēha?* "That girl – have you been introduced to her?"
- c.) *hal-bənt, ʔasma faṭma* "That girl – her name is Fatima"
- d.) *hal-bənt hiyye ʔl-ʔaḥla* "That girl – she is the prettiest"

¹A disputable contention. Prospective visitors should be warned that the Lebanese winter normally has long spells of rainy, chilly weather. Note that the word *šəte* means both 'wintertime' and 'rain'.

Topical clauses with a resumptive pronoun are related by EXTRAPOSITION¹ to more or less equivalent predications, which have the topical noun phrase in place of the pronoun. Thus example (a) above is an extraposition from *btaʕref hal-bənt ʔante?* 'Do you know that girl?'; ex. (b), from *tʕarraft ʕala hal-bənt?* 'Have you been introduced to that girl?'; (c), from *ʔasma hal-bənt faṭma* 'That girl's name is Fatima'; and (d), from *hal-bənt, l-ʔaḥla* 'That girl is the prettiest'. The effect of extraposition is to focus attention on the EXTRAPOSITIVE (or EXTRAPOSED) term, i.e. the part of the predication which is made a topic and replaced in the predication by a pronoun.

In the case of many equational predications, however, extraposition is commonly used not so much to emphasize the extrapositive subject, but simply to identify the predication as such. For example the predication *l-bənt, l-ʔaḥsan* 'The girl is the best' might in some circumstances be confused with the noun phrase *l-bənt ʔl-ʔaḥsan* 'the best girl'; therefore the predication tends to be replaced by a topical sentence even when no special emphasis is intended: *l-bənt hiyye l-ʔaḥsan*. See p.405.

Examples of extrapositive object (Resumptive pronoun underscored):

1. *kəll ʔs-šēfiyye maḍḍenāha maʕo* 'The whole summer we spent with him'
2. *ʔaktar ʔašʕāri kənt ʔaktāba bi-dars ʔl-fīzya ʔaw ʔl-kīmīya* 'Most of my poetry I wrote in physics or chemistry class'
3. *samīr, sməʕt bəddhon iraʔʔū* [EA-169] '[As for] Samir, I hear they intend to promote him'
4. *faḍʕlkon mā bənsā tūl ḥayāti* [EA-264] 'I'll never forget your kindness'
5. *l-hawa bʔəḍḡaṭo tʕəmbə* 'The air is compressed by a pump' (lit. 'The air, compresses it a pump')
6. *hal-mašalle byəʔrūha ʕadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn* 'This magazine is read by a large number of intellectuals' (lit. 'This magazine, read it a large number...')

Note that extraposition may have an effect on the word order of subject and predicate. In example 6, the subject *ʕadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn* is too long to fit comfortably in the "original" predication between *byəʔru* and *hal-mašalle* [p.409], therefore it is more likely to precede the verb: *ʕadad ʔkbīr mən l-ʔmsaqqafīn byəʔru hal-mašalle*.

¹The term 'extraposition' is taken from Chaim Rabin (*Arabic Reader*, Lund Humphries, London, 1947; and other works). The term 'resumptive pronoun' is from Frank A. Rice (personal communication) and the terms 'topic' and 'comment' from Charles F. Hockett (*A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Macmillan, New York, 1958).

7. *ṣōṣ ʔtwār lāl-hart bisammūhon*
faddān [AO-63]

'A pair of oxen for plowing are called a yoke [of oxen]' (lit. "A pair...they call them...")

8. *hāda banū ṣdīd la-ʔarwāʔ*
hal-ʔarāḍi l-wāsʕa [DA-253]

'This was built recently for the irrigation of this large area' (lit. "This they have built new for irrigating these broad lands")

Note, in examples 5-8, that extraposition of the object in Arabic is often rendered in English by the passive construction. See p. 236.

9. *w-ʔana ṣāyīni ʔarḍ la-ʔaxdo*
[DA-244]

'And I have a package to pick up' (lit. "And I - there has come to me a package...")

In example 9 the extraposed term is itself a personal pronoun, which takes the "independent" form *ʔana* as topic, and *-ni* as object. The ordinary predication, then, is simply *ṣāyīni ʔarḍ la-ʔaxdo*; *-ni* is extraposed as *ʔana* but the resumptive pronoun must again be *-ni*.

10. *halli bātrīdi bṣab-lek yā*
[AO-115]

'Whatever you(f.) want I'll bring you(it)'

11. *yalli byaṣi bi-bālo biḥaṭṭo*

'Whatever comes to his mind he puts (it) down'

12. *halli bixalləṣni baddi ʔəḡnī*
la-wəld ʔwlādo [AO-116]

'Whoever rescues me, I shall make him and his descendants rich'

Examples of extraposed annex (following term) in noun constructs:

1. *s-sayyāra dūlāb mən dawalība*
banṣar

'One of the car's tires is flat' (lit. "The car, a tire of its tires has been punctured")

2. *l-buḥayra ḡamʔa mīt ʔadam*

'The lake is a hundred feet deep' (lit. "The lake, its depth is...")

3. *sāḥbi dāyman ʕaʔlo sābeḥ*
bəl-xayāl

'My friend always has his head in the clouds' (lit. "My friend, always his mind is swimming in fantasy")

4. *hāda mū maʕnāto baḍ-ḡarūra ʔanno*
lāzem ʔtrūḥ la-hnik

'This doesn't necessarily mean that you'll have to go there' (lit. "This, it is not its meaning necessarily...")

5. *hal-makīnāt baṭel ʔəstəʕmāla*

'These machines are obsolete' ("These machines, has ceased their use")

6. *hēk ʔaṣya mū məmken ṣarḥa*

'Such things cannot be explained' ("Such things, is not possible their explanation")

7. *l-maṭoyāt ʔmxaffaḍ səʕr rhon*
mən ʔarbēʕn dōlār la-tlātīn

'Coats have been reduced from forty dollars to thirty' ("The coats, has been reduced their price...")

8. *taṣarrofāto ṣaʕb fəḥmha*

'His behavior is hard to understand' ("...is difficult its understanding")

9. *ʔana kān fakri rūḥ bat-trēn*
[DA-249]

'I was thinking of going by train' ("[As for] me, it was my idea to go by train")

10. *ʔahʔl hal-ṣazīre kəllon ṣayyādīn*
samak

'The people of this island are all (of them) fishermen'

Examples of extraposed annex ("object") of a preposition:

1. *hal-ʔmlāḥaḡa kān huwwe l-maʔṣūd*
fīha

'That remark was aimed at him' (lit. "That remark, he was the target in it")

2. *haṣ-ṣənʔ mū ʕād ʔltaʔa mənno*
bəs-sūʔ mən sənə

'That brand hasn't been on the market for a year' ("That brand, there has not been found [any] of it...")

3. *r-raʔīs fī ḥawalē rṣāl məʔtadrīn*

'The president has able men around him'

4. *dastūr ʔl-wilāyāt ʔl-mattāḥide*
bada l-ʕamal fī sənʔ ʔalf u-sabʕ
miyye w-təṣʕā w-tmānīn

'Work began on the constitution of the United States in the year 1789' ("The constitution..., began the work on it...")

5. *ṣ-ṣakkāt ləssa mā txallaṣ*
ʕalēhon

'The checks still have not been cleared'

6. *hal-ʕamal ḥa-ykən-lo natāyeṣ*
matʕaddəde

'That act will have numerous consequences' ("...there will be to it...")

7. *halli xəḍrto ʔaḥsan bəṣtəri*
mənno [DA-128]

'The one whose vegetables are best, I buy from (him)'

8. *halli bixalləṣni baṭṭaḥ-lo knūz*
ʔl-ʔarḍ [AO-116]

'Whoever rescues me, I shall open to him the treasures of the earth'

9. *bass hāda ʕanna mənno ktīr*
bi-ʔamērka [DA-251]

'But that [is something] we have a lot of in America'

10. *huwwe handase madaniyye maʕo*

'He has [a degree in] civil engineering'

11. *ʔana mā ḥada byəsʔal ʕanni*

'Nobody asks about me!'

Examples of extraposed subject (with equational comment [p.405]):

1. *hāda huwwe l-bās halli byamši s-sāʿa tantēn?* 'Is this the bus that leaves at two o'clock?'
2. *kəll ma hunālek huwwe laḥa-ykūn ʿibāra ʿan seminārēn ʿaw tlāte* 'All there is to it will consist of two or three seminars'
3. *ʿahamm šināʿa fi-trablos hiyye šināʿet ʿš-šābūn [PAT-185]* 'The most important industry in Tripoli is the soap industry'
4. *hal-ʿaḡʿanya hadōl hanne l-mallāke wət-təššār [PAT-191]* 'These rich men are the landowners and merchants'
5. *ʿaʿsām ʿl-madīne d-dāxliyye... hiyye buwwābet ʿl-ḥeddādīn, l-ʿmxātra, n-nūri... [PAT-179]* 'The interior sections of the city are: Buwwēbet el-Heddādīn, El-Mhētra, En-Nouri, etc.'
6. *ʿašhar ʿasar tārīxi fəl-balad huwwe l-ʿalʿa [PAT-179]* 'The most famous historical monument in town is the fortress'
7. *ʿahamm šī bi-kəll doktōrā hiyye l-ʿətrūḥa* 'The most important thing in every doctorate is the dissertation'

Note, in example 7, that the resumptive pronoun is feminine, agreeing with its predicate *l-ʿətrūḥa* rather than with its antecedent *ʿahamm šī*. (Cf. ex. 6, in which the agreement goes according to the rules.) Inconsistencies of this sort are common when a resumptive subject pronoun stands between an antecedent and a predicate that differ in number/gender.

Comment-Topic Inversion

An extraposition is sometimes inverted, i.e. the topic is put after the comment, just as a subject may be put after the predicate [p.419]: *mḥammad baʿʿrfo* 'Mohammed I know (him)' → *baʿʿrfo, mḥammad*.

1. *baʿʿrfa ʿana, l-bənʿt?* 'Do I know her, the girl?'
2. *huwwe yalli mʿallāfa hal-madrāse* 'He's the one who organized it, that school'
3. *šēš mā byākšlon hadōl yalli ʿaddēton* 'An army wouldn't eat all those that you counted off'

Another construction somewhat similar to the comment-topic inversion is often used with reference to human beings: the preposition *la-* [p.479] introduces the inverted topic:

4. *kənt šūfo kəll yōm la-ʿaḥmad* 'I used to see(him,) Ahmed, every day'
5. *nabīl byəʿrabo la-mḥammad lāken ʿərbe šwayye bēide* 'Nabil is related to Mohammed but somewhat distantly'
6. *huwwe šāḥbo ktīr la-ʿaxi* 'He's a good friend of my brother's'

In ex. 6, *ʿaxi* could not come first, in a normal topic position, because it would sound as if *huwwe* (rather than the *-o* of *šāḥbo*) were the resumptive pronoun: *ʿaxi huwwe šāḥbo ktīr* 'My brother is a good friend of his'.

Extraposition is used not only with predications, but also with other constructions derived from predication: In substitution questions: *ʿante šū mašrūʿak?* 'What is your plan?' *šū huwwe mašrūʿak?* 'What is your plan?', *ʿaxūk wēno?* 'Where's your brother?', *wēno ʿaxūk* 'Where is your brother', etc. See p.566.

Less commonly, the comment is a command: *yalli batlāʿi bas-sū? šībo* 'Whatever you can find in the market bring (it)'.

See also Attribution, p.496.

CHAPTER 17: COMPLEMENTATION

Complementation is a type of construction which in Syrian Arabic is expressed by word order only.¹ The leading, or COMPLEMENTED, term is followed – not necessarily immediately – by its COMPLEMENT or COMPLEMENTS.

The word order is generally reversed when the complement is a question-word [p.566]. Otherwise, inverted word order is rare [pp.439,452,453.]

The several kinds of complementation are treated separately as follows:

Objects	p.438
Adverbial Noun Complements.....	441
Prepositional Complements.....	444
Predicative Complements.....	446
Complemental Clauses.....	449

The kind of complementation that goes with any particular complemented term is largely determined by lexical idiosyncrasy, and must be learned as a matter of vocabulary. Translation equivalents may be misleading.

A complemented term may have one, two, or three complements.

A verb (or participle or gerund) may be complemented by one or two noun phrases; if two, the first must be an object.

Adjectives and nouns, as well as verbs, may be complemented by one or two prepositional phrases, or by a clause, or by a phrase and a clause.

The word order of prepositional phrases in respect to other complements depends on various specific considerations [p.445].

On the distinction between complements and supplements, see p.444 (footnote).

¹In Classical Arabic, complementation is also expressed by *an-našb* (the "accusative case" for noun-type complements, the "subjunctive mode" for verbs).

OBJECTS (*al-maf'ūl bihi*)

An OBJECT is a pronominalizable complement to a verb (or to a participle or gerund). That is to say, it is a noun-type word or phrase of any kind whose referent (if definite) may subsequently be referred to by a pronoun suffixed directly to the verb, or to the stem *yā-* [p.545]: *šaft ʔl-bant* 'Did you see the girl?', *laʔ, mā šaftħa* 'No, I didn't see her'; *šaft-əllak yāħa* 'I saw her (for you)'.

The verb-object construction is practically the same in Arabic as in English; but in many individual cases, an Arabic verb with an object is translated by an English verb with prepositional complement, and vice versa.

Examples:

1. *ʔəmḍi kall ʔn-naṣax* 'Sign all the copies'
2. *ḥḍert ʔl-ʔaṣṣa b-ʔāxr* 'Did you attend the dinner at the end of the meeting?'
ʔl-ʔaṣṣimāʔ?
3. *mā šafʔt ḥada bəl-bēt* 'I didn't see anyone in the house'
4. *ʔam-yəstgəll tībet nafsak* 'He's imposing on your good nature' (In this case the Arabic object is translated with a prepositional complement 'on your good nature'.)
5. *ḥakət-ʔlna ʔəṣṣa mā btətsaddaʔ* 'She told us an incredible story' (In this case the English first object 'us' corresponds to an Arabic prepositional phrase -ʔlna 'to us'.)
6. *tammam yalli kən nāwi yaʔmlo* 'He accomplished what he had intended to do' (Substantivized *yalli*-phrase [p.494])

First and Second Objects. In Arabic as in English, some verbs take two objects. The first of them usually represents a person (or something comparable to a person), to or for whom an act is performed, while the second represents something used in the act or resulting from it:

7. *lāzem ʔtwarṣi š-šarṭi biṭāqet hawītak* 'You must show the policeman your identity card'
8. *bəddi ʔasʔal l-ʔmʔallem suʔāl tāni* 'I want to ask the teacher another question'
9. *ʔār šāḥbo badʔlto š-šdīde* 'He lent his friend his new suit'

10. *šawwas wāḥed šāḥbo bənto*
š-šamīle

'He married off his beautiful daughter to a friend of his', lit. 'He gave-in-marriage (to) a friend of his his beautiful daughter'

Also as in English, the first object may be pronominalized alone, or both may be pronominalized at the same time, but the second object cannot be pronominalized unless the first is too:

First Object Pronominalized

Both Objects Pronominalized

11. *ʔaṭāni ḥdiyye*.....*ʔaṭāni yāħa*
'He gave me a gift' 'He gave it to me' lit. 'He gave me it'
12. *labbəstīhon tyābonʔ*.....*labbəstīhon yāhonʔ*
'Did you(f.)put their clothes on them?' 'Did you put them on them?'
13. *fahḥəmni d-dars*.....*fahḥəmni yā*
'Explain the lesson to me' 'Explain it to me'
14. *ballaḡto r-risāleʔ*.....*ballaḡto yāħaʔ*
'Did you give him the message?' 'Did you give it to him?'
15. *btaʔder ʔtsalləfni šwayyet maṣāriʔ*.....*btaʔer ʔtsalləfni yāħaʔ*
'Could you lend me a little money?' 'Could you lend it to me?'

In order to pronominalize a second object without pronominalizing the first, the first object must be converted into a prepositional complement (generally with *la-*) and the order of complements reversed. Here again, Arabic and English are grammatically alike:

16. *bāʔ ʔəbno l-bēt*.....*bāʔo l-bēt*
'He sold his son the house' 'He sold him the house'
17. *bāʔ ʔl-bēt la-ʔəbno*.....*bāʔo la-ʔəbno*
'He sold the house to his son' 'He sold it to his son'

Object-Verb Inversion. The word order of verb and object is rarely reversed, though in certain kinds of exclamations with the relative an inverted order is usual: *ʔaʔṣab šī ʔaḷḷa mā xalaʔ* 'A more marvelous thing God has never created!', *ʔaṣṣan mən ḥēk ʔəmri mā šaft* 'I've never seen anything crazier than that!'

See also Extraposition of Object [p.431] and Question-word Inversion [p.566].

Objects of Active Participles. The active participle [p.265] of a transitive verb takes an object just as the verb itself does:

18. *hāṭṭe warde b-šaḫra*.....*hāṭṭāta b-šaḫra*
 'She's wearing (i.e. she's put) a flower in her hair' 'She's wearing it in her hair'
19. *mīn ʔmʕallem l-ʔwlād had-dars?*.....*mīn ʔmʕallāmon yā?*
 'Who taught the children this lesson?' 'Who taught it to them?'

But an active participle functioning as a noun (e.g. *mʕallem* in the sense of 'teacher') or as an ordinary adjective (e.g. *šāmel* 'comprehensive') does not, of course, take an object. See p.276.

Objects of Gerunds. If a verb with one object is transformed into a gerund, then – provided that the gerund is in construct with the transformed subject of the verb [p.464] – the object may remain as such:

20. *dirāset ʔabno l-mūsīqa*.....*dirāsto yāha*
 'His son's study of music' 'His studying it'
21. *ʔakl ʔn-nās ʔl-laḥm*.....*ʔaklon yā*
 'the people's eating of meat' 'their eating it'

But if the transformed subject is not expressed, then the object does not remain as such but becomes following term to the gerund in construct: *dirāset ʔl-mūsīqa* 'the study of music', *ʔrāyet ʔl-qurʔān* 'reading the Koran'. See p.296.

If the gerund of a verb with two objects is in construct with the transformed first object, then the second object remains as such:

22. *taʕlīm ʔwlādon l-ʔrāye*.....*taʕlīmon yāha*
 'teaching their children to read' 'teaching it to them'

The object of a gerund may, however, be replaced by a prepositional complement with *la-* [p.479]: *dirāset ʔabno ləl-mūsīqa* 'His son's study of music'.

A concretized gerund [p.284] does not take an object, but a prepositional complement instead: *zyārti ʔalon* 'my visit to them' (not "*zyārti yāhon*").

ADVERBIAL NOUN COMPLEMENTS

Verbs (and participles) are sometimes complemented by a noun-type word or phrase similar to an object (or, more exactly, to a second object), but which is not pronominalizable.¹

An adverbial complement serves to specify something used or involved in the act or situation referred to, or to specify some aspect of it:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>byəzraʕu ʔarāḏihon ʔamʔh</i> | 'They sow their land with wheat' |
| 2. <i>zādet ʔš-šāy sakkār</i> | 'She added sugar to the tea', i.e. "...added to the tea with sugar" |
| 3. <i>mallēt ʔl-ʔannīne mayy</i> | 'I filled the bottle with water' |
| 4. <i>l-ʔannīne malāne mayy</i> | 'The bottle is full of water' (Complemented participle) |
| 5. <i>bikallfak ʔaktar mən hēk</i> | 'It'll cost you more than that' |
| 6. <i>ḏṭarrēt ʔəštāḡel sālāt ʔəḏāfiyye</i> | 'I had to work extra hours' |
| 7. <i>rāyhīn fərset tlatt əšhor</i>
[SAL-68] | '(We're)going on a three months' vacation' (Complemented participle) |
| 8. <i>baʕatū məšwār mafxūt</i> | 'They sent him on a wild goose chase' |
| 9. <i>mənbīʕ nāʔdi bass</i> | 'We only sell for cash' |
| 10. <i>l-ʔhsāb nāʔeš tlatt dolārāt</i> | 'The account is three dollars short' (Complemented participle) |
| 11. <i>šaʔʔo nəššēn</i> | 'He cut it in two' (lit. '...two halves') |

In some cases there is an alternative construction with object and prepositional complement: *byəzraʕu ʔamʔh b-ʔarāḏihon* 'They sow wheat in their fields' (Cf. example 1); *mallēt mayy bəl-ʔannīne* 'I filled water into the bottle' (Cf. example 3).

¹Not pronominalizable, because not definitizable [p.494].

Adverbial Noun Complements: Gerundial and Paronymous
(*al-maf'ūl l-muṭlaq*, the "Absolute Object")

Verbs (and participles) are sometimes complemented by a gerund [p.284], with or without modifiers. The most common kind of gerundial complement is the PARONYMOUS COMPLEMENT or "COGNATE OBJECT"), in which the complemented verb's own gerund is used.

Without modifiers, a paronymous complement is used for emphasis:

1. *kān ʕam-biḡaṭṭ ʔaṭṭ bēn*
ʔš-šawāreʕ 'He was racing wildly through the streets', lit. "He was chasing a chase through the streets"
2. *l-xiṭāb hazz ʔš-šamhūr hazz* 'The speaker moved the crowd profoundly', lit. "The speaker shook the crowd a shaking"
3. *šāḍaṭo mšāḍafe* 'I ran across him by chance', lit. "I encountered him an encounter"
4. *kānet ʔs-sayyāra ʕam-tākol*
ʔz-zafʔt ʔakʔl 'The car was really burning up the road', lit. "...was eating the asphalt an eating"
5. *waḷḷa maskūbe sakʔb!* 'She really has a beautiful figure!', lit. "By God (she is) moulded (with) a moulding"

With modifiers, a paronymous complement serves to show how something referred to by the verb is done:

6. *staʔbalūna ʔstaʔbāl bāred* 'They received us coldly', lit. "They received us a cold reception"
7. *ʕaraḍ ʔaḍito ʕarḍ ʔmnīh* 'He presented his case well', lit. "He presented his case a good presentation"
8. *š-šāḡle kalla kānet*
ʔmnaḡḡame tanḡīm ʕāṭel 'The whole job was poorly organized', lit. "...was organized a bad organization"
9. *bṭaṭšarraḥ ʔašarrof ʔl-xānmāt* 'She conducts herself like a lady', lit. "She behaves (with) the behavior of ladies"
10. *ṭ-ṭayyāra habṭet ʔhbūṭ*
ʔaḍṭirāri 'The plane made a forced landing', lit. "...landed an obligatory landing"
11. *bṭersom rasʔm zēti* 'She paints in oils', lit. "She draws (by) oil drawing"
12. *mīn štaḡal ʔaktar ʔš-šāḡʔl?* 'Who has done the most work?', lit. "Who has worked most of the work?"

13. *l-ʔəxtēn byəxtəlfu ʕan baʕḍon*
kəll ʔl-ʔəxtilāf

'The two sisters are altogether different from one another', lit. "...differ from one another all the difference"

14. *byūton mafrūše farš ʔmnīh*
[adap. from PAT-191]

'Their houses are well furnished', lit. "...furnished a good furnishing"

Instance nouns [p.297] are sometimes used as paronymous complements:

15. *ḡlaṭṭ ḡalṭa faḡīʕa* 'I've made an awful mistake'
16. *ḍarabo ḍarbe ʔawiyye* 'He struck him a mighty blow'
17. *dərna dōra kāmle ḥawāli l-balad* 'We made a complete tour around the town'
18. *xaṭa xaṭwe kəllha dahāʔ* 'He made a very shrewd move', lit. "He stepped a step (which was) all shrewdness"
19. *lammaḥṣt-ʔlna talmīha wāḍḥa* 'She gave us a broad hint', lit. "She hinted to us a clear hint"

Sometimes the gerund of an underlying verb is used to complement a derived verb:

20. *tʕāmal ʔmʕāmale wāṭye* 'He got a raw deal', lit. "He was treated (with) a low treatment" (*mʕāmale*, ger. of *ʕāmal* 'to treat', complementing the passive *tʕāmal* 'to be treated')
21. *darraso dirāse mhīha* 'He taught him well' (*dirāse*, ger. of *daras* 'to study' complementing the causative *darras* 'to make... study, to instruct')
22. *ʕadad ʔs-sakkān ʔzdād zyāde*
hāʔile 'The population has increased tremendously' (*zyāde*, ger. of *zād* 'to increase' [trans. and intrans.], complementing the mediopassive *zdād* 'to increase' [intrans. only].)

In some cases a paronymous complement is not a gerund at all: *kānu raḥa-yšaʔʔfū šaʔaf* 'They were about to tear him to pieces' (figuratively). The complement *šaʔaf* is the plural of *šəʔfe* 'piece', a simple noun, paronymous to *šaʔaf* 'to break in pieces'. In *txānaʔna xnāʔa kbīre* 'We had a big argument', the paronymous complement *xnāʔa* may be considered the participative noun [p.247] underlying the reciprocal verb [248] *txānaʔu* 'to argue', or alternatively, its suppletive gerund. See also example 12 above.

Non-paronymous gerundial complements:

23. *rəʒeE rakʔd la-ʕarabito*
[PVA-22] 'He ran back to his car', lit. 'He returned (by) running to his car' (ger. of *rakaʔ* 'to run')
24. *ʔəleE ʕarhaʔa mn əl-madrəse* 'He was expelled from school', lit. 'He came out - (by) expulsion - from school' (ger. of *ʕarhaʔ* 'to expel')
25. *nəʒel maEʔʔ bəʒ-ʒāʔ* 'He ate voraciously from the platter', lit. 'He came down (with) voracity at the platter' (ger. of *maEaʔ* 'to devour')
26. *bətraʒʒāk lā ʔəfhamni ǵalaʔ* 'Please don't misunderstand me', lit. 'I beg of you, don't understand me (by) mistake' (ger. of *ǵalaʔ* 'to make a mistake')
27. *bisāwi ʔʔūmto ʔafʕil* 'He has his suits tailor made', lit. 'He makes his suits (by) tailoring' (ger. of *faʕʕal* 'to cut out, make to measure')

PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs, nouns, and adjectives are complemented by prepositional phrases, involving some particular preposition¹:

1. *safreʔna btəwaffaʔ ʕaʔ-ʔaʔʕ* 'Our trip depends on the weather'
2. *mīn raʕa-yʔūm bəd-difāʕ?* 'Who's going to take on the defense?'
3. *sammūha səʕād ʕala ʔəsʔm səttha* 'They named her Suad after her grandmother'
4. *baddi kallef ʔaʔʔtak ʔəsʕā-li b-waʕife* 'I'd like to ask you to help me find a job' [SAL-92] (Two prepositional complements)
5. *l-maʕkame ʔakmet ʕalē bəl-ʔəʕdām* 'The court sentenced him to death' (Two prepositional complements)

¹Prepositional complements are often difficult to distinguish from prepositional supplements [p.523]. The essential difference is that a complement is expected - and sometimes required - to go with some particular word, or some particular kind of word, in the complemented phrase; a supplement, on the other hand, goes with the phrase as such. The speaker is not under constraint to use a supplement because of any particular word or kind of word in the phrase. Supplements in general, furthermore, do not have to follow the supplemented term; their word order is relatively free.

6. *ʕam-ʔtxabbi ʕanni ʕiʔ* 'Are you hiding anything from me?'
7. *mā baddi ʔāxod maʕāri mən hal-məʕkīn* 'I don't want to take money from the poor thing'
8. *huwwe rfiʔ ʔadīm ʔalna* 'He's an old companion of ours' (Prepositional complement to noun *rfiʔ*)
9. *sāknīn byūt mək ʔelon*
[PAT-191] 'They live in houses they own' (Prep. Comp. to noun *mək*: lit. 'They inhabit houses [which are] property to them')
10. *hiyye b-ħāle mayʔūs mənha* 'She's in a desperate situation', lit. 'She's in a situation (that's) despaired of' [p.263].
11. *ħaʕ-ʕi xāʕʕ b-ʕaʕʔrna* 'It's something peculiar to our times'
12. *l-bēt lāħet əl-ʔəhmāl ʕalē* 'The house showed signs of neglect' (ʔəhmāl ʕala 'neglect of')
13. *ʔana mayyet mn ʔt-taʕab* 'I'm dead tired' (*mayyet mən* 'dead of', *māt mən* 'to die of')
14. *...la-sabab mn əl-ʔasbāb* 'for some reason or other'
15. *ʕ-ʕām ʔabrad mən bēruʔ bəʕ-ʕate* 'Damascus is colder than Beirut in winter' (Comparative phrase [p.314])
16. *ʔaxi ʔaǵǵar mənnaʕ b-ʕaʕr ʔsnīn* 'My brother is ten years younger than you' (Comparative phrase, followed by second prep. compl. 'by ten years')

The position of prepositional phrases (complemental or supplemental) relative to other complements varies, depending on a number of different factors.

Generally speaking, a preposition with pronoun suffix [p.477] comes before an object (unless, of course, the object itself is a pronoun suffixed to the verb): *ʕam-ʔtxabbi ʕanni ʕiʔ* 'Are you hiding anything from me?' (Cf. *ʕam-ʔtxabbi ʕanni* 'Are you hiding it from me?'). If, on the other hand, the preposition is followed by a noun (or noun phrase), then the object usually comes first: *ʕam-ʔtxabbi ʕiʔ ʕan ʔaxūk* 'Are you hiding anything from your brother?' (See also Example 7 above.)

A prepositional phrase tends to precede an adverbial complement if it is shorter, and follow it if it is longer: *tʔaddam b-məħʔnto ʔaʔaddom ʕaʕīb* 'He's made remarkable progress in his career'; *ʔəleE ʕarhaʔa mn əl-madrəse* 'He was expelled from school' [ex. 24, p.444].

This principle of relative length of complements (the shorter having word-order priority) applies generally whenever other principles of priority are not in effect. It is not, of course, a hard-and-fast rule.

It applies also to predicative complements [See examples, below], except that a complement must follow whatever element of the sentence it is predicative to, regardless of length.

PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS

Many verbs (and other verb-type expressions [p.412]) are complemented by predicates [p.380] which are applicable – contingently upon the verb¹ – to the verb's subject, object, or (less commonly) prepositional complement.

Like adverbial complements, a predicative complement is always preceded by the object, if any, and is sometimes preceded by a prepositional complement [p.444].

Subjective Complements (Complements predicative to the subject, or subject "understood" [p.418]):

1. *l-maktūb wašel mətʔaxxer šwayye* 'The letter arrived a bit late'
2. *ʔaʕadna ʔrāb la-baʕdna* 'We sat near each other'
3. *s-saʔʔf madhūn ʔabyaḍ* 'The ceiling is painted white' (Subject of passive participle corresponds to object of active verb)
4. *mīn ʔaleʕ ʔl-ḡāleb bəl-ʔmʔātaleʔ* 'Who came out the winner in the fight?'
5. *l-ʔkmāle ʔalak baxšīš* 'Keep the change', lit. 'The change (is) for you (as) a tip' (ʔalak is a verb-type expression [p.414].)
6. *bteštəḡel manukān b-maḥall faxʔm ləl-ʔalbīsa* 'She works as a model in an elegant dress shop'

¹Predicative complements differ from attributes – which are also transformed predicates [p.493] – in this respect: The predication implied by an attribute is not contingent on anything else in the clause; it is assertive and unconditional, while the predication implied by a predicative complement is in a sense optative [p.347], conditioned by the main verb. Compare the attributive adjective *šamīl*, in *laʔēt ʔl-bēt ʔš-šamīl* ? 'Did you find the pretty house?' with the complemental *šamīl* in *laʔēt ʔl-bēt šamīl* ? 'Did you find the house pretty?'

7. *nʕalnet madīne makšūfe waʔt ʔl-ḥarb.*
8. *šū ʕendak fwāki?* [SAL-43]
9. *kamm fī metr ʔmrabbaf fi had-dāyraʔ*
10. *fī ʕāšfe tālʕa*

'It was declared an open city during the war'

'What have you (in the way of) fruit?'

'How many square meters are there in this circle?' [p.572]

'There's a storm coming up'

Complements to linking verbs are – strictly speaking – subjective complements, but they are treated here along with other paratactic complemental clauses [p.450].

All complemental verbs that have the same subject-referent as the complemented term, furthermore, may be analyzed as subjective complements. For examples, see p.348ff.

Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object):

1. *ʕaʔēʔo yā hdiyye* 'I gave it to him as a gift'
2. *ḥassabūni ʔenglīzi* 'They took me for an Englishman'
3. *bəddo tfaššəl-lo yāha badle* [EA-118] 'He wants you to make it into a suit for him', lit. "...to cut for him it (as) a suit"
4. *hādi tāni marra byəntəxbū ʕəḍu barlamān* [EA-159] 'This is the second time they've elected him member of parliament'
5. *nšabart ḥəʔt xams ʔrūš taʔmīn ʕal-ʔannīne* 'I was required to put five piastres deposit on the bottle'
6. *ʔaddēš ʕam-tāxod ḥaʔʔ ḥaš-šabbāʔ* 'How much are you getting for these shoes?' (lit. "... (as) price (of) these shoes")
7. *ttaxaz ʔt-ʔəbb ʔš-šarʕi mēhne ʔalo* 'He made forensic medicine his career'
8. *byəbʕatu ʔəsm ʔkbīr ləl-ʔmšāben məšān yəʕʔmlū šābūn* [PAT-183] 'They send a large part of it to the soap factories to have it made (into) soap'
9. *hāda bsammī ʕamal ʕaḡīm* 'That's what I call a great deed'
10. *ḥəʔtēt ḥāli wāšṭa bəl-xilāf* 'I acted as mediator in the dispute', lit. "I put myself (as) mediator..."
11. *bəʕtabərha wāšəb məʕnawī* 'I consider it a moral obligation'

- 12.
- šū hāmel šahādāt?*
- [SAL-96]

'What diplomas have you?', lit.
'What do you carry (in the way of)
diplomas?'

- 13.
- zayyanet ʔl-bēt ktīr ḥalu ʔala ʔars bāntha*

'She decorated the house very nice-
(ly) for her daughter's wedding'

- 14.
- bāthabb ʔl-ʔahwe ḥalwe wälla sādā?*

'Would you like the coffee sweetened
or straight?'

- 15.
- lāzem txalli l-bēt ʔnḏīf*

'You've got to keep the house clean'

- 16.
- tarakʔt ballōra wāḥde šāʔle b-ʔūdet ʔl-ʔāʔde*

'I left one lamp lit in the living
room'

- 17.
- laḥa-tlāʔi t-ḥalʔa wāʔfe w-šaʔbe*

'You'll find the climb steep and
difficult'

- 18.
- ḥāses ḥāli ʔahsan b-ʔktīr ʔl-yōm*

'I'm feeling much better today', lit.
'I'm feeling myself (as) much better...'

- 19.
- šāyef ḥāli matl ʔz-ʔaft ʔl-yōm*

'I feel terrible today', lit. "I see
myself like pitch today"

- 20.
- xalli ʔēnak ʔal-ʔwīlād*

'Keep your eye on the children'

- 21.
- šaft ʔl-šunūd māšyīn?*

'Did you see the troops marching?'

- 22.
- mā blāʔiḥa ʔaḥ-ḥarḡ ʔl-ʔarabi š-šarf*

'It doesn't seem to me to be in the
pure Arab style', lit. "I don't find
it in the..."

Many objective complements are verbal. It is convenient to treat these complements in the section on paratactic complemental clauses (p.450, ex. 10), but note also:

- 23.
- xallīna nāḥoš ʔfrank la-nšūf mīn birūḥ*

'Let's toss a coin to see who goes'

- 24.
- mḥassbe ʔanno fiḥa təʔmáron isāwu šū ma bāthabb*

'She thinks she can order them to do
whatever she likes'

Prepositional Objective Complements (Complements predicative to the object of a preposition):

- 1.
- bəmoʔ ʔalēk bāl-bēt b-hal-kam yōm*

'I'll stop by (and see) you at home
one of these days'

- 2.
- šār-ʔlhon mādzaḥḥīn sene w-ʔšwayye*

'They've been married a little over a
year', lit. "It has become to them
married..."

- 3.
- šar-li xams ʔsnīn baʔʔrfo*

'I've known him for five years', lit.
'It's become for me five years (that)
I know him'

COMPLEMENTAL CLAUSES

Many verbs, nouns, adjectives, and miscellaneous other predicative terms [p.412] are commonly (in some cases almost always) complemented by a clause.

Some complemental clauses are **HYPOTACTIC**, i.e. introduced by a conjunction: *ʔāl ʔanno baddo yrūḥ* 'He said that he wanted to go', while others are **PARATACTIC**, having no conjunction: *ʔāl baddo yrūḥ* 'He said he wanted to go'. The usual complemental conjunctions are *ʔanno* 'that' [p.543], *ʔiza* 'whether, if', *la-*, *ḥatta*, etc. 'in order to' [p.353].

Examples of hypotactic clauses:

- 1.
- ftakart ʔannak l-ʔmʔallem*
- [PVA-32]

'I thought that you were the teacher'

- 2.
- raḥa-ʔūl la-samīr ʔanno mā yəʔaxxar*

'I'm going to tell Samir not to be
late'

- 3.
- lāssa ʔana mū mətʔakked ʔiza brūḥ wälla laʔ*

'I'm still not sure whether I'll go
or not'

- 4.
- w-rāḥ la-balad tānye la-yšūf ʔiza bilāʔi zalame šāḥer ʔaw ʔālem matlo*
- [AO-83]

'And he went to another town to see
if he could find a man as clever or
as learned as himself'

In example 4 the main verb *rāḥ* is complemented by the clause introduced by *la-*; the complemental verb *yšūf* is complemented in its turn by the *ʔiza* clause.

Both *ʔiza* and *la-*, etc. are also used in **supplemental** clauses. See pp.331,358.

The forms *yalli*, *ʔlli*, etc. [p.494] are sometimes used as a complemental conjunction in sentences like the following:

- 5.
- frəḥt ʔktīr ʔlli rəḡeʔ ʔabʔn ʔammak*
- [RN-II.51]

'I'm very glad that your cousin has
returned'

- 6.
- w-ʔana mabšūt ʔlli kān ḥēk, ʔaw ʔlli šār maʔi ḥal-ʔəmtiḥān ḥāda*
- [SVSA-124]

'And I'm pleased that that's the way
it was - that I had that examination'

Some clauses complement transitive verbs, i.e. verbs that can take an object, while others complement intransitive verbs, or nouns or adjectives - which are otherwise complemented by prepositional phrases. In colloquial Arabic the complemental preposition is usually lost before a clause, so that the distinction between objects and prepositional complements is lost when the complement is a

clause (but see p.357). Examples of clauses corresponding to prepositional complements:

7. *bəʔtəref ʔanni kənt ǧaltān*

'I admit that I was mistaken' (cf. *bəʔtəref bi-ǧalʔtī* 'I admit my mistake')

8. *waʔadna ʔanno raḥ-isāʔadna*

'He promised us that he was going to help us' (cf. *waʔadna bal-ʔmsāʔade* 'He promised us help')

9. *l-ləʒne ḥakmet ʔal-bināye ʔanna mü şālḥa ləs-səke*

'The committee ruled that the building was not fit for habitation' (cf. *l-ləʒne ḥakmet ʔal-bināye bət-tahbīt* 'The committee slated the building for demolition')

Note also example 3 (cf. *məʔakked mən* 'sure of') and example 6 (cf. *mabšūt mən*, *mabšūt b-* 'glad of, pleased with'). In example 2, the complemental clause may be equated with an object since the verb *ʔāl* 'to say, tell' is transitive. Similarly in ex. 4, the *ʔiza* clause functions like an object of the transitive verb *šāf* 'to see'.

Examples of paratactic clauses:

10. *w-ʔamar ʔə-ʒənn yərmūni b-nəşş ʔl-baḥʔr* [AO-116]

'And he ordered the Jinn to throw me into the middle of the sea'

11. *bḥəbb kəll šahʔr təbʔatū-li bayān b-ʔḥsābi* [DA-294]

'I want you(pl.) to send me a statement of my account every month'

12. *rūḥ ʔsʔāl ʔəmmak bəddha šī*

'Go ask your mother if she wants anything'

13. *l-ḥaʔiʔa bfaḍḍel mā rūḥ la-maḥall balāk* [DA-172]

'The truth is, I'd prefer not to go anywhere without you'

14. *ʔənti ʔlī-lo fāyze ʒāye*

'You(f.) tell him Faiza is coming'

15. *xāyef-lak ʔl-bēt yəhboḥ*

'I'm afraid the house will cave in'

16. *kān bəddi ʔəštrīha, bass ʔal-li mā ʔəštrīha*

'I wanted to buy it, but he told me not to'

17. *marra w-marrtēn ʔəlt-əllō lā təlʔab bəḥ-ḥarīʔ*

'Time and again I've told him not to play in the street'

In Arabic there is no distinct line drawn between direct and indirect quotation. Example 17, translated literally, is '...I told him, don't play in the street', while in ex. 16 the quotation is made indirect, and in 14 the clause *fāyze ʒāye* could be either direct or indirect quota-

tion. Direct quotation (as in ex. 17) is used more liberally than it is in English, is less apt to be set off intonationally, and has less dramatizing force.

Subject Clauses. Many predicative terms are followed by a clause which functions as the subject [p.417] of the predication. A subject clause is superficially just the same as a true complemental clause, since it is inherently indefinite [407] and therefore normally follows the main term of the predicate. By the same token, the predicative term is normally neutral (3rd p. sing.) in inflection [p.365]:

18. *byəḡhar ʔanno ʔafḍal šī l-ʔəttifāʔ ʔala ḥall waṣaḥ*

'It appears that the best thing is to agree on a compromise solution'

19. *ʔabadan mā xaḥar ʔala bāli ʔanno laḥa-yəʔtəreḍ*

'It never crossed my mind that he was going to object'

20. *l-muḥəmm ʔənnak təḥḍar w-kəll šī ʔənšāllā bikūn tamām*

'The important thing is that you attend, and everything (God willing) will be all right'

21. *məʔəʒze ʔənnon bəʔyu ʔāyšīn*

'It's a miracle that they are still alive'

22. *wāḍəh mən ʔl-maktūb ʔanno mālo raḍyān*

'It's clear from the letter that he isn't satisfied'

23. *mniḥ halli ʔəʔit ʔabʔl ma ʔəḥlaʔ* [DA-243]

'It's good that you've come before I left' (cf. examples 5 and 6.)

Paratactic subject clauses:

24. *byəḡhar kənt ʔəkəl šī tʔīl* [DA-217]

'It seems you must have eaten something indigestible' (lit. 'heavy')

25. *fəkre yəbʔatni ʔal-məstašfa* [DA-217]

'His idea is to send me to the hospital'

26. *mā biḥəʔ-əllak tāxod ʒāye* [AO-88]

'You don't deserve to get a prize' (lit. 'It isn't right for you...')

27. *lāsem nām kamān šwayye* [AO-51]

'I must sleep a while longer' (lit. 'It is necessary that I sleep...')

28. *masməḥ-li ʔəlʔab tanes ma dām mā zīd fīḥa*

'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it' (lit. 'It's allowed to me to play...')

29. *b-ʔəmkānak tsāwī-li talifōnʔ*

'Could you give me a phone call?' (lit. 'Is it in your power to...')

Many very common expressions are complemented by paratactic clauses; see the examples in Chapter 13, p.347 ff.

Linking Verbs (*kān wa-ʔaxawātuḥā*)

The verbs *kān* 'to be', *šār* 'to become', *ḡall* 'to remain', and a few others are almost always complemented, paratactically, by a predicate [p. 380]. The subject of the complemental clause, if any, is the same as that of the linking verb. The predicate may be of any sort (i.e. verbal, adjectival, nominal, or prepositional): *kānet ʔam-təḥki* 'she was talking', *kānet taʔbāne* 'she was tired', *kānet bənt ʔg̃g̃ire* 'she was a little girl', *kānet bəl-bēt* 'she was in the house'.

There are other verbs that are always complemented by a predicate but with which the predicate is limited to a certain kind; e.g. *ʔəder* 'to be able' is always complemented by a verbal predicate.

Examples, *kān*:

30. *kān ʔaḥsan-lak təstaširna* 'You should have consulted us' (lit. "It was better for you to consult us")
31. *kənnə šāyfīn malāmeḥ ʔg̃g̃bāl* 'We could see the outlines of the mountains'
32. *bəddi kūn ʔg̃fīt b-ʔg̃yābak* [SPA-30] 'I must have dozed off in your absence'
33. *bižūz kān ʔl-bōṣṭaži* 'It was probably the postman'
34. *žnənəṣta bətkūn zāhye* 'Her garden is colorful this time of year'
b-hal-waʔt mn ʔs-səne
35. *kān wāḥed bāša ʔāʔed fi* 'A certain pasha was sitting on the balcony of his palace'
balkōn sarāyto [PVA-28]

With complement-verb inversion:

36. *nšālḷa baṣiṭa kānet* [SAL-137] 'Nothing serious, I trust!' (lit. "God willing, minor it was")

Examples, *šār*:

37. *šū ʔmalt ḥatta šāret martak* 'What did you do, that your wife became so, like the angels?'
hēk, matl ʔl-malāyke? [AO-112]
38. *šār ʔl-masa?* 'Is it evening already?' (lit. "Has it become...")
39. *kūn šār baʔd naṣṣ ʔl-ləl* 'It was after midnight when we got back home' (lit. "It had become after..."; the linking verb *kān* is complemented by the linking verb *šār*, which in its turn is complemented by a prepositional predicate.)
lamma rṣəʔna ʔal-bēt

40. *šərt təḥki ʔarabi mnīḥ* [PVA-26] 'You speak Arabic well now' (lit. "You have become that you speak...")

41. *kəll šī biṣīr tamām* 'Everything will be all right' (lit. "...will become all right")

With complement-verb inversion:

42. *mažmūʔti kāmle šāret halla?* 'My collection has now become complete'

Examples, *ḡall*:

43. *ḡallēna sahranīn la-waʔt* 'We stayed up till late in the night'
matʔaxxer bəl-ləl

44. *ḡallet ʔtnəʔʔ ʔaliyyi* 'She kept nagging at me'

45. *biḡall yəḥki ʔan ʔl-ḥawādes* 'He keeps talking about past events'
ʔl-māḡdye

Examples, *bəʔi*, *baʔa*:

46. *s-səkkīne ž-ždīde dāyman* 'A new knife always stays good' (saying)
ʔbtəbʔa ʔayybe

47. *mā baʔa fī ʔandi g̃er naṣṣ* 'I haven't got but a half bottle of oil left' (the *g̃er* phrase is subject, *fī ʔandi* the predicate and complement of the linking verb.)
ʔannīnet zēt [PVA-44]

48. *byəbʔa yzūrha kəll yōm* 'He keeps on visiting her every day'

49. *bʔīt ʔhnīk kamm šahʔr* 'I stayed there several months'

Examples, *mā ʔād* 'no longer':

50. *mā ʔād iṭāwəʔni ʔabadan* 'He no longer obeys me at all'

51. *l-bənt mā ʔādet ʔg̃g̃ire tələb* 'The girl is no longer little (enough) to play with dolls'
bəl-ləʔab

52. *mā ʔād fiyyi ʔəṭṭammāla* 'I can't stand it any more'

53. *ʔiza bəttamm ʔtəʔmlo hēk mā* 'If you keep on treating him like this he won't listen to you any more' (*bəttamm* is also a linking verb.)
laḥa-yēūd yəsməʔ mənnaḥ

CHAPTER 18: ANNEXION (*al-ʔiḏāfa*) AND PREPOSITIONS

A CONSTRUCT, or ANNEXION PHRASE, is composed of two immediately adjacent nominal or noun-type terms [p.382], of which the leading term (*al-muḏāf*) is generally qualified by the following term (*al-muḏāf ʔilayhi*):

šawāreʕ bē rūt '(the) streets(of)Beirut'

bēt naḡīb '(the) house(of)Najeeb': 'Najeeb's house'

ʔasʔm bant '(the) name(of a)girl': 'a girl's name'

waraʔ ʕaneb 'leaves(of) grapes': 'grape leaves, vine leaves'

Most constructs can be rendered roughly in English by inserting 'of' between the translated terms, preserving the word order of the original. In normal English, however, the Arabic following term is often translated as a possessive (Najeeb's, girl's), or as the first constituent of a noun compound (grape leaves), resulting in a word order that is the reverse of the Arabic.

When some words occur IN CONSTRUCT (i.e. as leading term in an annexion phrase), they appear in a CONSTRUCT FORM which differs from the ABSOLUTE FORM used otherwise. Construct forms are treated in Chapter 5, p.162ff.

Absolute Form (Illustrating
use of word not in construct)

Construct Form

maḡrase sānawiyye 'secondary school'....*maḡrast ʔl-balad* 'the town school'

š-šarīde l-ʔaḡsan 'the best newspaper'...*šarītt ʔl-yōm* 'today's paper'

l-ʔaxx ʔaḡmad 'Brother Ahmed'.....*ʔaxu ʔaḡmad* 'Ahmed's brother'

xamse maḡhon 'five of them'.....*xams ʔr-šāl* 'five men'

There are various kinds of annexion, depending on the types of leading term: substantive, adjective, partitive, cardinal numeral, and elative/ordinal.

Prepositional phrases are also conveniently considered a type of annexion phrase, though the more typical prepositions are quite unlike noun-type words, and prepositional phrases are un-noun-like in function (not normally used as subject of a clause). See p.476.

For annexion clauses, see p.491.

SUBSTANTIVE ANNEXION

The leading term of an ordinary noun construct cannot have an article prefix [p.493], regardless whether it is definite or indefinite: *šarket* 'the oil company': *šarket* 'city streets': *šawāre* 'the city streets'.

There are a few set phrases which are exceptions to this rule: *l-bēt mūne* 'the storeroom, pantry' (but also regular: *bēt* 'the storeroom'), *l-bani* 'the human being', *l-ʔamm* 'the centipede', *l-mayy ward* 'the rose water', etc.

Occasionally the leading term is a coördination [p.392]: *šawāre* 'the streets and quarters of the city', *ħarriyyet* 'freedom and independence of thought'.

Often, however, such coordinations are avoided by the use of an anaphoric pronoun: *šawāre* 'the streets of the city and its quarters'.

Except for coördinations, the leading term of an annexion phrase is limited to a single word.

The following term, on the other hand, may be any sort of noun-type word or phrase [p.381,382]: *šawāre* 'the streets of a large city', *ħarriyyet* 'freedom of thought and opinion', *ħārāt* 'the quarters of Africa's largest cities'.

Since the following term may be any sort of noun-type phrase, it may, of course, be another annexion phrase, as in the last example above (which is, in fact, a construct within a construct within still another construct). Note also: *taħsīn* 'improvement (in) qualities (of) resistance (to) heat'; *farš* 'the furniture (of the) great (of the) houses (of the) rich (of) Europe'.

Definite and Indefinite Constructs. If the following term of a construct is definite, the leading term is treated as definite also; and if the following term is indefinite, the leading term, likewise, is treated as indefinite.¹ (On Definiteness, see p.494.)

¹ Instead of speaking here of the leading term, one might say 'the construct as a whole'. The leading term is generally the main term and the following term is subordinate, i.e. agreement is with the leading term. (But see p.466ff.)

Definite

Indefinite

fənšān 'the cup of coffee'.....*fənšān* 'a cup of coffee'
ʔašīr 'the orange juice'.....*ʔašīr* 'orange juice'
sakkān 'our town's inhabitants'...*sakkān* 'a town's inhabitants'
ʔasəm banto 'his daughter's name'.....*ʔasəm bant* 'another girl's name'

To say that the leading term is "treated as definite" means that if it has an attribute, the attribute shows definite agreement with it; and to say it is "treated as indefinite" means the attribute shows indefinite agreement with it.

An attributive adjective (or noun) shows definite agreement by having the article prefix; an attributive clause, by having the clause definitizer *yalli* (halli, etc.). See p.493.

Definite

Indefinite

bant 'the baker's pretty daughter'.....*bant* 'a baker's pretty daughter'
bant 'the baker's daughter we saw in town'.....*bant* 'a baker's daughter we saw in town'
bēt našīb 'Najeeb's stately house'.....(Cannot be made indefinite because the following term, a proper name, is inherently definite.)

By the same token, if the last term in a series of constructs within constructs is definite, then all the other terms are likewise treated as definite, and if the last term is indefinite, so are all the others. [p.456]

Constructs with Pronouns. A pronoun can never be leading term in annexion, but it can be following term: *ʔasəm hāda* '(the)name(of)this'; *ʔasəm mīn* '(the)name(of)whom?', i.e. 'whose name?'.

A personal pronoun [p.541] as following term in annexion takes the form of a suffix: *ʔasmo* '(the)name(of)him', i.e. 'his name'; *šawāreha* '(the)streets(of)it', i.e. 'its streets'; *maḍrasatna* '(the)school(of)us', i.e. 'our school'.

The personal pronouns are inherently definite; thus any noun to which a pronoun is suffixed is – as leading term – also treated as definite: *banto* 'his pretty daughter'.

A noun with a pronoun suffix, then, constitutes an annexion phrase as it stands; and the pronoun in its turn cannot stand in construct with another following term. Therefore a noun with a pronoun suffix – like a noun with the article prefix – can only be the last word in a construct-within-construct series. Avoid trying to interrupt a construct like *ʔūdet nōm* 'room (of) sleeping', i.e. 'bedroom' with a pronoun suffix as in *ʔūdetna* 'our room'. To say 'our bedroom', the suffix may be attached to *nōm*: *ʔūdet nōmna* "(the)room (of the)sleep(of)us", or periphrastically: *ʔūdet ʔn-nōm tabaʔna* [p.460].

Identificatory and Classificatory Annexion. There are two ways in which the following term may qualify the leading term:

In an **IDENTIFICATORY** construct – if it is definite – the following term generally answers the question 'which?' (or 'whose?') applied to the leading term. For instance in the phrase *walad ʔāri* 'my neighbor's boy', *ʔāri* shows which (or whose) boy is referred to.

In a **CLASSIFICATORY** construct – whether it is definite or not – the following term generally answers the question 'what kind of...?' applied to the leading term. Thus in *ʔaʔīr ʔl-bardʔān* 'the orange juice', *ʔl-bardʔān* shows what kind of juice is meant.

The main grammatical difference between the two kinds of annexion is this: In identificatory constructs the following term – if it is definite – can generally be pronominalized; i.e. whatever the following term refers to may subsequently (or alternatively) be referred to by a pronoun, suffixed to the leading term: *walad ʔāri* 'my neighbor's boy' → *walado* 'his boy'. With classificatory constructs this cannot be done.

Identification is fundamentally a function of definiteness [p.494]; and classification, a function of indefiniteness. But since the article prefix is added to the following term only – even when its function is really to definitize the leading term – it is not possible simply to equate identificatory terms with definitizable terms.

The personal pronouns, of course, are inherently identificatory.

The rules of thumb involving 'which?' and 'what kind of?' do not apply equally well to all kinds of construct: in *fənʔān ʔl-ʔahwe* 'the cup of coffee', *ʔl-ʔahwe* does not, strictly speaking, tell "what kind of" cup is meant, but it is classificatory nevertheless: *ʔl-ʔahwe* is not pronominalizable.

There are, also, some inherently definite following terms which are not pronominalizable: *ʔarīdet bukra* 'tomorrow's paper', *ʔasīret baḥrēn* 'the Island of Bahrain' [p.462].

Many annexion phrases, taken out of context, can be understood either as classificatory or as identificatory: *wlād ʔl-madrāse* 'the schoolchildren' (classificatory) or 'the children of the school' (identificatory).

The Demonstrative Proclitic in Annexion Phrases. Unlike the article, the demonstrative *hal-* 'this, that, these, those' [p.556] may generally be attached to the leading term of a definite classificatory construct:

<i>hal-ʔwlād ʔl-madrāse</i>	'these schoolchildren'
<i>hal-fənʔān ʔl-ʔahwe</i>	'this cup of coffee'
<i>hal-ʔaʔīr ʔl-bardʔān</i>	'this orange juice'
<i>hal-ʔālt ʔt-ʔaʔwīr</i>	'this instrument (of) picturing', this camera
<i>hal-ʔadwet ʔl-ʔḥṣān</i>	'that horseshoe'
<i>hal-waraʔ ʔl-karbōn</i>	'this carbon paper'
<i>hal-ʔmḥaʔfet ʔl-ʔizāʔa</i>	'this broadcasting station'

Alternatively, however, *hal-* is sometimes attached to the following term, merging with the article; (unless doing so would create an undesirable ambiguity with respect to an identificatory construct [see below]):

<i>fənʔān hal-ʔahwe</i>	'this cup of coffee'
<i>ʔaʔīr hal-bardʔān</i>	'this orange juice'
<i>ʔālet haʔ-ʔaʔwīr</i>	'this camera'
<i>waraʔ hal-karbōn</i>	'this carbon paper'

With identificatory constructs, on the other hand, *hal-* can never be attached to the leading term. When attached to the following term, moreover, its meaning applies strictly to that of the following term:

<i>wlād hal-madrāse</i>	'the children of this school'
<i>ʔaʔīr hal-bardʔānāt</i>	'the juice of those oranges' [p.370]
<i>ʔadwet hal-ʔḥṣān</i>	'that horse's shoe'

To apply a demonstrative modifier to the leading term of an identificatory construct, the full words *hāda*, *hayy*, etc. [p.557] may be added after the following term:

<i>ḍaffet ʔn-nahr hayy</i>	'this bank of the river'
<i>ṭaraf ʔt-ṭāwle hāda</i>	'this edge of the table'

Cf. *ḍaffet han-nahʔr* 'the bank of this river'

Periphrasis of Annexion. Annexion is not the only construction in which one noun-type term is used to identify or classify another. Instead of standing in construct with the qualifying term, a noun may often be linked to that same qualifier more loosely – by a preposition, usually *tabaʕ* [p.489], *la-* [479], *man* [478], or *b-* [479]:

haš-šaʕfet ʔl-ʔarq 'that piece of land' or *haš-šaʕfe mn ʔl-ʔarq*

šrūš haš-šaʕara 'the roots of that tree' or *š-šrūš tabaʕ haš-šaʕara*

šānāʕtna 'our maid' or *š-šānāʕa tabaʕna*

ʔammet haš-šabal 'the summit of that mountain' or *l-ʔamme b-haš-šabal*

xārteʕ ʕaroʕ 'a road map' or *xārʕa leʕ-ʕaroʕ*

Since the leading term in annexion is subject to somewhat rigid limitations (e.g. it can only consist of a single word or coördination, and can only be definite or indefinite by agreement with the following term), there are certain situations in which a construct cannot be used at all, but may be circumlocuted by a prepositional construction.

1.) If the leading term is to be indefinite while the following term is definite: *xārʕa la-ʕaroʕ lebnān* 'a road map of Lebanon' (i.e. 'a map for the roads of Lebanon'); the construct *xārteʕ ʕaroʕ lebnān* 'the road map of Lebanon' can only be definite, because the last term *lebnān*, a proper name, is inherently definite.

A classificatory term following an elative or an ordinal [p.473], for instance, has to be indefinite: *ʔaḥsan šaʕfe mn ʔl-ʔarq* 'the best piece of land', *ʔammal raʕīs lel-šamhuriyye* 'the first president of the republic'.

If this kind of term is followed by a definite construct, its meaning would be distorted to that of identification: *ʔaḥsan šaʕfet ʔl-ʔarq*, for instance, would mean 'the best (part) of the piece of land'.

2.) If both the leading term and the following term are to have modifiers: *l-ʔasʕār ʔl-ʕālye tabaʕ ʔl-kaʕob ʔl-madrasiyye* 'the high prices of school books'; cf. the construct *ʔasʕār ʔl-kaʕob ʔl-madrasiyye* 'the prices of school books'.

Adjectives coming after the last noun in a construct may apply to either term, depending on the sense and the agreement [p.503]: *farš ʔl-bēt ʔš-šdīd ʔš-šamīl* 'the furniture of the beautiful new house' or 'the beautiful new furniture of the house'. But two contiguous adjectives are not used to modify two different terms; for 'the beautiful furniture of the new house', one must have recourse to the *tabaʕ* construction: *l-farš ʔš-šamīl tabaʕ ʔl-bēt ʔš-šdīd*.

A construct is always possible if there is only one adjective attribute involved: *fars ʔl-bēt ʔš-šdīd*; but even so it is often preferable to use a periphrastic construction to resolve an ambiguity in the annexion phrase: *l-farš ʔš-šdīd tabaʕ ʔl-bēt* 'the new furniture of the house' or *l-farš tabaʕ ʔl-bēt ʔš-šdīd* 'the furniture of the new house'; *ʕ-ʕaraf ʔt-tāni mn*

ʔš-šāreʕ 'the other side of the street' (rather than *ʕaraf ʔš-šāreʕ ʔt-tāni*, which would more likely be understood as 'the side of the other street').

3.) If one wishes both to classify and to identify the referent of a term, it is usually the classification that is done by annexion, while the identification is relegated to a *tabaʕ* phrase: *farʕ ʔl-falsafe tabaʕ šāmʕatna* 'our university's philosophy department', *ʔanšāyet ʔl-ʔanglīzi tabaʕak* 'your English composition', *mḥaʕʕet ʔl-banzīn tabaʕ ʕammi* 'my uncle's gasoline station'.

This rule may be reversed to lay contrastive emphasis on the classificatory term: *mḥaʕʕet ʕammi tabaʕ ʔl-banzīn* 'my uncle's gasoline station'.

Alternatively, in some cases, a classificatory following term may itself be put in construct with an identificatory term: *ʔūdet nōm ʕabdalʕa* 'Abdullah's bedroom' (or *ʔūḍ ʔn-nōm tabaʕ ʕabdalʕa*); *makīnt ʔhlāʕet ʔaxi* 'my brother's electric shaver' (or *makīnet l-ʔhlāʕa tabaʕ ʔaxi*); *ʕašīr bardʕāno* 'his orange juice' (or *ʕašīr ʔl-bardʕān tabaʕo*).

This type of compound construct cannot be used very freely because in many cases the intended classificatory term would have its sense distorted to that of identification [p.458]: *farʕ falsafet šāmʕatna*, for instance, would seem to mean 'the branch of our university's philosophy'. Note, however, that *ʕašīr bardʕāno* would not generally be taken to mean 'the juice of his oranges', because collectives are usually classificatory [p.370].

Relationships Expressed by Substantive Annexion.¹ Ordinary noun constructs are used to express widely varied relationships of meaning between leading and following terms. For example:

Unit and Collective [p.297] (Generally classificatory; periphrasis usually with *man*):

kaʕlet laḥm 'a piece of meat'

šaʕfet xabʕ 'a piece of bread'

ḥabbet ʕaneb 'a grape' (lit. 'a berry of grapes')

rās baʕal 'an onion' (lit. 'a bulb of onions')

rūs baʕar 'heads of cattle'

¹The categories of relationship given here are merely intended to suggest the semantic scope of this construction, and are not meant to constitute a definitive classification (or kind of classification).

Genus and Differential Description (Classificatory; periphrasis various):

laḥ^m ba^ʔar 'beef' (lit. 'meat of cattle')

ḥakīm ^ʔḫyūn 'eye doctor'

ḥāsset ^ʔš-šamm 'the sense of smell'

ḫa^ʔrab da^ʔāye^ʔ 'minute hand'

^ʔalam ḥab^ʔr 'fountain pen' (lit. 'pen of ink')

ṭāleb ṭabb 'student of medicine'

kallīt ^ʔl-ḥ^ʔū^ʔ 'the law school' (college of the law')

zahr ^ʔl-lēmūn 'the orange (or lemon) blossoms'

Genus and Specific Name (Classificatory; no periphrasis):

šoz ḥand 'coconuts' (lit. 'nuts of the Indies')

šašar sān 'beech trees'

sayyāret fōrd 'a Ford car' (Also appositive [p.506]: sayyāra fōrd)

dīk ḥabaš 'a turkey cock' (lit. 'cock of Abyssinia')

Genus and Individual Name (Identificatory but no pronominalization; no periphrasis)

blād ^ʔl-yūnān 'the Land of Greece'

buḥayret lūṭ 'the Dead Sea' ('Lot's Lake')

sant ^ʔarb^ʔīn 'the year '40' (i.e. 1940)

ḥarf ^ʔr-rē 'the letter rā'

kəlmət šaṭranž 'the word šaṭranž'

In some cases the individual name is originally an adjective: nahr ^ʔl-ḫāšī 'The Orontes River', literally n-nahr ^ʔl-ḫāšī 'the unruly river'. As the adjective becomes less a description and more a name, the tendency is to drop the article prefix from the leading term, changing the construction from attribution to annexion. The same tendency may be seen in phrases like sant ^ʔl-māḏye 'last year' for s-sane l-māḏye.

Part (or Aspect) and Whole (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with taba^ʔ or la-):

šaṭṭ ^ʔl-baḥ^ʔr 'the seashore'

^ʔaḫa r-rās 'the back of the head'

rās ^ʔs-sane 'New Year's' (lit. 'head of the year')

^ʔašrayyī 'my feet'

šāšet ^ʔt-talefizyōn 'the television screen'

ḫaḫwīt ^ʔn-nādi 'the membership of the club'

Relation and the Related Object (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with taba^ʔ or la-):

^ʔamm šāḥbi 'my friend's mother' (Both ^ʔamm and šāḥeb are relational terms)

muwazzafīn ^ʔs-safāra 'the embassy employees'

wlād šīrānna 'our neighbors' children' (both wlād and šīran are relational)

^ʔasm ^ʔš-šabi 'the boy's name'

ra^ʔīs ^ʔš-šamhuriyye 'the president of the republic'

raz^ʔ farīd 'property of Fareed'

Associated Object and its Association (Generally identificatory, periphrasis usually with taba^ʔ or la-):

bēt tāšer 'a merchant's house'

māḫramtek 'your handkerchief'

wlād ^ʔl-ḫāra 'the neighborhood children'

madīnet ^ʔn-nabi 'the city of the prophet'

šazīret ^ʔl-ḫarab 'the Arabian Peninsula' (lit. 'island of the Arabs')

There are many other kinds of relationship expressed by annexion, for example: Container and Contents: šaḥ^ʔn taḫfāḥ 'a bowl of apples', ḫa^ʔlet-^ʔamḥ 'a wheatfield'; Qualification and Object Qualified: bašīš fākra 'an inkling' (lit. 'a glimpse of an idea') ḫadam ^ʔl-mubālā 'carelessness' (lit. 'lack of care'); etc.

Derivative Constructs

Some clauses [p.377] may be transformed into annexion phrases, by deriving a noun from the main term of the predicate and putting it in construct with the erstwhile subject or object: *l-mayy ʔalīle* 'Water is scarce' → *ʔallet ʔl-mayy* 'the scarcity of water'; *ħaħaz ʔūda* 'He reserved a room' → *ħaħaz ʔūdto* 'his room reservation'; *bibiħ dæxxān* 'He sells tobacco' → *bayyāħ dæxxān* 'a seller of tobacco, tobacconist'.

The leading term of most derivative constructs is an abstract noun [p.284], derived from an adjective or noun, or (as gerund) from a verb. Others are substantivized participles [276], occupational nouns [305], instrumental nouns [305] or locative nouns [308].

Abstract Noun with Subject:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>š-šxūr ʔktīre</i>
'rocks are abundant' | → <i>ktret ʔš-šxūr</i>
'the abundance of rocks' |
| <i>t-ṭarəʔāt dayyʔa</i>
'the roads are narrow' | → <i>dīʔ ʔt-ṭarəʔāt</i>
'the narrowness of the roads' |
| <i>ħuwwe (l-)masʔūl</i>
'he is responsible (or in charge)' | → <i>masʔūlto</i>
'his responsibility' |
| <i>ṭaʔʔ ʔl-ʔafʔl</i>
'the lock clicked' | → <i>ṭaʔʔet ʔl-ʔafʔl</i>
'the click of the lock' (<i>ṭaʔʔa</i> is an instance noun [p.297].) |
| <i>dyūħaħ(ni) rās(i)</i>
'my head aches' | → <i>(maħi) waħaħ rās</i>
'(I have) a headache' |

Abstract Noun (Gerund) with Object:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>bisāwu fæxxār</i>
'(they) make pottery' | → <i>msāwāt fæxxār</i>
'pottery making' |
| <i>byəħsob ʔt-takalīf</i>
'(He) calculates the expenditures' | → <i>ħasb ʔt-takalīf</i>
'calculation of the expenditures' |
| <i>šannafu han-nabatāt</i>
'(they) classified these plants' | → <i>tašnīf han-nabatāt</i>
'the classification of these plants' |
| <i>ħam-idarrbu ħ-ħunūd</i>
'(they)'re training the troops' | → <i>tadrīb ʔħ-ħunūd</i>
'the training of troops' |

Occupational Noun with Object:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>biʔallef mūsīqa</i>
'he composes music' | → <i>mʔallef mūsīqa</i>
'a composer of music' |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>biṣīd samak</i>
'he catches fish' | → <i>šayyād samak</i>
'a fisherman' |
| <i>(bāxra, btəħmel ṭayyārāt</i>
'(a ship which) carries air-planes' | → <i>ħāmlet ṭayyārāt</i>
'an aircraft carrier' |

These constructs are classificatory, while active participial constructs (see below) are identificatory. Some nouns that are participial in form may be used in either way: *hal-mʔallef ʔl-mūsīqa* 'this composer of music' (occupational noun: classificatory construct) vs. *mʔallef hal-mūsīqa* 'The composer of this music' (participial noun: identificatory construct). See p.458.

Substantivized Active Participle with Object:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>saraʔ ʔs-sayyāra</i>
'he stole the car' | → <i>sāreʔ ʔs-sayyāra</i>
'the one who stole the car' |
| <i>ʔallafet l-ʔktāb</i>
'she wrote the book' | → <i>mʔallfet l-ʔktāb</i>
'the author (f.) of the book' |

Substantivized Passive Participle with Subject:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>waħħafato l-ʔħkūme</i>
'the government employed him' | → <i>mwaħħaf l-ʔħkūme</i>
'the government employee' |
| <i>hal-bakēt məħtəwi ʔalēħa</i>
'this package contains them' | → <i>məħtawayāt hal-bakēt</i>
'the contents of this package' |

Instrumental Noun with Object:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>byəṭaħu fīħa ʔalab</i>
'(they) open cans with it' | → <i>fattāħet ʔalab</i>
'a can opener' |
| <i>byəšklu fīħa waraʔ</i>
'(they) clip paper with it' | → <i>šakkālet waraʔ</i>
'a paper clip' |
| <i>byəṭaħu fī l-bāb</i>
'(they) open the door with it' | → <i>məṭāħ ʔl-bāb</i>
'the door key' |

Locative Noun with Subject or Object:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>byəħri fī nahʔr</i>
'a river runs in it' | → <i>maħra nahʔr</i>
'a river bed' |
| <i>byəšnaħu fī šābūn</i>
'they manufacture soap in it' | → <i>mašnaħ šābūn</i>
'a soap factory' |

ADJECTIVE ANNEXION (*al-ʔiḏāfa ḡayr l-ḥaqīqīya*)

A few adjectives are used in construct with nouns, mostly in set phrases applicable to human beings. For example:

<i>ʔalīl</i> (ʔl-)ʔadab	'ill-mannered, uncivil', lit. 'meager of manners'
<i>ktīr</i> (ʔl-)ḡalabe	'prying, busybody', lit. 'excessive of inquiry'
<i>tʔīl</i> ʔd-damm	'unlikeable, boorish', lit. 'heavy of blood'
<i>xafīf</i> ʔd-damm	'likeable, pleasant', lit. 'light of blood'
<i>maʔtūʔ</i> ʔr-rās	'beheaded', lit. 'cut off of the head'
<i>ṭawīl</i> ʔl-bāl	'patient', lit. 'long of attention'
<i>ʔadmān</i> ʔl-ʔāfyē	'run down, sickly', lit. 'deprived of vitality'

Feminine forms: *ʔalīlet* ʔadab, *ktīret* ḡalabe, *ʔadmānt* ʔl-ʔāfyē, etc.

Adjective constructs are classificatory [p.458]; the following term cannot be pronominalized.

Unlike substantives [p.456], adjectives in construct may be definitized by prefixation of the article: *l-ʔktīr* ʔl-ḡalabe 'the busybody'; *mīn* ḥaš-šabb ʔt-tʔīl ʔd-damm? 'Who's that unpleasant young man?'

Adjective constructs are generally derived from subject-predicate constructions or verb-object constructions: *tʔīl* ʔd-damm - dammo *tʔīl*; *rābeṭ* ʔḡ-ḡaʔḡ 'calm, composed' (lit. 'controlled of spirit') - *rabaṭ* ḡaʔḡo 'He composed himself' (lit. '...his spirit'). Cf. p.464.

Note the difference between the participial construct *rābeṭ* ʔḡ-ḡaʔḡ (fem. *rābṭet* ʔḡ-ḡaʔḡ) and a participle-object phrase *rābeṭ* ḡaʔḡo 'in control of himself' (fem. *rābṭa* ḡaʔḡa 'in control of herself') [p.265].

A construct adjective transformed from a predicate adjective does not show agreement with its following term (its erstwhile subject), but with the new subject (or the term it modifies): *hiyye* *xafīft* ʔd-damm - dammha *xafīf*.

PARTITIVE ANNEXION

Certain nouns - PARTITIVES - are generally subordinate to the terms they stand in construct with; that is to say, agreement [p.427] with the construct is determined by the following term, not by the leading term: *naṣṣ* ʔs-sakkān *harabu* w-baʔīton *mātu* 'Half of the inhabitants fled and the rest of them died': *harabu* and *mātu* agree with the plurals *sakkān* and *-on*, respectively, not with the leading terms *naṣṣ* (masc./sing.) 'half' and

baʔiyye (fem./sing.) 'rest'; *kəll* ḥal-ʔakle *ṭayybe* 'all this food is good': *ṭayybe* agrees with the fem. *ʔakle* 'food', not with the masculine *kəll* 'all'.

Partitives include nouns designating indefinite proportions and quantities, sometimes fractions from halves to tenths, and a few other terms. For example:

<i>kəll</i>	'all, whole, every'	<i>məʔṣam</i>	'majority, most'
<i>baʔḏ</i>	'some', 'each other'	<i>ʔaktariyye</i>	'majority'
<i>ḡēr</i>	'other'	<i>ʔaḡlabiyye</i>	'majority'
<i>ṣwayye</i>	'a few, a little'	<i>baʔiyye</i>	'rest, remainder'
<i>ṣī</i>	'some, a'	<i>nafs</i>	'same, -self'
<i>kamm</i>	'several, a few'	<i>ṣāt</i>	'same, -self'
<i>ʔodde</i>	'a number'	<i>ḥāl-</i>	'-self'
<i>fard</i>	'a single one'	<i>waḥd-</i>	'by... -self, alone'
<i>ṣōs</i>	'a pair'	<i>ḥaḏra</i>	(honorific)
<i>ṣamīʔ</i>	'all, whole'	<i>syāde</i>	(honorific)
<i>ʔamme</i>	'generality, mass'		

The term *ṣī*, *ṣwayye*, *kamm*, and *ʔodde*, in their partitive senses, are normally used in construct only with classificatory indefinite terms:

<i>ṣī</i> laḥme	'some meat'	<i>kamm</i> ṣaḥʔr	'a few (or how many?) months'
<i>ṣī</i> bant ḥalwe	'a (or some) pretty girl'	<i>kamm</i> marra	'several times' (See p.366.)
<i>ṣwayyet</i> mayy	'a little water'	<i>ʔoddet</i> marrāt	'a number of times'

Some of the others are used in construct mainly with identificatory (usually definite) terms:

<i>ṣamīʔ</i> ʔḡ-ḡaʔḡ	'the whole nation'	<i>məʔṣam</i> ʔt-talamīs	'most of the students'
<i>ʔammet</i> ʔn-nās	'the masses (of people)'	<i>baʔīt</i> sakkān baladna	'the rest of the inhabitants of our town'

Still others are commonly used with either classificatory (indefinite) or identificatory (definite) terms:

Indefinite (Classificatory)	Definite (Identificatory)
<i>rəbʔ</i> sāʔa 'a quarter hour'..... <i>rəbʔ</i> mālō	'a quarter of his wealth'
<i>baʔḏ</i> nās 'some (certain) people'..... <i>baʔḏon</i>	'some of them'

Note especially the term *kəll*, whose English translation varies, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, singular or plural, etc.:

Indefinite (Classificatory)

<i>kəll balad</i> 'every (or each) town'..... <i>kəll əl-balad</i> 'the whole town'	
<i>kəll šaxš</i> 'every (or each) person'.... <i>kəll ən-nās</i> 'all the people'	
<i>kəll ši</i> 'everything'..... <i>kəllə</i> 'all of it'	

kəll with a pronoun suffix is not generally used as object to a verb, nor as following term to a noun in construct or to a preposition; but is used in apposition [p.511] to the pronoun, which is repeated: *šəftən kəllən* (not "*šəft kəllən*") 'I saw all of them'; *tyābna kəllna* (not "*tyāb kəllna*") 'The clothes of all of us'; *fīha kəllha* (not "*fī kəllha*" or "*b-kəllha*") 'in all of it'.

The relationship of *kəll* (and *gēr*, see below) to classificatory and identificatory following terms is like that of elatives and ordinals [p.473].

The term *gēr* also requires various translations, depending on whether the following term is definite or indefinite, etc.:

<i>gēr marra</i> 'another time'..... <i>gēr hal-marra</i> 'not this time, some other time' (i.e. 'other than this time')	
<i>gēr əwlād</i> 'other children'..... <i>gēr əwlādna</i> 'except our children' (i.e. 'other than our children')	
<i>gēr šaxš</i> 'someone else'..... <i>gērək</i> 'someone else (than you)' i.e. 'other than you'	

nafs and *zāt* in construct with a pronoun are translated as '-self': *nafsi* 'myself', *zāto* 'himself'; in construct with a noun, they are usually translated as 'same': *nafs əl-waʔt* 'the same time', *nafs əl-balad* 'the same town' (though the latter might also be 'the town itself' = *l-balad nafsā*). With pronoun suffixes, these terms are most commonly used as appositives: *ʔana nafsī* 'I myself', *r-rəžžāl zāto* 'the man himself'.

The partitive *waḥd-* stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only, usually as appositive: *ʔanti waḥdek* 'you (f.) alone', or adverbially: *brūḥ waḥdi* 'I'll go alone'.

The term *ḥāl* as a partitive stands in construct with pronoun suffixes only: *ḥālī* 'myself', *ḥālkon* 'yourselves'. It is most commonly used as

object: *žaraḥʔt ḥālī* 'I cut myself', *ʔəmel ḥālo nāyem* 'He pretended to be asleep', lit. 'He made himself asleep'.

All the partitives meaning '-self' may occur after certain prepositions: *la-ḥālak* 'for yourself', *ʔan ḥālī* 'about myself', *b-nafsi* 'to myself' (lit. 'in myself'), *la-waḥdo* 'for (or by) himself alone'.

In their partitive uses, these terms stand in construct with definite (identificatory) terms only.

The "honorifics" *ḥadra* (lit. 'presence'), *syāde*, *saʔāde*, *faxāme*, etc. are partitives: *ḥaḍʔrtak btəši maʔnaʔ* 'Are you coming with us, sir?'; *šarraf ḥadret ʔr-raʔīs*, *wəlla ləssaʔ* 'Has the president arrived yet?'

Examples of partitive constructs in context:

kəll:

1. *šār ʔr-rāʔi yəmsek kəll rāsən ʔanam sawa* [AO-104] 'The shepherd started picking up every two head of sheep together'
2. *kəll hal-ḥəwānāt ḥādōl bišagḡlu ʔaḥmad ʔktīr* [AO-63] 'All these animals keep Ahmed quite busy'
3. *ʔana kəlli tballalt* [AO-67] 'I got all wet' (lit. "I, all of me ...")
4. *kəll əl-bəzʔar byəḥlaʔ mn əl-ʔarḍ* [AO-59] 'All the seeds sprout from the ground'
5. *b-kəll mamnūniyye* 'With pleasure', lit. 'in all gratitude'
6. *kīf hal-ʔəmʔom ʔg-ḡgīr...wəsʔak kəllakʔ* [AO-116] 'How could that little bottle hold all of you (m./sg.)?' (i.e. '...your whole body')
7. *xāf ʔktīr w-raʔaf kəll žəsmo* [AO-116] 'He took fright and his whole body trembled'

gēr:

8. *ʔar-raff mā fī kətʔb gēr kətbi* 'On the shelf there are no books but mine' (lit. '...other than my books')
9. *ʔan ʔarīb bāyne tamām gēr šəkʔl* 'From close up it looks altogether different' (lit. "... (of) another kind")
10. *ʔana mā bḥəbb gēr əl-baʔal* [AO] 'I don't want anything but onions'

11. *mīn ʔalna ġērkon?* [DA-245]

12. *btəʔmor šī ġēro?* [SAL-81]

baʕd:

13. *lassa fī baʕd nəʔaʔ badda taswiye*

14. *baʕdon ʔəʃu w-baʕdon mā ʔəʃu*

15. *baʕd ʔt-ʔəllāb mā byəʔrsu*

16. *lā tʔalldu baʕdkon ʔl-baʕd*

šī, šwayye, kamm:

17. *štarēt ʔs-sayyāra mn ʔl-wakīl wəlla mən šī šaxʔš?*

18. *bətrīd naʕmel šī məšwār sawa?* [PVA-12]

19. *mnəʃrab šī fənšān ʔahwe* [PVA-34]

20. *naʔʔī-li mən ʕal-wəʃš šī tlətt banadōrāyāt* [DA-129]

21. *fəʕʔrna haʃ-šēfiyye nrūh šōb ʔš-šmāl šī šahʔr zamān* [DA-152]

22. *ʔiza btəʔrāon šī kamm marra btəʔfāʒon b-ʔshūle* [PVA-56]

23. *rūh šīb kamm ʔannīnet bīra?*

24. *bīʔəʔtu bəl-ʔawwal šwayyet ʔīn w-bīʔəʔtu ʕalē haʃara* [AO-75]

25. *d-dənye šwayyet bard barra*

hāl, waḥd, nafs, zāt:

26. *l-banāt lamma ʃəfyu la-hālkon ʃāru ydūru bəl-bēt* [AO-113]

'Who (is there) for us (to count on) but you?'

'Would you like anything else?' (lit. 'Do you order a thing other than it?')

'There are still some points that need to be ironed out'

'Some of them came and some didn't'

'Some of the students don't study'

'Don't copy one another' (lit. 'Don't some of you imitate the some (others)')

'Did you buy the car from a dealer or from some (private) individual?'

'Would you like for us to take a walk (or ride) together?'

'We'll have a cup of coffee'

'Pick out (some) three tomatoes for me from on top'

'This summer we're thinking of going up north for about a month('s time)'

'If you read them over a few times you'll memorize them easily'

'Shall I go get a few bottles of beer?'

'They first lay on a little mud and set a stone on it'

'It's a little cool outside'

'When the girls were left to themselves they started looking around the house'

27. *waʕla ya bēk mā baddi ʔəʔki ʕan hāli* [DA-99]

28. *haʕder hālak mā baʔa ʔəlla nəʃal* [DA-250]

29. *kān fī ʕalame hāseb hālo šāter u-ʕālem* [AO-83]

30. *rāh ʔš-ʃayyād la-nafs ʔl-baḥra w-ʃād ʔarbaʕ samakāt* [AO-117]

31. *s-sawāḥel waḥda kānet taḥt ʔl-ḥəkm ʔt-tərki* [SAL-151]

32. *xallīna nsāwīha b-nafsna*

Fractions:

33. *təlt ʔl-balad ḥtarʔet (or ḥtaraʔ)*

34. *rəbʔə ʔamwālo nʕaʔet la-maʃarīʕ xēriyye*

But if the following term is indefinite, agreement is usually with the leading term: *rəbʔə sāʕa mā bikaffi* 'A half hour is not enough'.

NUMERAL ANNEXION

There are various irregularities and complexities in the construct forms of numerals. See p.170.

Unlike substantives, cardinal numerals in construct may be definitized by prefixation of the article:

Indefinite

Definite

<i>xams ʔrʕāl</i>	'five men'.....	<i>l-xams ʔrʕāl</i>	'the five men'
<i>ʔarbaʕ bēdāʔ</i>	'four eggs'.....	<i>l-ʔarbaʕ bēdāʔ</i>	'the four eggs'
<i>ʕəʃrīn təlmīz</i>	'twenty students'.....	<i>l-ʕəʃrīn təlmīz</i>	'the twenty students'

Numerals from two to ten stand in construct with nouns in the plural: *tnēn ʔwlad* 'two children', *ʔašr ʔwlad* 'ten children'; above ten the following term is put in the singular: *ʔarbʔin walad* 'forty children'¹ [p.367].

Cardinal numerals generally stand in construct with indefinite terms (which classify the things enumerated), but those between two and ten are also sometimes put in construct with definite terms (which identify the things enumerated): *tlətt ʔwladon* 'their three children', *tlātətna* 'the three of us'.

With definite terms, it is common for the numeral to stand in apposition rather than in construct: *wladon ʔt-tlāte* 'their three children', *r-rʔāl ʔl-xamse* 'the five men', *naḥna t-tlāte* 'we three'.

Collectives and other mass nouns stand in apposition to numerals: *tlāte ʔamērkan* 'three Americans', *tnēn ʔahwe* 'two coffees' [p.510].

wāḥed 'one' never stands in construct except in the syncopated form *waḥd-* with a pronoun suffix: *brūḥ waḥdi* 'I'll go alone' (lit. 'I'll go, the one of me'). The ordinary uses of *wāḥed* are with an appositive: *wāḥde bənt* 'a girl' or in apposition: *bənt wāḥde* 'one girl'.

Examples of cardinal numeral constructs:

1. *fī tlətt waršāt ʔmḥammīn* [Bg. 1] 'There are three important factories'
2. *kān b-ʔīdi tlətt ʔšwēšāt w-ʔtnēn ʔaxṭyāriyye* 'Three deuces and two kings were in my hand'
3. *lāzem nəstanna tlat-arbaʔt iyyām* [DA-217] 'We must wait three (or) four days' [p.171]
4. *ramāha w-tālaʔ fīha ʔarbaʔ samakāt* [AO-117] 'He cast it and brought up four fish in it'
5. *šār kall yōm iṭaʔmī ʔarbaʔ xams rūš bašal* [AO-103] 'He began feeding him four (or) five onions every day'
6. *ʔawwal kīlo b-ʔašr ʔrūš w-kall kīlo biṣīd ʔb-sətt ʔrūš* [DA-225] 'The first kilogram is (for) ten piastres and each (additional) kilogram adds six piastres'
7. *kam səne šar-lak biʔamērka? - tmənn snīn* 'How many years have you been in America? - Eight years'
8. *ʔēmta btədba d-drūs? - baʔʔd ʔašʔrt iyyām* [DA-173] 'When does school begin? - In ten days'

¹In Classical Arabic numerals above ten do not stand in construct with their following term, because it is in the accusative case rather than the genitive. This consideration does not apply to Colloquial Arabic, of course.

9. *yəmken təšal maʔ l-ʔwlad baʔʔd xamšʔaʔšar yōm* [DA-198] 'She may arrive with the children in a fortnight' (lit. "after fifteen days")
10. *fī xamsā w-ʔašrīn kalme* [DA-226] 'There are twenty-five words in it'
11. *s-səne fīha sabʔʔt ʔšhor ʔalhon wāḥed w-ʔtlātīn yōm* [AO-71] 'There are seven months in the year which have thirty-one days'
12. *kān taḥt ʔīdo ʔarbʔin zalame* [AO-113] 'There were forty men under his command'
13. *kall hal-ʔgrāḍ b-ʔtlətt lērāt u-sabʔīn ʔarš* [DA-129] 'All these things come to three pounds and seventy piastres'
14. *w-laʔu syūf ʔt-tmānīn reššāl* [AO-113] 'And they found the swords of the thirty men'
15. *mā xalla lā kbīr w-lā ʔḡīr mn ʔl-ʔarbaʔ mīt rās ʔanam tabaʔ mʔallmo* [AO-114] 'He left none, either small or large, of the four hundred head of sheep of his master's'
16. *māt mən maddet ʔalf w-ʔtmān mīt səne* [AO-116] 'He died one thousand eight hundred year ago'
17. *...šīḡet ʔāʔalti btəswa šī xamst ālāf lēra* [DA-297] 'My wife's (lit. family's) jewelry is worth some five thousand pounds'

ELATIVE AND ORDINAL ANNEXION

An elative [p.310] may be used in construct either with a definite or an indefinite term: *ʔaḥla l-banāt* 'the prettiest of the girls', *ʔaḥla banāt* '(the) prettiest girls'.

When an elative construct is translated into English with a superlative (-est, most...), the superlative is usually accompanied by 'the', even when the construct is indefinite [p.456].

A definite following term makes an elative construct identificatory; i.e. the definite term *l-banāt*, (in *ʔaḥla l-banāt*) shows which prettiest things are meant. Conversely an indefinite following term makes the construct classificatory: the indefinite term *banāt*, in *ʔaḥla banāt*, shows what kind of prettiest things are meant.

Elatives, which are uninflected, fluctuate in number/gender [p.420]. In a definite (identificatory) construct, the number and gender of an elative depend entirely upon its reference, regardless of the following term: *hayy ʔaḥla l-banāt* 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest of the girls'; *hadōl ʔaḥla l-banāt* 'These (pl.) are the prettiest of the girls'; *hāda ʔaḥla l-ʔbyūt* 'This (m./sg.) is the prettiest of the houses'.

With an indefinite (classificatory) following term, on the other hand, the number and gender of the construct depends entirely upon that of the following term; i.e. an elative leading term is subordinate to an indefinite

following term: *hayy ʔaḥla bənt* 'This (f./sg.) is the prettiest girl'; *ḥāda ʔaḥla bēt* 'This (m./sg.) is the nicest house'; *ḥādōl ʔaḥla banāt* 'These are the prettiest girls.'

While elatives often stand in construct with an indefinite singular count noun [p.366], they seldom stand in construct with a definite singular count noun, and then only if the elative is substantivized: *ʔaḥsan bēt* 'the best house', but *ʔaḥsan ʔl-bēt* would mean 'the best part of the house' or 'the best thing about the house'. Thus in order to say 'our best house', one must avoid *ʔaḥsan bētna*, which would mean 'the best thing about our house', and say either *ʔaḥsan bēt mən byūtna*, 'the best (house) of our houses', or *ʔaḥsan byūtna* 'the best of our houses', or *ʔaḥsan bēt ʔalna* 'the best house (belonging) to us'. See Periphrasis of Annexion [p.460].

Ordinal numerals [p.316] are like elatives in their function as uninflected subordinate nouns in construct with indefinite following terms: *tālet bēt* '(the) third house'; *tālet bənt* '(the) third girl' (*hayy tālet bənt* 'This (f./sg.) is the third girl').

Unlike elatives, however, ordinals do not stand in construct with indefinite plurals, and seldom do so with definite terms of any kind. Thus *tālet l-ʔbyūt* 'the third (one) of the houses' is usually circumlocuted with a phrase such as *tālet bēt mən l-ʔbyūt*, or *t-tālet mən l-ʔbyūt*.

In definite (identificatory) constructs, furthermore, an ordinal is generally inflected for number/gender: *tālətt ʔl-banāt* 'the third (one) of the girls', *tāləttən* 'the third (one) of them'; (or by periphrasis *t-tālte mən ʔl-banāt*, *t-tālte mənḥon*).

The terms *ʔawwal* 'first' and *ʔāxer* 'last' are used freely in identificatory constructs, however, in the sense 'first part of' and 'last part of': *ʔawwal waḥḡo* 'the first part of his sermon'; *ʔāxer ʔs-səne* 'the last part of the year'; *mən ʔawwāla la-ʔāxéra* 'from (its) beginning to (its) end'. In this sense *ʔawwal* and *ʔāxer* function as substantives, and are not inflected for gender.

Elatives, too, may occur in this substantival function, when followed by a definite count noun [p.366] in the singular: *ʔaḥsan ʔs-səne* 'the best (part) of the year'.

Examples of elative and ordinal constructs in context:

1. *bi-hal-waʔt ʔaktar ʔn-nās*
byəṣū-lha [DA-172] 'That's when most people go there' (lit. "At that time most of the people come to it")
2. *ṣār ʔaḡna ʔaḥʔl zamāno* [AO-119] 'He became the richest of the people of his time'

3. *ləbset ʔaḥsan ʔawāḫi ʔəndha*
[AO-118] 'She put on the best clothes she had' (Cf. *ʔaḥsan ʔawāḫiḥa* 'the best of her clothes')

4. *baḫḫad ʔāxer ramaḡān yaḫni*
bi-ʔawwal ṣawwāl [DA-302] 'After the last of Ramadan, that is to say, on the first of Shawwal'

5. *ḥāda ʔaḥsan ṣī mawṣūd*
bəl-balad [DA-129] 'This is the best thing (to be) found in town'

6. *waʔʔəf-ʔlna ʔala ʔawwal bāb*
ʔala yamīnak [DA-45] 'Stop (for us) at the first door on your right'

7. *fəḡro tāni səne yaṣi ləl-blād*
ʔl-ʔarabiyye [DA-173] 'His idea is to come some other year to the Arab countries'

8. *l-fallāḡ byəḡṣədhon...b-ʔawwal*
ʔṣ-ṣēf [AO-59] 'The farmer harvests them early in the summer'

9. *ʔaddēṣ bəddak ʔthəṭṭ ʔawwal*
dafḫaʔ [DA-294] 'How much do you want to put in as a first deposit?'

10. *tālet wāḡed ḡasan* 'The third one is Hassan' [p.406]

11. *ḡawalt ʔāxer ḡēli* 'I tried my utmost' (lit. '...the last of my strength')

12. *ʔawwal dars ʔandi byəbda*
s-sāḫa tmāne w-nəṣṣ 'My first lesson begins at half past eight' (Cf. *ʔawwal darsi* 'the beginning of my lesson')

13. *ʔaddēṣ ʔaʔall ṣī lāzem ḡəṭṭoʔ*
[DA-294] 'What's the minimum amount (lit. the least thing) I must deposit?'

PREPOSITIONS

The prepositional construction is a special kind of annexion [p.455], differing from nominal annexion only by virtue of its leading term's being a preposition rather than a noun-type word. A PREPOSITION is a word or proclitic [p.18] that occurs mainly or always as leading term in a phrase whose following term is a noun-type constituent and whose function can be that of supplement [523], complement [444], attribute [500] or predicate [402], but not subject.

Among the most common and important prepositions in Syrian Arabic are the following:

<i>la-</i> 'to, for'	<i>ʕala</i> 'on, about, to, against'
<i>mən</i> 'from, of, than'	<i>ʕan</i> 'about, from'
<i>b-</i> 'at, in, by, with'	<i>ʕand</i> 'with, at, Fr. <i>chez</i> '
<i>fi</i> 'in, on, at'	<i>maʕ</i> 'with'

No attempt will be made here to deal with the various meanings and translations of these prepositions, for which see a dictionary.

The prepositions listed above are very common, and examples of their use may be found on almost every page of this book where full sentences are given. This section will be devoted only to certain special features of their forms and functions.

Alterations in Form

In combination with the article [p.493], some of the prepositions are slightly altered in form:

<i>la-</i> + <i>l-</i> → <i>ləl-</i> :	<i>ləl-walad</i> ¹ 'to the boy'
<i>b-</i> + <i>l-</i> → <i>bəl-</i> :	<i>bəl-ʕktāb</i> 'with the book'
<i>fi</i> + <i>l-</i> → <i>fəl-</i> :	<i>fəl-bēt</i> 'in the house'
<i>ʕala</i> + <i>l-</i> → <i>ʕəl-</i> :	<i>ʕəl-maktab</i> 'to the office'

¹These combinations with *ə* are sometimes considered to have the helping vowel: *ləl-walad*, *bəl-ʕktāb*, etc. This use of the helping vowel, however, is not allowed for in the rules of anaptyxis given here [p.29]. According to these rules, we would get *ləl-walad*, but "*bəl-ʕktāb*", not *bəl-ʕktāb*. Our transcription with the large *ə* simply implies that *ə* in these combinations remains in all environments.

The preposition *b-* is sometimes assimilated to an initial *m* or *f*: *m-maḥallak* (or *b-maḥallak*) 'in your place', *f-faršti* (or *b-faršti*) 'in my bed'. Sometimes this preposition is pronounced *bi-*: *bi-ʕawwal* ʕṣ-ṣaḥṣar 'on the first of the month'.

fi may also be pronounced with a short *i* in close phrasing [p.19]: *fi-bēti* (or *fi bēti*) 'in my house', or sometimes with no vowel at all: *f-bēti*.

The *ə* of *mən* 'from' is generally lost before a vowel: *mən ʕl-bēt* 'from the house'.¹

Especially in Lebanon, *ʕala* is sometimes shortened to *ʕa-* even when not in combination with the article: *ʕa-bēti* 'to my house' (for *ʕala bēti*). Sometimes, on the other hand, *ʕala* keeps its longer form even before the article: *ʕala t-tāwle* (or *ʕat-tāwle*) 'on the table'.

ʕand is generally pronounced *ʕand* in some parts of Greater Syria.

la- is commonly reduced to *l-* in parts of Lebanon [p.13].

Pronoun-Suffixing Forms. When the "object"² of a preposition is a personal pronoun, it is the suffixed form of the pronoun which is used [p.539]:

<i>maʕo</i> 'with him, it'	<i>ʕando</i> 'with him' (Fr. <i>chez lui</i>)
<i>maʕak</i> 'with you(m.)'	<i>ʕandak</i> 'with you(m.)'
<i>maʕek</i> 'with you(f.)'	<i>ʕandek</i> 'with you(f.)'
<i>maʕi</i> 'with me'	<i>ʕandi</i> 'with me'
<i>maʕha</i> 'with her, it'	<i>ʕandha</i> 'with her'
<i>maʕhon</i> 'with them'	<i>ʕandhon</i> 'with them'
<i>maʕkon</i> 'with you(pl.)'	<i>ʕandkon</i> 'with you(pl.)'
<i>maʕna</i> 'with us'	<i>ʕanna</i> 'with us'

¹The *ə* of *mən* is probably best analyzed as a helping vowel; to be perfectly consistent we should transcribe *mən-bēto*, *mən ʕl-bēt*, rather than *mən bēto*, *mən ʕl-bēt*. Our transcription here follows a tradition based on Arabic spelling, which connects only one-letter proclitics to the following word. Since *mən* is written as a separate word, one's tendency is to transcribe its only vowel as an integral part of the word rather than as a helping vowel.

²The use of this traditional term for the following term in a prepositional phrase does not, of course, imply that the prepositional construction is a kind of complementation.

Note that the *d* of *ʕand* is usually elided with the suffix *-na* 'us': *ʕanna* (for *ʕandna*).

maʕha and *maʕhon* are sometimes pronounced *maḥha* and *maḥhon*, respectively. The *h* of *-ha* and *-hon* may also be dropped, as is the case generally [p. 541]: *maʕa* 'with her', *maʕon* 'with them', *ʕanda* 'with her', *ʕandon* 'with them'.

On the quasi-verbal use of these prepositions, see p. 413.

The suffixing forms of *mən* and *ʕan* have a double *n* before a vowel:

<i>mənno</i> 'from him, it'	<i>ʕanno</i> 'from him, it'
<i>mənnak</i> 'from you(m.)'	<i>ʕannak</i> 'from you(m.)'
<i>mənnək</i> 'from you(f.)'	<i>ʕannek</i> 'from you(f.)'
<i>mənni</i> 'from me'	<i>ʕanni</i> 'from me'
<i>mənha</i> 'from her, it'	<i>ʕanha</i> 'from her, it'
<i>mənhon</i> 'from them'	<i>ʕanhon</i> 'from them'
<i>mənkən</i> 'from you(pl.)'	<i>ʕankən</i> 'from you(pl.)'
<i>mənna</i> 'from us'	<i>ʕanna</i> 'from us'

Note that *ʕanna* 'from us' is pronounced the same as *ʕanna* 'with us' (see above), though the latter is sometimes also pronounced *ʕənna*.

When the *h* of *-ha* and *-hon* is elided, the *n* is commonly doubled as before the other suffixes beginning with a vowel: *mənna* 'from her', *mənnon* 'from them', *ʕanna* 'from her', *ʕannon* 'from them'; note that the 'her' forms are then pronounced the same as the 'us' forms. In some parts of Greater Syria, however, the *h* is more often elided without a doubling of the *n*, thus: *məna* 'from her', *mənon* 'from then', etc.

The suffixing form of *ʕala* is *ʕalē-*, except in the first person singular, where it is *ʕaliyy-* (or in some areas *ʕalayy-*):

<i>ʕalē</i> 'on him, it'	<i>ʕalēha</i> , <i>ʕalēa</i> 'on her, it'
<i>ʕalēk</i> 'on you(m.)'	<i>ʕalēhon</i> , <i>ʕalēon</i> 'on them'
<i>ʕalēki</i> 'on you(f.)'	<i>ʕalēkon</i> 'on you(pl.)'
<i>ʕaliyyi</i> 'on me'	<i>ʕalēna</i> 'on us'
(<i>ʕalayyi</i>)	

The suffixing form of *fi* is *fī-* (a regular sound change [p. 27]):

<i>fī</i> 'in him, it'	<i>fīha</i> 'in her, it'
<i>fīk</i> 'in you(m.)'	<i>fīhon</i> 'in them'
<i>fīki</i> 'in you(f.)'	<i>fīkon</i> 'in you(pl.)'
<i>fiyyi</i> 'in me' ¹	<i>fīna</i> 'in us'

With loss of *h* in *-ha* and *-hon*: *fiya* or *fiyya* 'in her', *fiyon* or *fiyyon* 'in them'.

The preposition *b-* is not normally used with pronoun suffixes (but see p. 415); the stem *fī-* is used in its stead. Conversely, in some parts of Greater Syria *fi* is not often used without pronoun suffixes, *b-* taking its place most of the time. Thus *b-* and *fi* are not merely partial synonyms but are virtually alternants of the same preposition: *b-ʔūtṭi* 'in my room' vs. *fīha* 'in it', *b-səkkīn* 'with a knife' vs. *fīha* 'with it'.

In certain other areas, however, most speakers make a distinction between non-suffixing *b-* and *fi*, preferring *fi* in the sense 'in': *fi ʔūtṭi* (or *fi-ʔūtṭi* or *f-ʔūtṭi*) 'in my room', while *b-* is obligatory in certain other senses, e.g. 'by, with': *b-səkkīn* 'with a knife'. In any case, *fi* is optional in most of its non-suffixing contexts, being generally replaceable with *b-*, while *b-*, on the other hand, is by no means always replaceable with *fi* (e.g. *b-sərʕa* 'fast', lit. 'with speed').

The Preposition *la-* 'to, for'. *la-* has two kinds of form with pronoun suffixes: a DISJUNCTIVE form, like the other prepositions, and a CONJUNCTIVE form, which is suffixed to verbs and participles [p. 482], and sometimes also to relatives [314] and the negative *mā* [385].

The disjunctive suffixing form is *ʔal-*:

<i>ʔalo</i> 'to him, it'	<i>ʔalha</i> , <i>ʔala</i> 'to her, it'
<i>ʔalak</i> 'to you(m.)'	<i>ʔalhon</i> , <i>ʔalon</i> 'to them'
<i>ʔalek</i> 'to you(f.)'	<i>ʔalkon</i> 'to you(pl.)'
<i>ʔali</i> 'to me'	<i>ʔalna</i> 'to us'

¹In the quasi-verbal use, usually *fīni* 'I can' ('[I have it] in me to...'). See p. 547.

Examples of the disjunctive form in context:

1. *mā ʕandī waʔat ʔalha* 'I don't have time for it'
2. *šāret dāyman ʔmʔiʕa ʔalo* 'She started being always obedient to him'
3. *humwe šāheb hamīm ʔali* 'He's a close friend of mine' (lit. '...friend to me')
4. *ʔalak maktūb ʔmsōkar* [DA-223] 'There's a registered letter for you'
5. *xalli l-qarār ʔalo* 'Leave the decision to him'
6. *ʕam-ʔaʕmel ʔaʔm ʔali* 'I'm having a suit made for me'

In examples 5 and 6, the disjunctive forms *ʔalo*, *ʔali* are used, for the sake of emphasis, rather than conjunctive forms suffixed to the verbs (*xalli-lo* 'leave...to him', *ʕam-ʔaʕmel-li* 'I am making...for myself').

On the quasi-verbal use of these forms, see p.413.

There is a limited use of certain other disjunctive forms, notably *lē-*, used sometimes as in *štaʔat lēk* 'I've missed you' (instead of the conjunctive *štaʔat-əllak*). Note also: *ʔaʕwal šadʔ lina fi bayrūt* [SAL-59] 'our first friend in Beirut' (for *ʔalna*). (Cf. Classical forms with *ʔila* and *li-*.)

The conjunctive forms vary, depending on the preceding and following sounds:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>-lo</i> , <i>-allo</i> 'to him, it' | <i>-lha</i> , <i>-la</i> , <i>-alha</i> , <i>-ella</i> 'to her, it' |
| <i>-lak</i> , <i>-əllak</i> 'to you(m.)' | <i>-lhon</i> , <i>-lon</i> , <i>-əlhon</i> , <i>-əllon</i> 'to them' |
| <i>-lek</i> , <i>-əllek</i> 'to you(f.)' | <i>-lkon</i> , <i>-alkon</i> 'to you(pl.)' |
| <i>-li</i> , <i>-əlli</i> 'to me' | <i>-lna</i> , <i>-alna</i> 'to us' |

-l- is sometimes assimilated to the *n* of *-na* 'us' *šāb-ʔanna* (for *šāb-ʔlna*) 'he brought...to us'.

- 1.) *-əll-* is used after two consonants and before a vowel:

šābt-əllak 'I've brought (for) you(m.)...'
ḥaṭṭ-əlli 'Put(m.)...for me'

-əll- is also used optionally (instead of *-l-*) after the subject-affix *-t* [p.193] even when the *-t* is preceded by a vowel: *ḥaṭṭēt-əllak* 'I put...for you(m.)' (or *ḥaṭṭēt-lak*).

- 2.) *-əl-* is used after two consonants and before a consonant:

šābt-əlkon 'I've brought (for) you(pl.)...'
ḥaṭṭ-əlna 'Put...for us'

- 3.) *-l-* is used otherwise:

bšāb-lak 'I'll bring...(for) you(m.)'
šīb-lna 'bring(f.)...(for)us'

After a single consonant and before a consonant, however, the helping vowel *ə* must come before *-l-*, by the rule of anaptyxis [p. 29]:

bšāb-əlkon 'I'll bring...(for) you(pl.)'
šāb-əlna 'He brought...(to) us'

After *l*, the helping vowel is generally not used:

ʔəl-lna 'tell(m.) (to) us'
byaʕmāl-lkon 'he'll make...for you(pl.)'

The two *l*'s, furthermore, are generally reduced in pronunciation to one: *ʔəl-na*, *byaʕmāl-kon*. See pp.23,24.

On accentuation, see pp.18-19.

Reduction of Preconsonantal Stem Vowel before -l-. When an -l- suffix is added to a word ending in a long vowel + a single consonant, the long vowel is generally shortened; *ā* commonly becomes *a*, and *ī*, *ē*, *ū*, and *ō* almost always become *e* [p. 23]:

- šār + -lak → šar-lak 'it has been for you...'
 ʔāl + -li → ʔal-li 'he said to me...'
 ʕmāl + -lo → ʕmal-lo 'do for him...'
 šrōf + -lak → šraf-lak 'spend for yourself...'
 ʔūl + -lon → ʔal-lon 'say to them...'
 ʕīb + -lna → ʕab-ʔlna 'bring (for) us...'
 masmūh + -li → masmaḥ-li 'allowed (to) me'

Note also the optional loss of *ū* in the fem. ʔūli + -l- + pn. sfx.: ʔlī-lo 'tell(f.) (to) him' (or ʔūlī-lo).

Examples of -l- suffixes:

1. smaḥū-lna mnastaʔzen 'Excuse(pl.) us, we must go' (lit. "Allow (to) us, we ask permission")
2. ʔaddēš bāʔī-lak hōnʔ 'How much longer do you have here?' (lit. "How much is left to you here?")
3. baʕd ʔd-ḏahʔr bʕab-ʔlkon yāhon 'This afternoon I'll bring them for you(pl.)'
4. nšālḷa ʔal-lkon šakran u-bass 'I suppose he said to you(pl.) "thanks" and that was all?'
5. bʔal-lon ʔnsīt 'I'll tell them I forgot'
6. lamma yarʕaʕ laḥ-ikəl-lo mašāl ʔawsaʕ 'When he returns there's going to be broader scope for him' (laḥ-ikūn + -lo → laḥ-ikəl-lo)
7. šar-la tārke ʔamērka tlətt iyyām [DA-198] 'She left the States three days ago' (lit. "It's been for her having left America three days")
8. ʔālət-lo bənto xadni maʕak 'His daughter said to him, "Take me with you"
9. lammaʕ-li š-šabbāt mnīḥ [DA-180] 'Shine the shoes for me well'
10. bdawwər-lak w-ʔbrədd-əllak xabar bakra š-šəbʔh [DA-290] 'I'll look around (for you) and let you know tomorrow morning' (lit. "and send back news to you...")

11. wēn batḥabbu waʔʔaf-ʔlkonʔ [DA-45] 'Where would you(pl.) like me to wait for you?'
12. halli batrīdi bʕab-lek yā [AO-115] 'I'll bring (to) you (f.) what you want'
13. yōm baʕʕd yōm biʕad-ʔlna nafs ʔl-ʔəšša 'Day after day he repeats the same story to us'
14. ʔana maštaʔt-ʔlkon 'I've(f.) missed you(pl.)' ('I've been yearning for you')
15. hiyye madyant-əllō b-kəll šī 'She's indebted to him for everything'

The "Ethical Dative" and Redundant -l- Suffixes. Almost all constructions involving pronouns are also applicable to nouns (since pronouns are, by definition, noun "substitutes" [p. 535]). Thus ʕab-ʔlhon ʔhdiyye 'He brought (to) them a present' is a substitute for sentences such as ʕāb ləl-ʔwlād ʔhdiyye 'He brought (to) the children a present'.

In Syrian Arabic, however, there are certain very common uses of conjunctive -l- phrases which apply to pronouns only; there are no corresponding uses of *la-* with nouns. For instance:

16. bʕənn-əllak hēk bəddo yaʕmel [DA-75] 'I think that's what he wants to do'

The suffix -əllak is functionally a sentence supplement [p. 526], though in form it seems to be a supplement or complement to the verb *bʕənn*. Therefore it does not mean "I think for you...", but merely betokens an assumed relevance or interest of the statement to the person addressed; or as a stylistic feature it may be used simply to give a more intimate or personal tone to a discourse – emphasizing the conversational relationship between speaker and person spoken to. Further examples:

17. xāyaf-lak hal-ʔəxtiṣārāt mā tanfāhem 'I'm afraid these abbreviations are incomprehensible'
18. šāyaf-lak ʔs-siyāse l-ʔmʕāšra bathayyer ʔktīr 'I find contemporary politics very confusing'
19. btaʕraf-li šī bənt ʔbtəʔʕod šānʕaʔ [DA-80] 'Do you know any girl who would work as a maid?'

Note also example 10, above. The -l- phrase is an "ethical dative" in *bdawwər-lak*, but a complement in *brədd-əllak*.

Similarly, conjunctive *-l-* phrases are often used with a pronoun that is redundant upon the subject-affix of the verb (or in the second-person with an imperative verb); the verb and the pronoun have the same referent:

20. *l-marra l-māḍye smāḍt-əlli kamm wāḥde hēke* 'The last time, I heard a few like that'
21. *bəddna nəḥkī-lna šī sīre ʔawīle* 'We must have a good long talk'
22. *šəddi kən ʔando ʔāde yāxəd-lo ǧafwe baʔd əl-ǧada* 'My grandfather had the habit of taking a nap after lunch'
23. *ʔadū-lkon šī nəṣṣ sāʔa tānye* 'Stay (pl.) another half hour!' (lit. "sit...")
24. *dzakkar-lak šī wāḥed ʔante* 'You think of one'
25. *bəddi ʔəʔrā-li šwayye* 'I want to do a little reading'
26. *mā laḥa-yʔəš-lo ʔaktar mən xamʔst iyyām* 'He won't live more than five days'

Another use of redundant pronouns with *-l-* is in anticipation of a pronoun suffixed to the verb's complement:

27. *ʔaʔaʔt-əlla bāb sayyārʔa l-warrāni* 'I dented (for her) the rear door of her car'
28. *raššēt-əllo šwayyet mayy ʔala wəššo* 'I sprinkled a little water on his face'
29. *ʔakl əs-səkkar əktīr bisawwəs-lak əsnānak* 'Eating sugar too much will decay your teeth'
30. *makatībo dāyman bəʔamməʔ-lī ʔalbi* 'His letters always depress me' (lit. "...oppress my heart")
31. *haʔ-ʔaʔawwor xayyab-əlna ʔāmālna* 'This development has dashed our hopes'

Free Prepositions

There are several locative prepositions which can be used predicatively without an "object".¹

- fōʔ* 'above, over, upstairs'
- taḥt* 'below, under, downstairs'
- šuwwa* 'inside' (annexing form *šuwwāt*)
- barra* 'outside' (annexing form *barrāt*)
- ʔəddām* 'in front(of)'
- wara* 'behind, in back'

Examples without objects:

1. *hənne barra bəš-šnēne* 'They're outside in the garden'
2. *l-ḥafle l-mūsīqiyye bəʔšīr šuwwa* 'The concert will be indoors'
3. *fī makatīb ʔəlak taḥʔt ʔand əs-sammān* 'There are some letters for you downstairs at the grocer's'
4. *mīn hāda yalli taḥʔt?* 'Who's that down there?'
5. *samīra fōʔ maʔ ʔamma* 'Samira is upstairs with her mother'
6. *ʔəʔa s-sayyāra yalli wara!* 'Look out for the car behind!'
7. *ʔarabāt ʔr-rəkkāb ʔəddām wəš-šahʔn wara* 'Passenger cars are forward and freight (cars) to the rear'

Examples with noun objects:

1. *byəskon barrāt əl-balad* 'He lives outside the city'
2. *šuwwāt əd-dār ʔando šāš u-dīk* [AO-63] 'Inside the house he has chickens and a rooster'
3. *fī malʔa taḥt əl-ʔarḍ* 'There's a shelter under the ground'
4. *ʔūḍī fōʔ əl-maḥbax* 'My room is over the kitchen'

¹These expressions cannot be analyzed as "adverbs" or the like, since they can stand alone as predicate, as well as in various supplemental and complemental capacities. Adverbs are by definition non-predicative [p.381]. 'Predicative use', of course, includes use in constructions derived from predication, viz. attribution [493] and predicative complementation [448].

5. *naṭṭ wara n-nōl u-ṣār iḥayyek*
ʔawām [AO-96] 'He jumped behind the loom and began to weave quickly'
6. *xallīna naṣṭameḥ ʔaddām ʔl-bōṣṭa*
ʔl-laḥḥām? 'Let's meet in front of the post office'

Prepositional Combinations with *la-* and *mən*

la- 'to' and *mən* 'from' may precede any of the free prepositions as well as *ʔand* 'at, with', to convert a locative phrase into a TRANSLOCATIVE phrase:

1. *ʔazāmōn la-ʔando ʔal-ʔaṣa*
 'He invited them to his house for dinner'
2. *bəḏṣīb-li ḥal-ʔgrād mən ʔand*
ʔl-laḥḥām? 'Would you bring me those things from the butcher's?' (lit. "...from at the butcher")
3. *ṣār...yermīhon mən fōʔ ʔl-ḥēṭ*
la-barra [AO-104] 'He started throwing them out over the wall'
4. *ʔarreb ḥaṭ-ṭarabēṣa la-ʔaddām*
ʔammat 'Move that table over in front of your aunt'
5. *ʔana ṣāye mən barrāt ʔl-balad*
 'I'm coming from out of town'
6. *ḥāwel təlʔāṭa mən taḥt*
 'Try to get at it from underneath'
7. *rṣāḥ ṣwayye la-wara*
 'Back up a little'

mən (but not *la-*) is also used before *ʔala* 'on':

8. *ṣīb ʔs-ṣaḥʔn mən ʔala ṭ-ṭāwle*
 'Get the dish from off the table'
9. *naʔʔi-li mən ʔal-waṣṣ ṣī kīloyēn*
banadōra [DA-106] 'Pick out about two kilos of tomatoes from on top for me'

ʔala serves both in the locative sense 'on' and in the translocative senses 'onto' and 'to': *ḥaṭṭo ʔaṭ-ṭāwle* 'Put it on the table' *rāḥ ʔal-bēt* 'He went to the house'.

In other cases as well, *la-* is often omitted in translocative phrases when the preposition has an object: *ṭlēt barrāt ʔl-balad* 'I went out of town', but not when there is no object: *ṭlēt la-barra* 'I went outside'.

It should be noted that *mən* in translocative phrases means not only 'from', but also 'through', 'over', 'by':

10. *ṭlēt barrāt l-ʔmāṭne mən bāb*
tūma ləl-ʔaṣṣāḥ [AO-67] 'I came out of the Old City through Bāb Touma to Qassaa.'

11. *l-bāṣ byāmroʔ mən ʔaddām bābna*
 [DA-104] 'The bus goes by in front of our door'

Note also ex. 3, above: *mən fōʔ* 'over' (not 'from on top of').

baḥḥad 'after' and *ʔabʔl* 'before' may be preceded by *mən* 'since', and *baḥḥad* may also be preceded by *la-* 'until':

12. *l-ʔasḥār ḡalyet mən baḥḥad*
ʔṣ-ṣafāf 'Prices have gone up since the drought'
13. *trōk ḥal-masʔale la-baḥḥad ʔl-ʔīd*
 'Leave that matter till after the holiday'
14. *mən ʔabl ʔṣwāzo kān yāskar*
 'Before his marriage he used to get drunk' (Here *mən* does not mean 'from' or 'since' a certain time, but rather 'during' a certain length of time: cf. the spacial sense 'through', 'by'.)

baḥḥad and *ʔabʔl* are also used adverbially with no "object", with or without a preceding *mən* (or *la-*): *mā kənt ʔaṣṭāḡel ʔand ḥada mən ʔabʔl* [DA-81] 'I've never worked for anyone before', *ḥalli byaxloṣ ʔabʔl byastanna t-tāni ʔand ʔl-bāb* [DA-244] 'Whoever finishes first will wait for the other at the door'.

baḥḥad and *ʔabʔl* are not to be considered "free prepositions", however, since they are not normally used predicatively without an object.

fōʔ, *taḥt*, *wara*, *ʔaddām*, *baḥḥad* and *ʔabʔl* may all either take pronoun suffixes directly, or else they may be followed by *mən* with suffixes: *baḥḥadi* or *baḥḥad mənni* 'after me', *fōʔo* or *fōʔ mənno* 'above it'. Commonly, however, the *m* of *mən* is doubled (or in some areas, preceded by *l*): *baḥḥad ʔmmənni* (or *baḥḥad ʔlmənni*) 'after me', *fōʔ ʔmmənno* (or *fōʔ ʔlmənno*) 'above it':

15. *ḥuwwē byāṣi dōro ʔabl ʔmmənni*
 'His turn comes before mine'
16. *kənt māṣi wara mənno*
 'I was walking behind him'
17. *ḥanne sāknīn taḥt ʔmmənna*
 'They live below us' (i.e. downstairs)
18. *w-ʔamʔt ʔante ʔalt-alla ʔaddām*
ʔmmənni ʔandi rəfaʔāti '...and you told her, in front of me, that you had your companions with you' [p. 450, bottom]

Other Special Prepositions

ka- 'as' forms phrases which are limited to supplemental use [p.524], and does not take pronoun suffixes:

1. *kān margūb ʔktīr ka-mhāder huwwe* 'He was much in demand as a lecturer'
2. *bəhsen ʔaršāe ka-ʔastāz* 'I could go back as a teacher'
3. *ka-wāhed ʔamērkanī byəhki ʔarabi mnīh* 'For an American, he speaks Arabic well'

On *kaʔanno* 'as if' see p.491.

Certain other prepositions are also not used with pronoun suffixes: *hasab* 'according to', *ʔāte* 'across', *badal* and *ʔawaḍ* 'instead of' (but *badāl* and *ʔawāḍ*, same meaning, can take suffixes), *ʔarb* and *ʔarīb* 'near' (but *b-ʔarbo* 'near it', *ʔarīb manno* 'near it').

bēn 'between, among' has a form *bēnāt*, used with plural suffixes, (and sometimes also with nouns) in the sense 'among' (or 'between' if the plural refers to two only): *bēnāton* 'among them' or 'between (the two of) them'. In coordinations, 'between...and...', the preposition never takes the *-āt* form – and must be repeated if one or both of the following terms is a pronoun suffix, since the suffixes themselves cannot be coordinated: *bēni w-bēnak* 'between you and me'.

1. *šū l-farʔʔ bēn ʔt-tnēn?* [DA-293] 'What's the difference between the two?'
2. *kānet ʔl-bənt bēn ʔl-hərrās, lābse badle ʔaskariyye* [AO-115] 'The girl was among the guards, dressed in a military uniform'
3. *hams u-ḥama wāʔēn bēn ʔš-šām u-ḥalab* 'Homs and Hama lie between Damascus and Aleppo'
4. *mīn ʔali bēnāton?* 'Which of them is Ali?' ('Who is Ali among them?')
5. *ʔamadna ʔalēha bēnātna* 'We decided (on) it among ourselves'
6. *ʔəḍḍuḥa bēnāt baʔəḍḍkon* 'Settle it among yourselves'
7. *dawwart bēn (or bēnāt) l-ʔbyūt kallon* 'I went around among all the houses'
8. *ʔəša ʔalāḥa bēni w-bēn marti* 'He came and patched things up between me and my wife'
9. *bēnna w-bēnkon mā fī farʔʔ* 'Between you and us there's no difference'
10. *bēnon u-bēn ʔammālon fī ʔəxtilāf* 'There's a disagreement between them and their workers'

tabaʔ 'of, belonging to' forms phrases which function as predicate (*has-stīlo tabaʔ farīd* 'This pen belongs to Fareed') or attribute (*wēn ʔs-stīlo tabaʔ farīd?* 'Where is Fareed's pen?'); but unlike ordinary prepositions it does not form adverbial phrases [p.523]. Examples:

1. *hayy tabaʔna* 'This is ours'
2. *l-ḥādes ʔār ʔand ʔs-sūke tabaʔna* 'The accident happened on our corner'
3. *tabaʔ mīn hal-ʔktāb?* 'Whose is this book?'
4. *hal-bərgi tabaʔ šū?* 'Where does this screw belong?'
5. *l-mūs tabaʔak ḥadd?* 'Is your razor (or jackknife) sharp?'
6. *wēn ʔl-ballōra tabaʔ ʔl-kāz?* 'Where's the chimney for the lamp?'
7. *hal-ʔgrāḍ tabaʔhon (or tabaʔḥon)* 'These things are theirs'
8. *hayy baṭṭāriyye tabaʔ bīl* 'This is a flashlight battery'

Some speakers rarely use *tabaʔ* with an indefinite following term (as in ex. 8), preferring in such cases an annexion phrase (*baṭṭāriyyet bīl*) or a *la-* phrase (*baṭṭāriyye la-bīl*). Note the definitized following term in expressions like *waraʔa tabaʔ ʔl-xams miyye* 'a five hundred [pound] note'.

In agreement with a plural, the forms *tabaʔāt* and *tabaʔūl* are sometimes used¹:

9. *xōd l-ʔgrāḍ tabaʔātak mən hōn* 'Get your things out of here'
10. *tabaʔūl mīn hal-kəṭʔb?* 'Whose books are these?'
11. *hal-barāgi tabaʔāt ʔēš?* 'What are these screws for?' (or 'Where do these screws go?')
12. *bfaḍḍel habbel ʔl-xəḍar tabaʔāti* 'I prefer to steam my vegetables'
13. *tabaʔ mīn haṣ-ṣuwar – tabaʔūli* 'Whose pictures are these? – Mine'
14. *hal-ʔarāḍi tabaʔāt ʔammi* 'This land (lit. 'these lands') belongs to my uncle'

¹The existence of these plural forms is a measure of the noun-like (and un-preposition-like) character of the word *tabaʔ*. Regardless how it is classified, *tabaʔ* is grammatically unique; as a noun, it would be exceptional in that it must always stand in construct. There are, of course, many prepositions which are etymologically – and sometimes functionally – nouns, e.g. *matʔl* 'like' (or 'the like of'), *šamb* 'beside' (or 'side'), etc.

As for the plural form *tabaʔūl*, the final *l* is presumably a variation from *n* (cf. Pal. *tabʔūn*), perhaps reinterpreted as a quasi-verbal form with an *-l-* suffix [p.480]: *tabaʔū-lo* 'belonging (pl.) to him' (cf. Classical *tābiʔ lahu*).

In various parts of Greater Syria, certain other words are used in the same way as *tabaē*. In parts of Lebanon and Palestine, the form *btāē* is used, generally with full adjectival inflection: fem. *btāēet*..., *btāēti* 'mine', etc.; pl. *btāē* or *btāēūn*; in Palestine the plural form of *tabaē* is *tabēūn* (rather than *tabaēūl*). In Damascus the word *šīt* is common: *l-mōtōr šīt s-sayyāra xarbān* 'The engine of the car is out of order'; the plural of *šīt* is *šyāt*: *lā tāxod hal-šgrād, šyāti hadōl* 'Don't take these things, they're mine'. The Palestinian form of this word is *šēt*, pl. *šayyūt*.

In the periphrasis of annexion [p.460], an attributive *tabaē* phrase is commonly preferred to annexion when the leading term is a recent loan word, or a substantive ending in a vowel (not counting the *-e/-a* suffix): *r-rādyo tabaēi* 'my radio' (rather than *rādyōyi*), *l-ʔabartmān l-ʔādd* *tabaēna* 'our new apartment' (rather than *ʔabartmānna l-ʔādd*). The *tabaē* construction is also common in expressing a looser sort of relationship than what is implied by annexion, e.g. *s-sūke tabaēna* 'our corner' (ex. 2, above) rather than *sūketna*, which would sound more like a matter of ownership or some sort of intimate association.

Prepositional Clauses and Annexion Clauses

A number of prepositions and nouns may be followed by a clause as well as by a nominal phrase. In most such cases, the clause is introduced by the particle *ma*: *ʔabəl ma nākol* 'before we eat' (cf. *ʔabl əl-ʔakəl* 'before eating'), *b-maṭraḥ ma bikūn* 'Wherever it is' (cf. *b-maṭraḥo* 'in its place, where it belongs'). For example:

<i>baēəd ma</i>	'after'	<i>waʔət ma, sāēet ma,</i>	'at the time(hour,
		<i>yōm ma, sant ma,</i>	day, year, minute)
<i>matəl ma</i>	'as'	<i>daʔīʔet ma</i>	that...', 'when'
<i>bala ma, bidūn ma</i>	'without'	<i>ʔadd ma</i>	'as much as'
<i>badal ma, badāl ma</i>	'instead of'	<i>bēm ma, la-bēm ma</i>	'while'

Most phrases composed of a noun or preposition plus *ma* plus a clause function as adverbial supplements. For examples of their use, see p.528; also p.357.

Note, however, the expression *mamma* 'than' (*mən + ma*), which is used mostly in complementation to an elative [p.314]:

- hiyye ʔaḥla b-ʔktīr mamma kənət mənʔəḡer* 'She is much prettier than I expected'
- lā tēaʔed əl-ʔumūr ʔaktar mamma hiyye mēaʔade hallaʔ* 'Don't make things more complicated than they already are'

Note also:

- ʔūmi, xallšī məmma huwwe fī* [AO-119]

'Get up (f.) and release him from what he is in' (i.e. from the spell he is under)

Similarly, with a noun (substantive):

- daxlet mən maṭraḥ ma ʔəšet mən əl-ḥēṭ* [AO-117]

'She went back through the wall the same way she had come' (lit. "She entered through the place she had come through the wall")

With elatives:

- hayy mən ʔaḥsan ma ykūn*

'This is (of) the best there is'

With *kəll* 'every' [p.339]:

- kəll ma mənḥəbb nəṭlaē la-barra btənzəl maṭar*

'Every time we want to go outside, it rains'

A few nouns and prepositions may be followed by a clause introduced by *ʔanno* (which more usually introduces complemental clauses [p.449]): *la-darašet ʔanno* 'to such an extent that...' (also complemental: *la-daraše ʔanno...*); *maē ʔanno* 'although' (one of the meanings of *maē* is 'despite'). Some examples of prepositions with an *ʔanno* clause are given on Note also *ka-ʔanno* 'as if', *la-ʔanno* (or *la-ʔanno* or *li-ʔanno*) 'because': *la-ʔanno* 'for' + *ʔanno* 'that...' [see p.543]:

- biṣawwer əl-marʔa kaʔanno naḥḥāt* 'He describes women as if he were a sculptor'
- mā ʔəša laʔanno kən əḍḥif* 'He didn't come, because he was sick'
- s-saēdān mā rəḍi yətēallam maē ʔanno mēallmo šār yəḍərbo* [AO-96] 'The monkey wouldn't learn even though his master began beating him'
- kānet mətʔassra la-darašet ʔanno mā ʔədret təḥki* 'She was so deeply affected that she couldn't speak'

The particles *la-* and *mənšān* 'for, to, in order that' are used both as prepositions and as conjunctions, i.e. their following term may be either a nominal phrase or a clause (without any particle such as *ma*): *rāḥu əal-bēt la-yāklū* or ... *mənšān yāklū* 'they went home to eat': cf. *rāḥu əal-bēt əl-ʔakəl* or ... *mənšān əl-ʔakəl* '...for(the) food'.

Certain nouns may also stand in construct with a clause without benefit of a subordinating conjunction. See ex. 6, p.386 (*masʔalet*... 'a question of...').

CHAPTER 19: ATTRIBUTION

An ATTRIBUTE¹ (*an-naʕt*) is a subordinated predicate [p.380] or comment [429]. The term it is attributive to (*al-manʕūt*) corresponds to the subject of that predicate, or the topic of that comment. The attribute follows the term it is attributive to, and generally agrees with it in definiteness (as well as in number/gender, when applicable):

<u>Predication or Extraposition</u>	<u>Attribution (Indefinite)</u>	<u>Attribution (Definite)</u>
<i>l-madīne kbīre</i> <i>madīne kbīre</i> <i>l-madīne l-ʕkbīre</i> 'The city is large' 'a large city' 'the large city'		
<i>laʕāhon šabi</i> <i>šabi laʕāhon</i> <i>š-šabi yalli laʕāhon</i> 'A boy found them' 'a boy who found them' 'the boy who found them'		
<i>l-madīne mā šaftha</i> <i>madīne mā šaftha</i> <i>l-madīne yalli mā šaftha</i> 'The city, I haven't seen (it)' 'a city I haven't seen' 'the city I haven't seen'		

Note the resumptive pronoun (*-ha*) in the last example, which is characteristic of attribution phrases derived from extraposition, just as it is of the underlying extrapositional clause itself [p.430].

The Article Prefix (*ʕadāt t-taʕrīf*). Adjectives and certain other attributes are usually definitized with the article prefix, whose basic form is *l-*: *l-hawa l-bāred* 'the cold air', *l-ʕḥṣān ʕl-ʕadham* 'the black horse'. The article is totally assimilated, however, to dental and front palatal consonants (*al-ḥurūf š-šamsiyya*): *t, d, s, z, ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ʒ, ʃ, ʒ, n, r*. Examples of the assimilated article, in noun-adjective attribution phrases:

<i>š-šaff ʕt-tālet</i> 'the third row' <i>l-lḥāf ʕḡ-ḡamīl</i> 'the pretty quilt'	
<i>š-šōraba s-smīke</i> 'the thick soup' <i>ṭ-ṭāleb ʕz-zaki</i> 'the bright student'	
<i>r-rasm ʕd-daʕīʔ</i> 'the fine drawing' <i>ʒ-ʒābeṭ ʕḍ-ḍahūk</i> 'the jolly officer'	
<i>s-samne n-nabātiyye</i> 'the vegetable shortening'	

The article is not invariably assimilated to *š*; one may sometimes hear, for instance, *l-ḡāmeʕ l-ʕḡdīd* 'the new mosque' instead of *š-ḡāmeʕ ʕḡ-ḡdīd*.

¹The term 'attribute' is sometimes used in a broader sense in American linguistics, to denote subordinate terms in general. In French, on the other hand, 'attribut' generally means 'predicate', while 'épithète' means 'attribute' in our sense.

The Clause Definitizer. The particle *halli* or *yalli* (or *yəlli* or *əlli*) – rather than the article prefix – is used to definitize an attributive comment or verbal predicate, while in the case of non-verbal predicates, attribution to a definite term may or may not involve *halli* (etc.), depending on other considerations. (See p.500.)

A term is **DEFINITE** if (1) it is introduced by the article *l-* or the demonstrative prefix *hal-* [p.556] or by *halli* (etc.); or (2) if it is a pronoun or a proper name; or (3) if it is in construct [p.456] with a definite term. Otherwise it is **INDEFINITE**. Thus *l-bənt* 'the girl', *hal-bənt* 'this girl', *hādi* 'this(f.)', *hiyye* 'she', *maryam* 'Mary', *bənt* *ə-t-tāšer* 'the merchant's daughter', *bənto* 'his daughter' are definite; while *bənt*, *wāhde bənt*, *šī bənt* (all translated 'a girl'), *bənət tāšer* 'a merchant's daughter', *ʔakbar bənt* 'the oldest daughter' are all indefinite, regardless whether or not they refer to a definite person.

Thus in *fī wāhde bənt bəddo yəšəwəwəza* 'There's a certain girl he wants to marry', the attributive comment *bəddo yəšəwəwəza* 'he wants to marry her' is not introduced by *halli* even though *wāhde bənt* would presumably have a quite definite reference; similarly, in *hayy ʔaḥla bənt šəftha* 'That's the prettiest girl I've seen', the attributive comment *šəftha* is likewise indefinite.

Like the article prefix, the particle *halli* (etc.) is not limited to use in attributes; it is also used to convert any sort of predication into a definite noun phrase which may function as subject, predicate, complement, or annex. Examples of non-attributive *halli*-phrases:

1. *halli bṭaḥṭī dikūn ʔmnīḥ* [DA-100] 'Whatever you give will be fine'
2. *tfaḍḍal la-ḥatta ʔarṣīk halli ʔəndi* [AO-79] 'Come, let me show you what I have'
3. *btaʔref halli ɖarabak?* [AO-115] 'Do you know the one who hit you?'
4. *byākol ʔdīle yəlli byəstahzel kalām ʔabū* 'He who makes fun of what his father says will get a beating!' (Pred.-Subj. inversion [p.419])
5. *ḥakā-lha kəll halli šār maʔo* [AO-115] 'He told her all that had happened to him'
6. *baʔd ʔlli ʔālo kərhū n-nās* 'After what he said, people hated him'
7. *hāda yalli kən lāsəmni b-ʔəno* 'This is what I needed exactly'
8. *yəlli baʔrfo, ʔəno rtafaḍ ʔalabo* 'All I know is that his request was denied' (or 'As far as I know...')

As shown in the examples above, non-attributive *halli* (etc.) can generally be translated into English as 'what', 'whatever', 'who', 'whoever', 'he who', 'that which', etc.

In its attributive use, the particle may often be translated as 'who', 'which', or 'that', but it should be kept in mind that *halli* does not really correspond to these English words (relative pronouns); its presence or absence is a matter of definiteness, while the use or non-use of the relative pronouns has nothing to do with definiteness: *bənt ʔbtaʔref ʔəṭbox* 'a girl who knows how to cook'; *r-rəšāl halli šəfton* 'the men I saw'. (But see ex. 21 and 22, p.499)

Definite Attributive Clauses (aṣ-šila)

Examples, attributive verbal predicates:

1. *ʔabl ʔəwayye sməʔt ʔl-madāfeʔ halli bəddəll ʔala nihāyt ʔṣ-šalā* [DA-298] 'A little while ago I heard the cannon(s) which signal the end of the prayer'
2. *l-ʔəṣāye kənēt tabaʔ wāhəd mn ʔl-malāyke halli ʔəṣu la-ʔənd ʔbrāhīm* [AO-99] 'The stick belonged to one of the angels who came to Abraham'
3. *bəddāri wlād ʔaxūha yəlli byəštāḡel ʔənd ʔṣ-šarrāḥ* [AO-44] 'She looks after the children of her brother who works for the surgeon'
4. *laʔu syūf ʔt-tmānīn rəššāl halli haṣamu ʔaləḥon* [AO-113] 'They found the swords of the eighty men who had attacked them'
5. *bʔarṣīk kamān maṣāṭer mn ʔt-ṭalabiyye halli ʔəṣṭni mbāreḥ* [AO-79] 'I'll also show you some samples from the consignment that came (to me) yesterday'
6. *kīf hal-ʔəmʔom ʔṣ-ḡṭir halli mā byəsaʔ ʔəlla ʔəṣbāʔtak wəṣʔak kəllak?* [AO-116] 'How did that little flagon that wouldn't hold any more than your finger hold the whole of you?'

Attributive quasi-verbal predicate [p.412]:

7. *r-rəššāl ʔaxad xanṣaro w-ʔaṭaʔ rās ʔl-ʔaṭṭ halli ʔəndo* [AO-112] 'the man took his dagger and cut off the head of the cat he had'
8. *b-hal-ʔaṭaʔ yalli maʔak mā fīk tmaxwəṭ-li šāhi* 'With those pieces you have you can't checkmate me'

Attributive non-verbal predicates [p.402]:

9. *stahlakna kəll ʔṣ-šābūn halli bəl-bēt* 'We've used up all the soap (that was) in the house'

10. *raha-ʔastannāk bəl-ʔahwe halli ʔala ʔanab ʔl-marʔe* [DA-197] 'I'll wait for you in the coffeehouse (that's) on the Marjé'
11. *ktōb ʔasmak bəl-ʔāmūd yalli ʔal-yamīn* 'Write your name in the right-hand column'
12. *s-sayyāra yalli ʔaddāmi waʔʔafet ʔala ʔaḡle* 'The car (that was) in front of me stopped suddenly'
13. *ʔam-ʔəštōḡel ʔawāḡ ʔaxi halli marīḡ* 'I'm working in place of my brother who is sick'
14. *ʔū l-ʔḡrāḡ halli lāzamtak?* [DA-128] 'What things do you need?' (lit. 'What are the things that are necessary to you?')
15. *ʔūf hāda halli ʔāy, hāda ʔabu ʔafīf* [DA-134] 'See that man coming? That's Abu Afif' (lit. 'Look at that who is coming, ...')

Non-verbal attributes to a definite term are not by any means always introduced by the clause definitizer. Compare ex. 12 with *s-sayyāra ʔaddāmi* 'the car in front of me', ex. 13 with *ʔaxi l-marīḡ* 'my sick brother', ex. 14 with *l-ʔḡrāḡ ʔl-lāzme* 'the necessary things', ex. 15 with *ʔ-ʔahr ʔḡ-ʔāy* 'the coming month'. See p. 500.

Examples of definite attributive comments (i.e. attributive clauses with their own subjects or with subject-referents different from the terms they are attributive to):

16. *hayy ʔl-bant yalli ʔalt-ʔllak ʔanha* [DA-99] 'This is the girl I told you about'
17. *rakḡet u-ʔānaʔet ʔl-malek halli ʔannto ʔāḡabha* [AO-119] 'She ran and embraced the king, whom she thought [to be] her lover'
18. *ʔalab ʔl-malek mn ʔs-sayyād ʔanno yḡello ʔal-maḡrah halli ʔamma-yḡīd fī s-samak* [AO-117] 'The king asked the fisherman to direct him to the place where he was catching the fish' (lit. '...the place he was catching in it the fish')
19. *s-sadīʔ yalli ʔaḡeto yāha kān maḡtaḡ-la ktīr* 'The friend I gave it to needed it badly'
20. *wēn ʔt-tnēn halli raḡʔt maʔon ʔal-maḡraseʔ* 'Where are the two you went to school with?'
21. *ʔaddēḡ ḡaʔʔ ʔs-sayyāra lli baddak təḡtrīha?* [EA-180] 'What's the price of the car you want to buy?'
22. *lāzem baddel haḡ-ḡaʔḡīr halli ʔaḡḡarto fīk* [AO-108] 'I must make up for this neglect with which I have treated you'

23. *ʔahʔl l-ʔmdīne halli sāmētīhon samak, kəll yōm byəḡu ʔalayyi w-hāda sabab ʔaʔafi* [AO-119] 'The townspeople that you(f.) turned into fish curse me every day, and that is the cause of my illness'
24. *laḡa-tatrok ʔn-nās halli ʔāḡde ʔandhon* [DA-98] 'She's going to leave the people she's staying with'
25. *kənt maḡḡaḡḡeḡ ʔala hat-taxt halli ʔana fī halla?* [AO-118] 'I was lying on this bed that I'm in now'
26. *byəḡrsu l-wuḡūd yalli byəḡaʔm̄lu laḡ-ʔawarīx u-hal-masāʔel* 'They study the fuel used for rockets, and things like that'
- Sometimes, as in ex. 26, the resumptive pronoun [p. 430] after a verb is omitted; i.e. *l-wuḡūd yalli byəḡaʔm̄lu* 'the fuel they use' rather than *...yalli byəḡaʔm̄lu* 'the fuel they use (it)'. This construction is of course more like an English relative clause than the more common one is.
27. *lāʔi l-ʔaḡḡād yalli hiyye ʔaḡāf ʔl-xamse* 'Find the numbers that are multiples of five'
28. *hal-kətoḡ ʔntaḡaru fəl-qāhira lli hiyye l-ʔān ʔl-markaz ʔl-ʔadabi ləl-ʔālam ʔl-ʔarabi* 'These books were published in Cairo, which is now the cultural center of the Arab world'

Examples 27 and 28 show attributive comments with resumptive subject pronouns [p. 434]. This construction is usual in the case of nominal predicates, especially definite predicates. (Cf. p. 405.) Thus, 'I want to introduce you to my friend, who is the mayor': *bəddi ʔarrfak ʔala ʔāḡbi yalli huwwe raʔīs ʔl-baladiyye*.

Indefinite Attributive Clauses (aḡ-ḡifa)

In attribution to an indefinite term, a predicate or comment is usually paratactic; i.e. there is usually no particle like *yalli*, etc. to mark its subordination, and it is indistinguishable from an independent sentence except for its inclusion in, or prosodic unity with, the superordinate clause. Examples (attributive clause underscored):

1. *fī ʔandi sadīʔ ʔamērkāni ʔaḡa ʔḡīd ʔal-ʔblād* [DA-289] 'I have an American friend who has just recently come to this country'
2. *raḡna la-ʔand fallāḡ byəḡkon b-ḡḡa ʔarīḡe mn ʔl-madīne* [AO-59] 'We went to see a farmer who lives in a village near the city'
3. *baʔḡd bəkra fī bēt ʔmnīḡ bəddo ʔaḡḡa* [DA-244] 'The day after tomorrow there's a good house that's going to be vacated'

4. mā fī šī tǵayyar
'Nothing has changed' (lit. "There is not a thing that has changed")
5. mnaʕref bəl-madīne ʕēle mniha
ʕandha bənt ʔalwe bəddon
iʕawwzūha [AO-55]
Example 5 shows one attributive clause within another. bəddon iʕawwzūha 'they want to marry her off' is attributive to bənt ʔalwe, while ʕandha bənt ʔalwe bəddon 'they have a pretty daughter they want...' is all attributive to ʕēle mniha. Similarly in ex. 2, ʔarībe mn ʔl-madīne '[it is] near the city' is attributive to qēʕa, while byəskon ʔb-qēʕa ʔarībe 'he lives in a village near...' is all attributive to fallāh.
6. fī ʔali ʔəbʔn ʕamm tāʕer
hnīk [DA-245]
'I have a cousin who's in business there' (lit. "...a cousin [he is] a merchant there")
7. kān fī ʕayyād ʔəxtiyār w-faʔir
ʔktīr, ʕəndo mara w-tlətt ʔwlād
[AO-115]
'There was a poor old fisherman who had a wife and three children'
8. ʔali ʔkəye ʕəʕībe ktīr, bətkūn
ʕəbra la-halli bəddo ʔəʕtāber
[AO-118]
'I have a very strange story, that will be a lesson for him who will take heed'
9. hayy ʕaḡle bəddi qarrəra bəʕʔd
ʕahrən tlāte
'That's something I'll decide in two or three months'
10. bəʕətt-əllak ʔəbūn qərsə
ʕam-yūʕaʕo w-ʕam-bidawwer
ʕala kammāʕe la-yəxlaʕo
'I sent you a patient whose tooth was hurting him and he was looking for a pair of pliers to pull it'
11. w-mā bətlāʔi maṭraḡ ʔtəʔt
rəʕlak fī mən kətr ʔə-ʕaḡme
[DA-302]
'And you can't find a place to put your foot down because of the crowd' (lit. "...to put your foot in (it)")
12. hayy ʔawwal marra bəʕtəʕḡel
fīha [DA-81]
'This is the first time I've worked' (i.e. "...first time in which I work")
13. ʔaket kalām mā fəmt mənno šī
[AO-118]
'She said some words of which I understood nothing'
14. ʕəf fīha barmīl ʔkbīr, fī ramʔl
w-tīne [AO-115]
'He saw a large barrel with sand and clay in it' (lit. "...[there was] in it sand...")
15. dabbaru xəṭṭa kəlla makʔr
'They conceived a very clever plan' ('...a plan all of which was cleverness')

16. ʔəwal kəll šī mənken taʕawwuro
'He tried everything imaginable' ('everything whose imagining is possible')
17. l-lēle t-tānye ʕəf ʔaʕʔr ʔaswad
bābo maftūh [AO-117]
'The next night he saw a black castle whose door was open'
18. ʕū ʕandak qamānāt ʔtʔaddəma
ləl-bank liqāʔ hal-mablaḡʔ
[DA-296]
'What collateral do you have to offer the bank against this amount?'
19. byəʕəʕəʕu l-masa ʕaʕa ʔaktar
ʔl-ʔawʔāt huwwe mn ʔl-bāʔi ʕan
ʔl-ḡada mn ʔl-ʔakʔl [PAT-197]
'In the evening they have a supper which is usually (of) food left over from dinner'
- Note the resumptive subject pronoun (*huwwe*) in ex. 19. (Cf. ex. 27 and 28, p.497.) In this case the attributive predicate is prepositional (*mn ʔl-bāʔi*...); the subject pronoun confirms the attributive (and predicative) role of what follows its antecedent *ʕaʕa* 'supper' [cf. p.549]. Without *huwwe*, *mn ʔl-bāʔi*... might be construed as supplemental to the verb *byəʕəʕəʕu*: 'they usually sup on leftovers from...' (with *ʕaʕa* as an unmodified paronymous complement [p.442]).
20. mā byəstāhel mara razīle mətʔl
marto halli kəll yəm ʔaʕtī
ʕarāb bətbannəʕo fī [AO-118]
'He doesn't deserve a wicked woman like his wife, who gives him a drink to anesthetize him every day' (lit. "...a drink she anesthetizes him with (it)")

In ex. 20 the indefinite clause *bətbannəʕo fī* is attributive to *ʕarāb*, which is part of another subordinate clause *halli kəll yəm*..., which is attributive to the definite noun *marto*.

Some speakers occasionally use *yalli*, etc. to introduce clauses that are attributive to an indefinite term:

21. b-hadək ʔl-waʔt kən fī ktīr
nəs yalli staḡallu l-mawʔef
'At that time there were a lot of people who took advantage of the situation'
22. fī wāḡde yalli bətzakkāra fīha
ʔəma
'There's one I remember that has her name in it'

Example 22 has two subordinate clauses, both attributive to the indefinite term *wāḡde*. The first is introduced by *yalli*, while the second, *fīha ʔəma* 'her name is in it', is paratactic.

Attributive Words and Phrases

Adjectival, nominal, and prepositional predicates – unlike verbal predicates and extrapositional comments – can often be made attributive in two ways: either as clauses, or as simple words or phrases. As clauses, they are definitized with the particle *yalli* (etc.) [p.494]; as simple words or phrases, adjectives and (usually) nouns are definitized with the article prefix, while prepositional phrases are not definitized at all:

Clause Attribution

Word or Phrase Attribution

<i>ʔəbno yalli ʒūfān</i>	<i>ʔəbno ʒ-ʒūfān</i>
'his son who is hungry'	'his hungry son'
<i>ʔəbno yalli (huwwe) sammān</i>	<i>ʔəbno s-sammān</i>
'his son who is a grocer'	'his son the grocer'
<i>l-bāb yalli ʕal-yamīn</i>	<i>l-bāb ʕal-yamīn</i>
'the door that's on the right'	'the door on the right'

Prepositional Attributes

Examples, prepositional phrases attributive to definite terms:

1. <i>n-nağme ʕala watīre wāḥde naʕʕasatni</i>	'The monotonous tune made me sleepy' (lit. "The melody on one tone...")
2. <i>n-nās ḥawalēna kānu ʕam-yəḥku bəl-ʕālī</i>	'The people around us were talking loudly'
3. <i>l-maḥallāt ʔaddām ʔaḥsan mən wara</i>	'The seats in front are better than [those] in back'
4. <i>l-krafatāt bəl-wāḣha lafatu naḡari</i>	'The neckties in the display window caught my eye'
5. <i>xōd hal-ʔmmawwaḣe ʕala lōn ʔōṣ ʔl-ʔadaḣ</i> [adap. from AO-79]	'Take this rainbow-colored moiré' (lit. "Take this wavy [one] on the color of the rainbow")
6. <i>šāyef has-sadd ʕala buḡayret ʔl-ʔaṭṭīne?</i> [DA-253]	'Do you see that dam on Lake Qattinah?'

There are a few prepositional set phrases with the force of adjectives, which in attribution to a definite term are sometimes preceded by the article: *fōʔ ʔt-ṭabīʕa* 'supernatural', *fōʔ ʔl-ʕāde* 'extraordinary', etc.: *ʔ-ḡawāher ʔl-fōʔ ʔt-ṭabīʕa* '(the)supernatural phenomena' (or *ʔ-ḡawāher fōʔ ʔt-ṭabīʕa*).

Adjective Attributes

Examples. Single adjective, attributive to single noun (or noun with pronoun suffix):

1. <i>werte ʒḡīre</i>	'a small inheritance'
2. <i>waḡʔe mastahīl</i>	'an impossible situation'
3. <i>nās ḡəšʔm</i>	'ignorant people'
4. <i>l-xaṭar ʔl-ḥaʔīʔi</i>	'the real danger'
5. <i>l-mašrūbāt ʔl-məšʔkra</i>	'(the) intoxicating beverages'
6. <i>l-ʕarab ʔs-sūriyyīn</i>	'the Syrian Arabs'
7. <i>han-naṣb ʔl-faxʔm</i>	'this imposing monument'
8. <i>raʔīsi l-ʔmbāšar</i>	'my immediate superior'
9. <i>ḥāṣṣat ʔl-ḥāliyye</i>	'your present needs'
10. <i>šəʔo l-xāṣṣ</i>	'his personal taste'

Number/gender agreement for attributes is much the same as for predicates [p.420], though there are a few minor exceptions and additional points about agreement noted in the following sections. One point is that an adjective attribute to an inanimate dual noun is sometimes put in the feminine, in the same way as with plurals:

11. <i>s-səntēn ʔl-ʔawwalāniyyīn</i> , or <i>s-səntēn ʔl-ʔawwalāniyye</i>	'the first two years'
--	-----------------------

Examples of feminine/plural adjectives [p.201]:

12. <i>n-nəswān ʔl-xāynāt</i> [AO-118]	'treacherous women'
13. <i>nəswān məsʔlmāt sāfrāt</i> [PAT-197]	'unveiled Moslem women'

Examples of uninflected adjectives:

<i>waṣaṭ</i> 'medium':	14. <i>ʔyāsāt waṣaṭ</i>	'medium sizes'
<i>tāza</i> 'fresh':	15. <i>bēḡ tāza</i>	'fresh eggs'
<i>ṣərf</i> 'authentic':	16. <i>ʔahwe ʕarabiyye ṣərf</i>	'authentic Arab coffee'
<i>ḥlēwa</i> 'good-looking':	17. <i>ḥaš-šabb l-ʔhlēwa</i>	'that good-looking young man'

See also pp.428, 520.

Adjective attributes to a coördination:

18. *ražžāl u-mara žūēānīn* 'a hungry man and woman'
 19. *marti w-waladi t-taēbānīn* 'my tired wife and child'

The adjective is always plural in agreement with an additive coordination of singular nouns, but it may be feminine in agreement with a coördination of plurals, provided that each of the plurals could itself take feminine agreement [p. 423]:

20. *katāb w-šuwār w-ākwānāt gālye* 'expensive books, pictures, and records'
 21. *š-šūēūb wāl-žuyūš āl-ārabīyye* 'the Arab peoples and armies' [DA-305]

Feminine agreement with a coördination of plurals is not limited to adjective attributes, but applies to any kind of predication or attribution. Note, for example: *šū fī b-hal-makatīb wāl-muxābarāt ālli šabthā l-yōm?* 'What's in those letters and announcements you brought to-day?' *l-katāb wāš-šuwār wāl-kwānāt gālye* 'Books, pictures, and records are expensive'.

Coördinated adjective attributes, with different referents:

22. *māššā'āt āaskariyye w-šināēiyye* 'military and industrial installations'
 23. *s-safara l-briṭāni wāl-āmerkāni wāl-frānsāwi* 'the British, American, and French ambassadors'
 24. *l-luḡatēn āl-ārabīyye wāl-ānglīziyye* 'the Arabic and English languages'
 25. *l-žānsēn l-mzakkar wāl-m'annas* 'the masculine and feminine genders'

As illustrated in examples 23-25, coördinated attributes that apply distributively to different single referents of a plural or dual noun do not agree with that plural or dual, but with their singulars. In example 22, however, the reference is presumably to more than one installation of each kind mentioned, so the agreement is still with the plural *māššā'āt* (whose singular, it so happens, is not ordinarily used in any case).

When attributes to the same term have coinciding reference, then their coördination is more often asyndetic than syndetic [p. 398]:

26. *bānt hālwe laṭīfe* (or *bānt hālwe w-laṭīfe*) 'a lovely (and) charming girl'

27. *ēaša šax'an t'fīl* 'a hot (and) copious evening meal'
 28. *l-baššāt āl-wāšša l-māēžū'a* 'the dirty (and) crowded busses'

One attribution phrase may contain another; thus the last in a string of attributive adjectives may apply to the whole preceding phrase, and so on:

29. *l-ādab āl-ārabī l-ādīm* 'the old Arab culture'
 30. *hawa šmāli 'awi* 'a strong north wind'
 31. *l-ḥarb āl-ēālamīyye t-tānye* 'the Second World War'
 32. *haṭ-ṭāwle l-mfaššaša l-ḥālwe* 'this beautiful inlaid table'
 33. *l-māēāhed āl-ēālmīyye l-āžnabīyye l-mḥamme* 'the important foreign scientific institutes'

Note that the attribute closest to the noun in such cases is often a relative adjective [p. 280].

Adjective attributes to (the leading term of) a noun construct:

34. *sayyāret 'abni l-āždīde* 'my son's new car'
 35. *šāḥeb maṭēam mašhūr* 'a famous restaurant owner'

Example 35 is ambiguous: since both *šāḥeb* and *maṭēam* are masculine, the attribute *mašhūr* could apply to either term; the phrase could therefore also mean 'the owner of a famous restaurant'.

36. *sayyāret 'axti l-ākbīre l-āždīde* 'my sister's big new car'

Theoretically this could also mean 'my big sister's new car', but in actual usage contiguous adjectives after a noun construct virtually always apply to the same term. (The theoretical possibility of 'my new big sister's car' is not ruled out grammatically, but the situations to which it would apply are unusual enough to make this interpretation unlikely.)

See p. 460.

Adjective attributes to a numeral construct [p. 471]:

37. *tlatt 'ašxāš tānyīn* 'three other persons'
 38. *'arbaē nesax tānye* (or *tānyīn*) 'four other copies'
 39. *xams fiyaš zār'a* (or *zār'a*) 'five blue chips'

40. *xams ʔiṣābāt malārya ṣadad* (or *ṣadide*) 'five new cases of malaria'
41. *tlətt ʔlām ʔmnāḥ* (or *mnīḥa*) 'three good pencils'
42. *sətt bēdāt ʔmnāḥ* 'six good eggs'

In ex. 42 the (internal) plural adjective is obligatory because *bēdāt* is the plural of a unit noun [p.425], while in ex. 37 the adjective must be plural because *ʔaṣṣāṣ* is animate. In the other cases (38-41) the adjective may be either plural or feminine (as according to rule 7, p.421).

With numerals over ten the following noun is in the singular, and the adjective may either be plural (in agreement with the numeral) or singular (in agreement with the noun):

43. *ḥdāṣar ʔalam ʔmnāḥ* (or *mnīḥ*) 'eleven good pencils'
44. *ṭnaṣṣar fīṣe zərʔʔ* (or *zarʔa*) 'twelve blue chips'

In a phrase with *kamm* 'several' [p.467], a noun must be singular, but an attribute is plural:

45. *kamm ʔalam ʔmnāḥ* 'several good pencils'

An attributive adjective may be preceded by *mū*, *lā*, or *ḡēr* 'not, non-, un-' or by *ktīr* 'very'. In attribution to a definite term, the article is prefixed to *mū*, *lā*, or *ktīr* rather than to the adjective; in the case of *ḡēr* it is prefixed to the adjective but may or may not also be prefixed to *ḡēr*:

46. *ṣarāḥa mū maṣʔūle ləl-maṣāri*.....*ṣarāḥto l-mū maṣʔūle ləl-maṣāri*
'an abnormal desire for money' 'his abnormal desire for money'
47. *ḥarake lā ṣuṣūriyye*.....*ḥal-harake l-lā ṣuṣūriyye*
'an unconscious impulse' 'that unconscious impulse'
48. *ḥamal ḡēr qānūni*.....*l-ḥamal ḡēr ʔl-qānūni*
'an illegal act' 'the illegal act'
49. *ḥaṣa ḡēr rasmi*.....*l-ḥaṣa l-ḡēr ʔr-rasmi*
'an unofficial dinner' 'the unofficial dinner'
50. *qawāṣed ʔaxlāʔiyye ktīr ṣūrme*.....*l-qawāṣed ʔl-ʔaxlāʔiyye l-ʔktīr ṣūrme*
'a very strict moral code' 'the very strict moral code'

A complemented passive particle is generally susceptible to phrase attribution:

51. *lāṣem ʔawwed ʔn-nōm ʔl-maksūr* 'I have to catch up on my sleep' (lit.
ʔaliyyi "...to make up the sleep lost to me")

A complemented active particle is generally construed as a verb, and is therefore not susceptible to phrase attribution [p.267]. There are exceptions, however:

52. *lāssa mā mnaṣref kəll ʔḡ-ḡrūf* 'We still don't know all the facts
ʔl-muḥītṭa bəl-ḥādes concerning the accident' (or "...
the circumstances surrounding...")

In certain parts of Greater Syria – notably Lebanon – the clause definitizer [p.494], ordinarily taking the form *(ʔ)lli*, is often reduced to the form *l-* and is therefore not always distinguishable from the article. The distinction between clause attribution and phrase attribution thus tends to be lost in the definite form as well as in the indefinite.

The reduced clause definitizer, however, is often not assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant:
l-ləbnāniyye l-rāṣṣēn mən ʔamērka [PVA-30] 'the Lebanese (who have) returned from America'. (But cf. also *waladi s-sāken fi bārīz* [PVA-2] 'my son (who is) living in Paris'.)

The article, rather than the clause definitizer, is also sometimes used with an attributive extrapositional clause [p.496] whose adjectival predicate (usually a passive participle) comes first:

53. *l-mandūbīn ʔl-mazkūra ʔasmāʔhon* 'the aforementioned delegates', 'the
delegates whose names have been mentioned'

This construction, (oddly named *an-naṣt s-sababī* 'the causal attribute')¹ is mainly limited in colloquial Arabic to rather pedantic usage. A phrase such as *l-walad ʔl-maksūra rəkʔbto* [RN-II.49] 'the boy with the broken knee' would more usually be paraphrased as *l-walad ʔlli rəkʔbto maksūra*. Cf. also *l-mara l-sāken ʔaxūk* [RN-II.51] 'the woman at whose house your brother is living' (in which *l-* however, is better interpreted as the reduced clause definitizer since it is not assimilated to the *s*).

¹*sababī* is perhaps to be interpreted here is some such sense as 'relational', 'supporting', or 'intermediary, indirect', rather than 'causal'.

The derivation of this construction may be illustrated as follows:
rəkʔbet ʔl-walad maksūra 'The boy's knee is broken', with extraposition of the annex [p.432] → *l-walad rəkʔbto maksūra*, with participle-subject word order in the comment [top 433, ex. 7] → *l-walad maksūra rəkʔbto*, with attribution of the comment [p.496] → *l-walad ʔl-maksūra rəkʔbto*.

Noun Attributes or Appositives (*al-badal wa-ʿaṭf l-bayān*)¹

Examples involving proper names and other human designations:

1. *ʔaxūk ʔd-doktōr* 'your brother the doctor'
2. *ṣāḥbi ʿabd ʔl-xāleʔ* 'my friend Abdul Khaleq'
3. *l-ʔaxx ʿali ʔabu zēd* 'our friend (or colleague) Ali Abu Zaid' (lit. "[the] brother Ali...")
4. *ḥasan ʔl-kandarzi* 'Hassan the shoemaker'
5. *ḥabībātī l-ʔwlad* 'my darling(s the) children'
6. *ṣāḥabna ʔaḥmad ʔl-fallāḥ* 'our friend Ahmed the peasant' [AO-63]
7. *ṣ-ṣahr ʔḡ-ḡādīd ʿiṣām bēk ʔd-doktōr* 'the new son-in-law, Issam Bey the doctor'

Examples 6 and 7 each consist of three terms, the first being a relational term, the second a name, and the third an "epithet" (in these cases, an occupational term). In ex. 7 the first term itself consists of a noun-adjective attribution phrase.

8. *hiyye kannto ḡōzet ʔabno, mū kannto ḡōzet ʔaxū* 'She's his daughter-in-law, not his sister-in-law'

The words *kanne* and *ṣaḥr* are less specific than most Arabic kinship terms, especially in that they apply indiscriminately to one's own generation or to one's children's generation. *kanne* designates the wife of a son or of a brother, and *ṣaḥr*, the husband of a daughter or a sister. Thus the phrases *ḡōzet ʔabno* 'his son's wife' and *ḡōzet ʔaxū* 'his brother's wife' in ex. 8 are put in apposition to *kannto* in order to specify the relationship more exactly.

¹In the traditional analysis *al-badal* (not to mention *al-ʿaṭf*) does not come under the category of *an-naʿt* 'attribute', probably because of the inclusion of such extraneous sub-categories as *badal l-baʿḍi mina l-kull* 'partitive apposition', *badal l-iṣtimāl* 'inclusive apposition', and *al-badal l-mubāyān* 'corrective apposition'. Partitive and inclusive apposition (which are of little or no importance in colloquial Arabic) belong with *at-tawkiḍ* *l-maʿnawī* [p.511] as constructions derived from partitive annexion [466], while corrective apposition is not properly a grammatical category at all.

No attempt is made here to distinguish between *al-badal l-muṭābiq* 'congruent apposition' (noun attribution) and *ʿaṭf l-bayān* 'explicative apposition' (asyndetic noun coordination).

Nouns designating the material of which something is composed are often used attributively:

9. *sansle dahab* 'a gold chain'
10. *s-sakakīn ʔl-faḍḍa* 'the silver knives'
11. *ṣ-ṣḥūn ʔl-mālʔi* 'the china dishes'
12. *kanze ṣūf* 'a wool sweater'
13. *kabbūd ʔammi l-faru* 'my mother's fur coat'

In example 13 the leading term is an annexion phrase.

Alternatively, in many cases, collocations of this type can be made by annexion rather than by attribution: *kanzet ṣūf* 'a sweater of wool', *sanselt ʔd-dahab* 'the chain of gold'. (Note also the construction with a relative adjective [p.280]: *kanze ṣūfiyye* 'a woolen sweater', *sansle dahabiyye* 'a golden chain'.)

Note also:

14. *sakkar bōdra* 'powdered sugar'
15. *maʿāden xām* 'metal ores'
16. *ḡalʔd taʔlīd* 'imitation leather'
17. *ktāb taḥfe* 'a wonderful book, a gem of a book'
18. *rāteb zyāde* 'more pay, extra pay'
19. *ʔakl ʔkfāye* 'enough food'
20. *ʔīdak ʔḡ-ḡmāl* 'your left hand'
21. *fardet ṣabbāt yamīn* 'a right shoe'

Apposition phrases like these are distinguished from annexion phrases by the fact that the leading term may be definitized with the article prefix (ex. 10, 11) or with a pronoun suffix (ex. 20). If the leading term has the *-e/-a* suffix [p.138], it keeps the absolute form with an appositive (ex. 9, 12). An appositive noun is distinguished from an ordinary adjective by the fact that it need not agree with the leading term in number/gender (ex. 11, etc.). An appositive noun is distinguished from an uninflected adjective [501] by that fact that it is also normally used in the typically noun-like constructions: *xām ʔl-ḥadīd* 'iron ore', *ʿal-yamīn* 'on the right'.

Attributive noun phrases:

ʔəbʔn ʔarab 'Arab, someone of Arab descent' (fem. bənt ʔarab, pl. wlād ʔarab)

Since ʔəbʔn ʔarab is itself an annexion phrase, it is made definite by prefixing the article to its following term only: l-ʔəstāz ʔəbʔn ʔl-ʔarab 'the Arab teacher'.

mōʒe ʔaʃīre 'short wave':

Since mōʒe ʔaʃīre is a noun-adjective attribution phrase, both of its terms take the article when it is definitized: r-rādyo l-mōʒe l-ʔaʃīre 'the short wave radio'.

ʔyās waʃaʔ 'medium size':

ʃāḥeb zəmmə 'conscientious' (fem. ʃaḥbet zəmmə, pl. ʃāḥb zəmmə):

Basically ʃāḥeb zəmmə is a substantive construct, lit. "master (or owner) of conscience", thus only the following term takes the article in apposition to a definite term: ʔ-ʃāḥeb ʃāḥeb ʔz-zəmmə 'the conscientious student'. When not attributive, however, this phrase is usually treated more like an adjectival construct [p.466], with ʃāḥeb also taking the article: ʃ-ʃāḥeb ʔz-zəmmə 'the conscientious person'.

22. ʔəstāz ʔəbʔn ʔarab 'an Arab teacher'

23. rādyo mōʒe ʔaʃīre 'a short wave radio'

24. ʔəmsān ʔʔyās waʃaʔ 'medium-size shirts' (def. l-ʔəmsān l-ʔyās ʔl-waʃaʔ. waʃaʔ is an unflected adjective.)

25. ʔāleb ʃāḥeb zəmmə 'a conscientious student'

Attributive Numerals. The cardinal numerals from two to ten are commonly used in apposition to definite terms [p.494]:

n-nəswān ʔt-tlāte	'the three women'
l-ʔaʃābeʔ ʔl-xamse	'the five fingers'
ʃanaʔto t-tnēn	'his two apprentices'
ʔəntu t-tlāte	'you three'
d-dōltēn ʔt-təntēn	'the two countries'

The numeral tnēn 'two' agrees in gender with the (singular of) term it is attributive to: fem. təntēn. (The feminine form is also commonly used in construct with a feminine term: təntēn nəswān 'two women'.)

The numeral wāḥed (fem. wāḥde) 'one' is unlike the other cardinal numerals in that it is used attributively like an ordinary adjective, with an indefinite term as well as a definite one:

ʔūda wāḥde	'one room'
rəʒʒāl wāḥed	'one man'

Cardinal numerals above ten are used attributively in an ordinal sense:

l-bēt ʔt-ʔnaʔʔʃ	'the twelfth house'
-----------------	---------------------

All cardinal numerals are used attributively in an ordinal sense in the numbering of pages and the like; neither term takes the article:

ʃafḥa xamse	'page five'
ʃafḥa xamsīn	'page fifty'

The cardinal numerals 1-12 are used in telling time, attributively to s-sāʔa 'the hour', but without the article prefix:

s-sāʔa ʔaʃara	'ten o'clock'
s-sāʔa təntēn u-naʃʃ	'half past two'

Since the article prefix is not used with the numeral, the attribution phrase is indistinguishable in form from the predication: s-sāʔa ʔaʃara 'It's ten o'clock'.

Elatives [p.313] and ordinals [316] are also used attributively, the latter agreeing in number/gender like ordinary adjectives.

Numerals with Appositives. Ethnic collectives [p.301] and singular mass nouns [368] are used after the absolute form of numerals [170]:

1. *tlāte ʕarab u-xamse ʔamērkan* 'three Arabs and five Americans'
2. *ʔarbʕa ʔahwe w-ʔtlāte ʔalīb* 'four coffees and three milks'

wāhed and *tnēn* do not agree in gender with a feminine mass noun in apposition: *wāhed bīra* 'one beer', *tnēn ʔahwe* 'two coffees'. *wāhed*, however, is also used as an indefinite substantive designating a person (usually translated 'someone' or 'somebody' when it has no appositive); in this use it is inflected for gender: *wāhde bant* 'a girl, some girl, a certain girl', *wāhed ʔamērkanī* 'an American(m.)'. (*wāhed* is of course not used with ethnic collectives, but with their unit derivatives [p.301].)

Note also the phrases *wāhed šāḥbi* 'a friend of mine' and *nās ʔšāḥbi* 'friends of mine'; here the appositive is definite though its leading term is indefinite. (Cf. p.406, after ex. 34.)

Anaphoric suppression [p.537] of a noun after a numeral leaves the numeral in its absolute form, sometimes with an appositive:

3. *kilōyēn lūbye w-ʔtlāte bētānšān* 'two kilos of beans and three of eggplant' [DA-129]
4. *šū ʔ-ʔawābeʕ halli bətrīdhaʔ* 'What stamps do you want?' – Four
– *ʔarbʕa barīd šawwi tabaʕ* twenty [-piastre] air mail'
ʔl-ʕašrīn [DA-245]

Specificative Apposition (or Specificative Complementation, *at-tamyīz*¹). The appositives in examples 2 and 3 above are not true attributes, but rather COMPLEMENTS OF SPECIFICATION (*at-tamyīz*)¹; they differ from true attributes in that they do not agree with their leading term in definition, but remain always indefinite: *l-ʔarbʕa ʔahwe* 'the four coffees, *t-tlāte bētānšān* 'the three [kilos] of eggplant'. (Cf. the definite attribution phrase *t-tlāte l-ʕarab* 'the three Arabs'², or better, *l-ʕarab ʔt-tlāte* [p.509].)

¹Most of the constructions that come under the heading of *at-tamyīz* in Classical Arabic correspond in Colloquial to annexion phrases (as with numerals above ten [p.366]), or are included in what are here called predicative complementation [446] and adverbial noun complementation [441]. The specificative appositives treated here are, for nouns, what "adverbial noun complements" are for verbs.

²Another possibility is *t-tlātet ʔl-ʕarab*; this type of annexing form [171] is sometimes used with ethnic collectives and other nouns as well as with pronoun suffixes.

Besides mass-noun appositives with terms of quantification or measurement, specificative complements are sometimes used in phrases like the following:

1. *ʕarāme ʔašmāliyye ʕašʔrt ālāf lēra* 'a collective fine of ten thousand pounds'
2. *mašmūʕa šamīle rsūm maṭbūʕa* 'a beautiful collection of prints' (lit. "...[of] printed drawings")
3. *haš-šaniyye l-ḥalwe nḥās ʔašfar* 'this lovely brass tray' (lit. "this lovely tray [of] yellow copper")

In each of these examples, an adjective attribute intervenes between the main term and the appositive. If the adjective is eliminated, then the appositive becomes either a true attribute – agreeing with the main term in definition – or else the main term is put in construct with it: *haš-šaniyye n-nḥās ʔl-ʔašfar* 'this brass tray' [cf. p.507]; *mašmūʕet ʔrsūm maṭbūʕa* 'a collection of prints'.¹

Except as illustrated above, substantives in Syrian Arabic rarely take complements of specification; an isolated case is the noun *šifa* 'quality, attribute, capacity' as used in phrases like *b-šifato mʕallem* 'in his capacity as a teacher'.

Emphatic Apposition, (*at-tawktīd*)². Definite partitive constructs [p.468] with *kəll* 'all, whole' and *zāt* and *nafs* 'self' are susceptible to extra-position [cf. p.431]; the following term of the construct is moved in front and replaced in the construct by a pronoun:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>kəll ʔl-banāt</i>
'all the girls' | → <i>l-banāt kəllon</i>
'the girls, all of them' |
| <i>kəll ʔš-šamʕa</i>
'the whole week' | → <i>š-šamʕa kəlla</i>
'the week, all of it' |
| <i>kəll bētna</i>
'our whole house' | → <i>bētna kəlla</i>
'our house, all of it' |
| <i>zāt ʔs-sayyāra</i>
'the very car' | → <i>s-sayyāra zāta</i>
'the car itself' |
| <i>nafsi</i> 'myself' | → <i>ʔana nafsi</i> 'I myself' |

¹Specificative complementation, then, is another kind of annexion-periphrasis [p.460]. Cf. *mašmūʕa šamīle mn ʔr-rsūm ʔl-maṭbūʕa*.

²More exactly, *at-tawktīd l-maʕnawī* 'emphasis by meaning', as distinct from *at-tawktīd l-lafṣī* 'emphasis by repetition'. See p.394. *At-tawktīd* is not true attribution, but rather a kind of complementation or supplementation.

In the last example the following term of the construct is a pronoun, therefore its extraposition as an independent pronoun requires its replacement by a resumptive pronoun, which is of course the same as the original [p.541].

Indefinite constructs with *ġēr* 'other' [p.468] are similarly susceptible to extraposition: *ġēr ket^{ab}* 'other books' → *ket^{ab} ġēr^{hon}* 'books other than them'.

A suffix pronoun may be emphasized (or fitted for attributes [p.550]) by following it with the corresponding independent pronoun:

- bēto* 'his house' → *bēto humwe* 'his house'
maʕi 'with me' → *maʕi ʔana* 'with me'
ḍarabak 'he hit you' → *ḍarabak ʔante* 'he hit you'

Order of Attributes

An attributive word or phrase precedes an attributive clause:

1. *w-naʔlet ʔl-ʕabd ʔl-maʕrūh* | 'And she moved the wounded slave,
halli tamm ḥayy. . . [AO-118] who was still alive'
 2. *ʔali ḥkāye ʕaʕībe ktīr* | 'I have a very strange story, that
bətkūn ʕabra la-halli bəddo can be a lesson for whoever is will-
yəʕtāber [AO-118] ing to learn'

A single attributive noun or adjective usually precedes an attributive phrase:

3. *ḥayy ʔəʕʕa fanniyye* | *waḥīde* 'It's a work of art unique among its
mən nōʕa kind'
 4. *byaʕmel kəll ʔš-ʕaġlāt ʔl-lagane* | 'He does all the odd jobs around the
l-məʕʕallʔa bəl-bēt house' (*lagane* is a noun, used at-
 tributively in an idiomatic sense, 'casual'.)
 5. *l-kāteb ʕam-yəḡhar ʔədrāk* | 'The author shows profound insight
ʕamīq | *ləl-waḍʕ ʔs-siyāsi* into the political situation'

In example 6 the phrase *ləl-waḍʕ ʔs-siyāsi* is not strictly speaking an attribute, but rather a complement. It generally makes no difference in word order whether a prepositional phrase is attributive, complemental, or supplemental to a given term.

A prepositional attribute (or complement, or supplement) usually follows an adjectival (or nominal) attribute, if any:

6. *ʕam-yənʔšru ʔiʕšāʕāt bəʕʕa* | 'They're spreading ugly rumors about
ʕanno him'
 7. *hāda kān ʕamal ʔktīr ʔāyeš* | 'That was a very imprudent act on
mənnak your part' (lit. "...from you, by you")

A pronominal *tabaʕ* phrase [p.489], however, may precede an adjective attribute:

8. *kīf ʔmlāʔi mɔarreb ʔs-sawāʔa* | 'How do you like your new driving
tabaʕak | *ʔš-ʕdīd* instructor?'

CHAPTER 20: SUPPLEMENTATION

The term 'supplementation' is used in this book to designate any of the various subordinating constructions that do not come under the more definite categories of attribution [p.493], annexion [455], or complementation [437].¹ Supplementation is a "loose" type of construction, which is often syntactically vague or unmarked, in some cases requiring no particular word order.

The most important kinds of supplement are ADVERBIAL, which modify verbs or verb phrases, and CLAUSE SUPPLEMENTS, which modify clauses as such. There are also supplements to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., and to sentences as such. Many supplements are used to modify terms of various kinds.

Adverbs and Other Supplemental Words

Strictly speaking, an adverb is a single word that is used mainly or always to modify verbs or verb phrases. More broadly, words that are used mainly to supplement clauses or adjectives are also called adverbs. Examples:

kamān 'also, too, more, again':

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>šəb-^əlna kamān šwayyet lēmūn</i> | 'Bring some lemons (or oranges) too' (or: 'Bring a few more lemons') |
| 2. <i>marwān bəddo šī šwayyet ^ʔawā^{ʕi}, w-^ʔana kamān</i> | 'Marwan wants a few clothes, and so do I' |
| 3. <i>w-^ʕandi kamān šīget ^ʕā^ʔelti, btəswa šī xamst ālāf lēra [DA-297]</i> | 'And I also have my wife's (lit. family's) jewelry; it's worth about five thousand pounds' |
| 4. <i>w-^ʔəm-li ^ʕala šanab šī w^ʔitēn bəftək kamān [DA-109]</i> | 'And put aside for me a couple of okes of beefsteak, too' |
| 5. <i>lāsem nām kamān šwayye [AO-51]</i> | 'I must sleep a little more' |
| 6. <i>hāda mawqū^ʕ tāni kamān</i> | 'That's something else again' |
| 7. <i>ʕaṭīni ^ʔannīntēn ^ʔnbīt kamān ^ʔiza bətrīd</i> | 'Give me two more bottles of wine, if you will' |

¹Ideally, the contrast between complementation and supplementation is a difference between non-subordinating (exocentric) and subordinating (endocentric) constructions that are otherwise similar. Actually, however, the difference between them cannot be sharply drawn; many of the constructions included under complementation are subordinating in one sense or another.

ʔawām 'quick(ly)':

8. *rāḥet marti ʔawām, w-baʔd
šwayye rašʔet* [AO-51]

'My wife went quickly, and after a
while she came back'

9. *ḥaṭṭi ʔēnek ʔala ʔēni ʔawām*

'Look (f.) me in the eye now, quick!'

10. *naṭṭ ʔawām!*

'Quick, hop to it!'

sawa 'together':

11. *šaftkon fāytīn ʔal-bēt sawa*

'I saw you going into the house
together'

12. *ʔiza mā fī māne mnatrāfa?
sawa* [DA-248]

'If there's no objection, we can go
together'

The word *sawa* is sometimes also used predicatively:
batšūfon sawa ʔaktar ʔl-waʔt 'You see them together most of
the time' (Predicative complement [p.447]).

bakkīr 'early':

13. *ʔana bfiʔ bakkīr, ʔaš-šabʔh*
[AO-34]

'I wake up early in the morning'

14. *mān faḍlak taʔa ʔadd mā fīk
bakkīr*

'Please come as early as possible'

15. *ʔēina bakkīr ʔal-ḥaḥle*

'We arrived early at the party'

The word *bakkīr* is occasionally used predicatively:
waḥḥa bakkīr, ʔadū-lkon šī našš sāʔa tānye 'Why it's early!
Stay another half hour'.

hallaʔ 'now, right now, just now':

16. *ʔabu samīr hallaʔ byəši*

'Abu Samir is now on the way here'

17. *hallaʔ šarṭi šabiyye*

'You're a big girl now'

18. *šū ʔam-yədroš hallaʔ?*

'What's he studying now?'

19. *ʔiza bəddak tərʔaʔ hallaʔ
lāzmak sātēn* [AO-119]

'If you want to go back now you'll
need two years'

20. *hallaʔ bəbʔat-lak ʔš-šānʔa
tāxədhon* [DA-129]

'I'll send you the maid right now
to get them'

21. *w-hallaʔ baʔʔd ʔalf w-ʔtmān
mīt sāne ʔante xallaṣṭni
w-lāzem ʔūfi b-waʔdi* [AO-116]

'And now after eighteen hundred years
you have rescued me and I must keep
my promise'

22. *ʔante raḍyān hallaʔ?*

'Are you satisfied now?'

23. *ʔana hallaʔ ʔwšəlt*

'I've just now arrived'

The demonstratives *hōn* 'here', *hnīk* 'there', and *hēk*
'so, thus, like that' are commonly used adverbially, but
are basically predicators [p.381]. See 559ff. The words
bakra 'tomorrow' and *mbāreḥ* 'yesterday' are basically nouns
[p.521].

On *lassa* and *baʔʔd* 'still, yet', see p.546.

Adverbs in *-an*. Many adverbs (and other supplemental words) are derived
from adjectives or nouns by suffixation of *-an*.¹ For example:

<i>ʔasāsan</i>	'basically'..... <i>ʔasās</i>	'basis'
<i>ḥaʔīʔatan</i>	'truly, really'..... <i>ḥaʔīʔa</i>	'truth, reality'
<i>ʔādatan</i>	'usually, customarily'... <i>ʔāde</i>	'habit, custom, usage'
<i>ʔaʔlan</i>	'actually'..... <i>ʔaʔl</i>	'act'
<i>dāʔīman, dāyman</i>	'always'..... <i>dāyem</i>	'lasting, permanent'
<i>ʔaxīran</i>	'finally'..... <i>ʔaxīr</i>	'final'
<i>mwaʔʔatan</i>	'temporarily'..... <i>mwaʔʔat</i>	'temporary'
<i>yōmiyyan</i>	'daily'..... <i>yōmi</i>	'daily' (adj.)
<i>našbiyyan</i>	'relatively'..... <i>našbi</i>	'relative'
<i>našbatan</i>	'relatively'..... <i>našbe</i>	'relationship'
<i>māliyyan</i>	'financially'..... <i>māli</i>	'financial'

¹Most of these forms are classicisms, though some are very solidly estab-
lished in Colloquial usage. Classical Arabic itself, of course, has no
such thing as adverb derivation; *-an* is merely the indefinite accusative
suffix.

Adverbs in *-an* most often precede the supplemented term, though they often come between subject and predicate of a supplemented clause. Examples of usage:

1. *Ēādatan mənḵūn barra bər-rīf b-hal-faṣṣal mn ʔs-səne* 'We're usually out in the country at this time of the year'
2. *s-sama ʔaxīran ʔam-ṭaṣṣa* 'The sky is finally clearing'
3. *ʔana māliyyan mʔtʔmēd ʔalē* 'I'm financially dependent on him'
4. *byʔtʔāmal raʔsan maʔ ʔš-šərke* 'He deals directly with the company' (raʔsan 'directly': Cl. raʔs 'head')
5. *dāyman huwwe biḡaṣṣ bəl-ʔfḥūṣe* 'He always cheats on examinations'
6. *tyāba dāyman ʔala ʔāxer mōḡa* 'Her clothes are always in the latest style'
7. *kəll ʔəsmi kən yūṣaʔni, xṣūṣan ʔəṣrayyi* [AO-51] 'My whole body ached, especially my legs' (xṣūṣan 'especially': xṣūṣ 'specialness')
8. *l-fəʔara xāṣṣatan tʔazzabu ktir* 'The poor, especially, suffered a lot' (xāṣṣatan 'especially': xāṣṣa 'special characteristic')
9. *ʔanu sālā baṭṭīr ʔt-ṭayyāra? - yōmiyyan ʔs-sālā sabʔa ṣ-ṣabʔh* [DA-249] 'When does the plane leave? - Daily at seven in the morning'
10. *taʔrīban xalaṣʔt* 'I'm almost finished' (taʔrīban 'almost, about, approximately': taʔrīb 'approximation')
11. *ṣal-li hōn taʔrīban ʔhdaʔṣar ṣahʔr* 'I've been here about eleven months'
12. *ʔaddēṣ bāddha taʔrīban?* [DA-80A] 'About how much does she want?'
13. *d-dars kən hāyyen nəsbatan* 'The lesson was relatively easy'

Adverbs in *-an* following the supplemented term are often unaccented: *hāyyen nəsbatan* 'relatively easy'. (Cf. predicate-subject inversion [p. 419].)

A special case of derivation is the clause supplement *baʔdēn* 'then, afterwards', from the preposition *baʔd* 'after':¹

14. *bākol bat-taxʔt w-baʔdēn ʔbʔūm u-bəlbes* [AO-34] 'I eat in bed and then I get up and dress'
15. *hallaʔ ʔamma-tnaʔʔeṭ..., baʔdēn baṭṣatti* [AO-67] 'Now its sprinkling a few drops; later it will rain'
16. *baḥki maʔak baʔdēn* 'I'll talk with you later'
17. *reḥʔt ʔal-fətuwwe baʔdēn?* 'Did you go to the Youth Club afterwards?'
18. *ʔaṣṣa, baʔdēn ʔbtʔʔleb ʔl-ʔabrīʔ* 'Be careful or you'll upset the pitcher'

In ex. 18 *baʔdēn* is used in a consequential sense rather than in a purely temporal sense; in such cases the English translation is generally 'or, or else'.

baʔdēn is also used in an additive sense 'then, also, then too':

19. *ʔali baʔʔrfo mən ʔhdaʔṣar səne laʔanno ʔahli w-ʔahlo byaʔʔfu baʔdon, w-baʔdēn mən ṭūl ḡayāto ʔali kən bəl-ʔamērkiyye* 'I've known Ali for eleven years because our families know one another, and then too, all his life Ali has been in the American [school]'

A few adverbs are formed by attaching an enclitic *ma* to a noun or adjective, which may also have the suffix *-an*:

20. *hal-xəṭṭa ʔarībe nōʔan-ma la-halli b-bālina* 'That plan is pretty close to what we had in mind' (nōʔ 'kind, sort')
21. *huwwe nōʔan-ma xabīr b-hal-ḡaḡʔl* 'He's something of an expert in that field'
22. *ʔəllet-ma baʔref haṣ-ṣamāʔa* 'I hardly know those people' (ʔalle 'scarcity, small amount')

Cf. subordinating conjunction *ma*, p. 490.

¹The suffix *-ēn* of *baʔdēn* is presumably a special alteration of *-an*; note that the Lebanese form in areas where general Syrian *ē* is usually changed to *ay* [p. 14] is *baʔdayn* (not *baʔdayn*). Note also the forms *baʔdan* [SPA-462] and *ʔablan* 'before' (adverbial) [SAL-96]: *ṣū ṣṭaḡalt ʔablan?* 'What did you work at previously?'. Feghali [SPA] always writes *baʔden* (= *baʔdan*), never *baʔdēn*; perhaps he interprets the length of the vowel as a feature of phrasing or intonation [p. 17].

Adverbial Adjectives. Certain adjectives are commonly used supplementally, uninflected:

<i>ṭayyeb</i> 'well'	<i>tamām</i> 'entirely, perfectly, exactly'
<i>mnīḥ</i> 'well'	<i>maḡbūṭ</i> 'right, correctly, straight, perfectly'
<i>ḡaḡri</i> 'straight, directly'	<i>ktīr</i> 'much, a lot, very, too'

Most supplemental adjectives always follow the supplemented term, but *ktīr*, and sometimes *tamām*, may either precede or follow.

Examples in use:

1. *btaḡrafni ṭayyeb, ya bēk* [DA-128] 'You know me well, sir'
2. *ʔana brīdak taḡref ʔmnīḥ kall šī bi-hal-balad* [DA-128] 'I want you to become well acquainted with everything in this town'
3. *lā twāxəzni, mā fhəmt ʔalēk ʔmnīḥ* [DA-17] 'I'm sorry, I didn't understand you very well'
4. *xallīna nrūḥ ḡaḡri ʔal-ʔotēl* 'Let's go straight to the hotel'
5. *qanaʔni tamām* 'He convinced me completely'
6. *mən yōmēn tlāte kānet sāḡti ʔamma-tʔaṣṣer, hallaʔ waʔʔafet tamām* [AO-71] 'For two or three days my watch had been losing time; now it's stopped altogether'
7. *s-sāʔa xamse tamām* 'It's exactly five o'clock'
8. *ʔmālʔt tamām ʔaks halli ʔalt-əllak yā* 'You've done exactly the opposite of what I told you'
9. *mā fhəmtni maḡbūṭ* 'You didn't understand me rightly'
10. *mbaṣaṭʔt ʔktīr b-raḡʔʔtak* [DA-235] 'I very much enjoyed your company'
11. *bəḡtāʔed haš-šanta btaḡṣeb zōḡti ktīr* [DA-252] 'I believe this bag will please my wife very much'
12. *ʔaḡṣābi mətʔaḡḡre ktīr* 'My nerves are strongly affected'
13. *tʔaxxarna ktīr, lāzem nəmši* 'We're very late, we must go'
14. *mabṣūṭin ʔktīr* 'They're quite well'

15. *bass haʔʔatan ktīr ḡarīfe, w-baḡḡdēn maḡāniha māknə tamām* 'But it's really very nice, and then too, its meaning is perfectly clear'
16. *ktīr ʔarībe ləl-ḡayāt ʔraḡt kūf* 'It's very true to life, you see'
17. *farīd ktīr mətʔalleʔ ʔb-hal-ʔarābe, ktīr ʔāḡḡbto* 'Fareed is very fond of that kinship; he likes it a lot'

Note also: *ṣāḡbi ktīr* 'a good friend of mine' (in which *ṣāḡeb* is construed as an adjective [cf. pp.406,508].

ktīr may also be used as a noun 'a lot, a large amount', in partitive annexion [466]: *ktīr nās* 'a lot of people' (cf. periphrasis [460] *ktīr mn ʔn-nās*); or in apposition: *nās ʔktīr* (same translation); cf. *nās ʔktār* 'many people' (adjective attribute).

Adverbial Nouns and Noun Phrases. Many nouns and noun phrases are used supplementally, especially designations of time and of quantity. Examples:

<i>bakra</i> (or <i>bukra</i>) 'tomorrow'	<i>s-sāʔa tmānye</i> '(at) eight o'clock'
<i>l-yōm</i> 'today'	<i>marra</i> 'once', <i>marrtēn</i> 'twice'
<i>l-masa</i> 'this evening'	<i>marrāt ʔktīre</i> 'often, frequently'
<i>l-lēle</i> 'tonight'	<i>baḡḡ ʔl-ʔawʔāt</i> 'sometimes'
<i>mbāreḥ</i> (or <i>mbārḡa</i>) 'yesterday'	<i>ʔaṣʔar daraḡat</i> 'ten degrees'
<i>ʔawwal ʔmbāreḥ</i> (or <i>ʔawwalt ʔmbāreḥ</i>) 'the day before yesterday'	<i>ṭūl ʔn-nḡar</i> 'all day'
<i>s-səne l-māḡye</i> (or <i>sənt ʔl-māḡye</i>) 'last year'	<i>miyye bəl-miyye</i> 'one hundred percent'
<i>ṣwayye</i> 'a little'	<i>hal-ʔadd</i> 'so much'
	<i>sāḡtēn</i> 'two hours'
	<i>ʔawwal šī</i> 'first of all'

Cf. Adverbial Noun Complements [p.441].

Examples in use:

1. *sāfar ʔawwal ʔmbāreḥ* 'He left the day before yesterday'
2. *šlōnak ʔmbāreḥ bəl-muzāḡaraʔ* 'How did you do yesterday in the home-work session?'
3. *la-nṣūf šū bəddna nəḡaṣša l-yōm* 'Let's see what we're having for dinner today'

4. *bakra manšáref* *ʔd-ḡahʔr*
5. *nāyem b-bēt xālti l-lēle*
6. *šū raḡa-nsāwi l-yōm ʔašiyye?*
7. *basmaʔ ʔaxbārha bas-sane marra*
8. *ʔadad ʔs-səkkān zād xamse bəl-miyye*
9. *waʔʔtha ʔalbet ʔš-sabiyye l-məʔlāye* [AO-117]
10. *yōm mn ʔl-ʔiyyām kānu l-banāt ʔaš-šəbbāk w-maraʔ bəṭ-ṭarīʔ šēx* [AO-113]
11. *bṭəʔraf kəll ʔl-ʔamaliyye, yaʔni ʔiyyām*
12. *tāni yōm ḡəʔef*
13. *l-bard has-sane ʔəṣa ʔala bakkīr* [DA-197]
14. *byəflaḡ ʔl-ʔarḡ kəll ʔs-sane* [AO-59]
15. *ḡāləton mū baṭṭāle hal-ʔadd*
16. *lā tkūn kəll hal-ʔadd mū mbāli*
17. *l-faṭḡa mū kbīre kḡāye*
18. *lāzem nām kamān šwayye* [AO-51]
19. *ʔana šwayye bardān*
20. *tənʔāytak kānet šwayye mū mwaffaʔa*
21. *bəddi rūḡ lāken mašḡūl ʔšwayye*
22. *bass ḡāda ktīr ʔšwayye* [DA-297]

[Ch. 20]

'Tomorrow we get out at noon'

'I'm sleeping at my aunt's house tonight'

'What are we going to do this evening?' (lit. "...today the evening")

'I hear from her once a year' (lit. "I hear her news in the year once")

'The population increased five percent'

'Then (lit. "its time") the girl turned the frying pan over'

'One day (lit. "a day of the days") the girls were at the window when a sheikh went by on the road'

'You get disgusted with the whole business, some days, that is'

'The next day, he got sick'

'The cold weather this year has come early'

'He tills the soil the whole year'

'They're not so badly off' (lit. "Their condition is not bad that amount")

'Don't be so indifferent'

'The opening isn't big enough' (cf. p. 507)

'I must sleep a little more'

'I'm a bit chilly'

'Your choice was rather unfortunate'

'I want to go, but I'm rather busy'

'But that's a little too much'

Note, in ex. 21 and 22, that *šwayye* in supplementation to a preceding adjective is commonly unaccented.

šwayye, like its antonym *ktīr*, may be used in construct with a noun [p. 470]: *šwayyet xəbʔz* 'a little bread', *šwayyet bard* 'a little cold (weather)'.

23. *šwayye šwayye humwe hədi* 'Little by little he calmed down'
24. *l-maʔāzīm ʔəṣu wāḡhed wāḡhed* [PAT-169] 'The guests arrived one by one'
25. *ʔīd baʔd ʔmmənni kəlme kəlme...* 'Repeat after me word for word...'
26. *mīn byəṣi la-ʔand ʔt-tāni ʔaktar?* 'Who comes to visit the other most [often]?'
27. *l-maṭar bṭənzəl ʔaktar u-ʔaktar* [AO-67] 'The rain comes down harder and harder' (lit. "...more and more")
28. *bəʔnn byəštāḡel ʔaḡsan mən ʔabu ʔaḡmad* [AO-47] 'I believe he does better work than Abu Ahmed' (lit. "works better than...")

ʔaktar and *ʔaḡsan* are commonly used supplementally, as relatives of *ktīr* and *mīnḡ*, respectively [p. 520].

Prepositional Supplements. Prepositional phrases of all kinds (except *tabaʔ* [p. 489]) are used adverbially:

1. *ʔana bfayyʔak baʔʔd šalāṭ ʔš-ṣəbʔḡ* 'I'll wake you after morning prayer'
2. *ʔam-yəktob waṣṭift ʔl-fīzya bəṣ-ṣaff* 'He's doing his physics assignment in the classroom'
3. *ʔal-ʔaṣr ʔmnəṣrab šāy w-ʔənd ʔl-masa mnākol* [AO-30] 'Late in the afternoon we drink tea and in the evening we eat'
4. *bšūf bəl-bēt šū bəddhon w-bəbʔat-lak xabar maʔ ʔš-ṣānʔa* [DA-130] 'I'll see in the house what they want, and send you word by the maid'
5. *ʔana b-ʔēni šəfta b-wādi l-ḡūl* [AO-107] 'With my [own] eye[s] I saw her in Ghoul Valley' (The phrase *b-wādi l-ḡūl* is an objective complement [p. 447].)
6. *bṭəʔmor təṣrab šī ʔabl ʔl-ʔakʔl?* [DA-199] 'Would you like something to drink before eating?'

7. *ʔana ʕala kəll hāl mā bākōl*
gēr bəl-bēt [DA-198]

'In any case I only eat at home'
(*bəl-bēt* is supplemental to the verb
bākōl, while *ʕala kəll hāl* is supple-
mental to the whole clause.)

8. *lēš sāyeʔ b-has-sərʕaʔ*

'Why are you driving so fast?' (lit.
"...with this speed?")

9. *bəš-šətwiyye byəsknu bəṭ-ṭābeʔ*
ʔl-fōʔāni, b-sabab ʔl-bard
wər-rṭūbe [AO-39]

'In the winter they live on the upper
storey, because of the cold and damp'
(The phrase *b-sabab...* is supple-
mental to the whole preceding clause,
while *bəš-šətwiyye* is supplemental
only to the following verb phrase.
bəṭ-ṭābeʔ... is the prepositional
complement to the verb.)

10. *l-ʔhkūme bəl-hāl ṭālaʕet*
takzīb

'The government immediately issued a
denial'

11. *waʔʔaf ʔs-sayyāra ʕal-ʔāxīr*

'He brought the car to a complete
stop'

12. *ʕan haʔa ʔante btəʕnīhaʔ*

'Do you really mean it?'

Examples 10-12 illustrate several of the many idiomatic
prepositional phrases that are used adverbially; there are
many more, e.g. *ʕala ɡafle* 'suddenly', *ʕan ʔarīb* 'soon',
ʕala ṭūl 'always, continuously', *bəl-marra* 'at all' (with
negative), *bəl-kād* 'hardly', etc.

The forms *ʔāxīr* (ex. 11) and *haʔa* (12) are anomalous,
used only in these set phrases (and *bəl-ʔāxīr* 'finally').
One would expect *ʔaxīr* or *ʔāxer* 'final, last, end', and
haʔʔa 'its(f.)right, its truth'.

13. *mənkannes ʔl-bēt mən fōʔ*
la-taht [AO-27]

'We'll sweep the house from top to
bottom'

14. *ḥaket kalām mā fhəmtə w-səwətni*
baʕʔdha mətʔl ma bətšūf - nəšši
ḥəšar w-nəšši laḥʔm [AO-118]

'She said something I didn't under-
stand, and then made me the way you
see me - half stone and half flesh'
(*baʕʔdha* lit. "after it(f.)")

Free prepositions [p.485] may of course be used adverb-
ially without an "object"; similarly *baʕʔd* 'after' and *ʔabʔl*
'before'. See p.487.

Examples of prepositional supplements to non-verbal clauses:

15. *la-daraʕe huwwə masʔūl*

'To a [certain] degree, he is
responsible'

16. *ka-walad ʕəmro xams ʔsnīn huwwə*
ṭawīl ʔktīr

'For a five-year-old boy he's quite
tall'

17. *bəʕtəʔed hat-taqrīr ʕala waʕh*
ʔl-ʕumūm ʕaḥīḥ

'I believe this report is on the
whole correct'

18. *bən-nāḥye n-naʕariyye mā fī*
ʔəxtilāf ʔktīr

'From a theoretical point of view
there's not much difference'

Prepositional supplements to non-verbal words and phrases:

19. *huwwə doktōr fəl-ʔəqtīšād*

'He's a doctor of economics'

20. *bəddhon ʕal-ʔaʔalli ʕəmʕa*

'They'll need at least a week' (The
form *ʔaʔalli* is a classicism; col-
loquial *ʔaʔall* 'least'.)

21. *ktīr mən ʔl-xərāfāt ʔalḥa*
ʔaʕl tārīxi

'Many myths have a historical
foundation'

22. *mā xalla ʕanf mən ʔl-fawāki*
wəl-ḥəlwiyyāt ʔalla ḥaṭṭo

'He didn't leave out any kind of
fruit or sweet (but what he put it in)'

23. *ḥāda mū šī ʕdīd ʕaliyyi*

'This is not something new to me'

24. *bāxədhon tlətt marrāt bəl-yōm*
[DA-218]

'I take them three times a day' (lit.
"...in a day")

25. *l-wāḥed ʕand bēti wət-tāni*
baʕdo b-ʔtmənn dakakīn [DA-125]

'The one [of them] is by my house and
the other is eight doors beyond it'
(lit. "...after it by eight shops")

In ex. 25, the phrase *b-ʔtmənn...* is supplemental to
the prepositional predicate *baʕdo*. In ex. 24, *bəl-yōm* is
supplemental (or complementary) to the nominal supplement
tlətt marrāt. The *mən*-phrases in ex. 21 and 22 are annexion
periphrases [p.460].

Most prepositional phrases that are subordinate to
nouns are attributive [p.500]; many of those subordinate to
adjectives are complementary.

Besides adverbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, a few words of other kinds are used supplementally:

hatta 'even' (as a conjunction, 'until, in order that' [p. 358]):

1. *hatta r-raṣol ʔl-ʔādi byaḥam haš-šī* 'Even a layman understands that'
2. *mā ḥada hatta lāḥaṣ ʔḡyābo* 'No one even noticed his absence'
3. *mā ʔdərʔt šūfo hatta* 'I didn't even get to see him'

bass 'only' (as a conjunction, 'but, as soon as' [p. 398, 357]):

4. *ṣafyān ʔanna bass ʔtnēn* 'We only have two left'
5. *mū bass ḥalwe, zakiyye kamān* 'She's not only pretty; she's also intelligent'
6. *wṣalt la-hōn mən daʔīʔa bass* 'I only got here a minute ago'

byaḥlaʔ 'about, what amounts to' (as a verb, 'it comes out'):

7. *ʔassarna byaḥlaʔ mīt ʔaskari* 'We took about a hundred prisoners' (lit. 'We captured it comes to a hundred soldiers')

Sentence Supplements

Certain words and phrases are commonly used to supplement a sentence as a whole rather than some constituent of it¹; these supplements do not "modify" the meaning of anything in the sentence, but they modify or clarify the relationship of the sentence to its context, or to the circumstances of its utterance. Examples:

1. *bəl-munāsabe wēn ʔd-dəxxānāt ʔlli waʔattna fīhonʔ* 'By the way, where are the cigarettes (lit. "smokes") you promised us?'
2. *mā batʔaxxar ʔənšālla, šu yaʔni bəddeḥ ʔarkab šārūxʔ* 'Don't worry, I won't be late; what do you(f.) expect, anyway – for me to get on a rocket?'

¹This is not to say that the supplement is not a part of the sentence; prosodically it is as much a part of the sentence as any other kind of supplement. Note also the difference between a sentence supplement and a clause supplement; one of the immediate constituents of a sentence is the whole clause (word-string) which it embraces and prosodically unifies [p. 377].

3. *ʔala ḥal-lōn byaḥlamak šānʔa* [DA-98] 'In that case, you'll need a maid'
4. *btəftəker baʔa fakra mnīḥa* 'So you think it's a good idea'
5. *bəškor ʔalla mā bəʔi fiyyi šī* [DA-218] '[I] thank God, I'm all right now'
6. *lēš ya tara has-shūl ṣardaʔ* [DA-250] 'Why do you suppose these plains are so barren?'
7. *daxlak šlōn ʔl-ḥāle hallaʔ bi-sān fransīskoʔ* [DA-77] 'Say, how are things now in San Francisco?'
8. *ʔayyadhon lakān ʔal-ʔsāb xātrak* [DA-129] 'Enter them on your account, then'
9. *ʔḡt la-ʔandak marrtēn la-ʔal-lak, bass maʔ ʔl-ʔasaf mā šəftak* [DA-171] 'I came to your place twice to tell you, but unfortunately I didn't see you'
10. *ṭabʔan ʔl-xārūf mā tʔallam w-šār imāʔi* [AO-96] 'Of course the sheep wouldn't learn and began to bleat'
11. *bi-nafs ʔl-waʔʔt sfōn fīha ʔamm-irawweḥ ʔala ḥālo mašāl ʔkbīr* 'At the same time – think of it – he's losing a big opportunity'
12. *nəḥna maʔlūmak hallaʔ fī ʔanna ʔaṣniʔ bəš-šām* 'Of course as you know we now have industrialization in Damascus'

In ex. 12 the second person suffix with *maʔlūm* (lit. 'known') is a sort of "ethical dative" [p. 483], which imparts a note of intimacy to what would otherwise be a starkly impersonal statement.

Supplemental Clauses

Supplemental clauses generally may either precede or follow the main clause:

ʔawwal ma ʔaʃal ʔaʃina xabar.....ʔaʃina xabar ʔawwal ma ʔaʃal
 'As soon as you get there 'Let us know as soon as you
 let us know' get there'

ʔiza ʔʕit, btəmbəʃet ʔktir.....btəmbəʃet ʔktir ʔiza ʔʕit
 'If you come, you'll have a 'You'll have a very good time
 very good time' if you come'

Most supplemental clauses are clause supplements, i.e. they enter into construction with the main clause as such. A few, however, are sentence supplements or phrase supplements [p.529].

The main types of supplemental clause are CONDITIONAL clauses, which are amply illustrated in Chapter 12 [p.331ff]; CIRCUMSTANTIAL clauses [p.531]; and the rest, which may be called simply ADVERBIAL clauses.

Adverbial Clauses

Most clauses introduced by a word or phrase plus the particle *ma* [p.490] are supplemental. Examples of these clauses are given in Chapter 13 [p.357ff] (see also p.338); further examples:

1. *ʔabəl ma təlbes biʕāmtak, təʔʕod la-dirāstak* 'Before you put on your pajamas, you must sit down and study' (lit. "... sit to your study")
2. *baʕəd ma n-nās ǧannū-lon u-raʔaʕū-lon, rāhu w-daʕšarūhon la-ḥālhon* [AO-111] 'After the people sang and danced for them, they went away and left them alone' [See p.411.]
3. *baʕəd ma laʔu l-məʕneb ʔante hallaʔ ʔtbarrēt* 'Since they've found the guilty one, you are now exonerated' (lit. "After they've found..., you have now been exonerated")
4. *mā ʕəfət ḥada mən waʔət ma rəʕēt* 'I haven't seen anyone since I got back'
5. *btəʔder ʔtxallī maʕak ʔadd ma bəddak* 'You can keep it (lit. "leave it with you") as long as you want'
6. *b-əməʕrarrad ma zakar ʔəma ḥəḍret* 'No sooner had he mentioned her name than she appeared'
7. *bsawī-lak talifōn ʔb-daʔiʔet ma ʔaʕref* 'I'll give you a phone call the minute I find out'
8. *lēš mā btaʕmāl-lak šī ʕawāḍ ma təʔʕod tūl ʔl-waʔət tətšakkaʔ* 'Why don't you do something instead of complaining all the time?'

9. *tarket ʔl-ʔūda bala ma təkki kəlme* 'She left the room without saying a word'
10. *fī nās ʕāyšīn lūks bēn ma l-ǧēr ʕūʕānīn* 'Some people live in luxury while others go hungry'
11. *w-mā fī rṭūbe mətəl ma biʕīr ʕandkon* [DA-150] 'And there isn't the humidity you get there' (lit. "...like it is with you (pl.)")
12. *mənfarʔo ʕalēhon la-ḥatta yāklū b-ʔiyyām ʔl-ʕīd mətəl ma byāklū l-ʔaǧniya* [DA-299] 'We distribute it among them so that they may eat during the holiday as the rich eat'

mətəl ma is more often used in supplementation to a word or phrase than to the whole main clause. In ex. 12 the *mətəl ma* clause is supplemental to the verb *yāklū*; in ex. 11, to the noun *rṭūbe*.

Examples of *ma* clauses as sentence supplements:

13. *ʔabəl ma ʔənsa, ḥətt-əlli šī kilōyēn xōx w-ʔtlāte nṣāʕ* [DA-130] 'Before I forget – put in (for me) a couple of kilos of plums and three of pears'
14. *ḥasab ma baʕref mā fī ʔalak bōʕṭa* 'As far as I know, there's no mail for you'

For a sentence-supplement *ʔiza* clause, see ex. 12, p.332

Adverbial clauses introduced by words or phrases other than *ma*:

15. *lamma xalʕet ʔs-səne, ʔalab ʔr-rāʕi ʔəʕərto* [AO-103] 'When the year ended, the shepherd demanded his pay'
16. *l-yōm lamma fəʔət kām maʕi waʕaʕ rās ʔawi* [AO-51] 'Today when I woke up I had a severe headache'
17. *tṭəʕel fiyyi lamma bəddak yāni* 'Get in touch with me when you want me'
18. *baḷla sallām-li ʕas-sətt waʔt ʔbṭəʕal* [DA-245] 'Please give my regards to your wife when she arrives'
19. *waʔət maḍḍēt šahrēn fi New York kənt šūfo kəll yōm* '[During the] time I spent two months in New York I saw him every day'
20. *yōm kanna rāʕīn mən bērūt ʔaxatt bard* [DA-217] 'The day we came back from Beirut I caught cold'
21. *bass ʔtlāʔi l-bēt mən rūḥ ʔana wiyyāk la-nšūfo* [DA-291] 'As soon as you find the house you and I will go together to see it'

22. w-fareh^o ktir la^oanno t^oakkad
^oanno ^oalla g^oafar-lo xat^oay^o
[AO-100]

'And he was very glad because he was certain that God had forgiven his sins'

23. u-la^oanno mali Enwan sabet
b^oat^ou-li ya b-wasat^o
^ol-mufawadiyye l-^oam^oerkiyye
[DA-294]

'And since I have no permanent address, send it to me in care of the American Legation'

24. b-hes ma kan Eandi l-masari ma
^odar^ot ru^oh

'Since I didn't have the money I couldn't go'

25. b-ma ^oanno ms^oaf^oer bakra l^osem
n^osta^oel

'Since he is leaving tomorrow, we must hurry' (b-ma ^oanno, lit. "with [the fact] that...")

26. raha-kun ^ohnik, ma^o ^oanno
wa^oti dayye^o

'I'll be there, though my time is short'

27. ^oana b^oab-lak ^ol-^oarba^oin bent
la-b^oet^oak Eala ^oar^ot ta^oftini
^oarba^oin dinar [AO-113]

'I'll bring the forty girls to your house on condition that you give me forty dinars'

Extraposition in Adverbial Clauses. Most conjunctions that introduce adverbial clauses tend not to be followed by noun-type words [p.411]; thus the subject (less commonly the object, etc.) of an adverbial clause preceding the main clause is often extraposed [p.43] – placed in front of the conjunction. (This type of extraposition requires no resumptive subject pronoun.)

1. ^oalla ta^oala lamma farra^o
^ol-maw^oheb Eala bani ^oad^oam,
kan ^ol-fall^oah g^oayeb [AO-92]

'When Almighty God apportioned His gifts among men, the peasant was absent'

2. l-ban^oat lamma s^oafyu la-h^oalhon
s^oaru yduru bal-bet [AO-113]

'When the girls were left alone, they started looking around the house'

3. l-malek ba^oed ma ^oaf^ou ma ka^ofa
[AO-116]

'After he cured the king, he (the king) didn't reward him' (Extrapositive object)

4. ^oana ^oawwal ma ^oat^o sakan^ot
bal-bet Eand had^oel ^og^o-^oam^oala

'When I first came, I lived at the house of those people'

5. ktir ^omn ^og^o-^oab^oab wa^oat bikunu
bi-E^oamr ^ol-mur^oahaga bi^ohawlu
^oanno ya^oamlu no^o ^omn ^og^o-^oar

'Lots of young men, when they're adolescent, try to compose some sort of poetry'

6. l-walad ^og^o-^og^oir lamma ykun
sa^olan man ^oabu ba^oden iradi
^oabu by^ozi bi^oh^oett raso heke
by^oas^ondo

'When a little boy is angry with his father and then makes up with him, he comes and leans his head [against him] like this'

In most cases the extraposed term can also be construed as subject of the main clause, with the adverbial clause inserted between the subject and the predicate. (This analysis might apply to all but ex. 1 above.)

An adverbial clause is also sometimes inserted between a verb and its prepositional or clausal complement:

7. s^oafar^ot ^oab^ol ma ^ozi la-hon
la-^ooroppa

'Before I came here I went to Europe'

8. w-s^oaret kall ma fat wahed manhon
^ota^oel raso [AO-113]

'And she started cutting off their heads every time one of them would come in'

Circumstantial Clauses (al-^ogumla l-h^oaliyya)

The conjunction w- [p.391] introduces subordinate clauses with the sense 'while, when, with':

1. slon ma baddo yas^oot bal-fah^os
w-hu^owe ma fatah^o ^oktab^o

'How could he help but fail in the test when he hasn't opened a book?'

2. shat^ot rafraf ^os-sayyara w-^oana
tale^o la-wara mn ^ol-kar^oaz

'I scraped the fender of the car (while I was) backing out of the garage'

3. w-hu^owe masi w-mat^oEaz^oeb
same^o ^oanin ba^oke [AO-118]

'(As he was) walking alone and wondering, he heard the sound of weeping' (lit. "...a moan of weeping")

4. sa^oha halab banet w-^oal^oEatha
ben-nass [DA-250]

'See there, Aleppo has come into view, with its citadel in the middle'

As illustrated in examples 2 and 3, circumstantial clauses may sometimes be rendered in English with a participial phrase rather than with a clause. Circumstantial clauses are most often non-verbal (ex. 2, 3, 4) and quite often participial (2, 3).

Most circumstantial clauses follow the main clause (ex. 1, 2, 4), and most have a subject – often a pronoun subject (ex. 1, 2, 3) – right after the w-.

In some cases (ex. 4), subordinate w- clauses are not clearly distinguishable from coordinate clauses ('See there, Aleppo has come into view, and its citadel is in the middle').

Further examples:

5. slon baddo t-tabix
yastawi wat-tan^oaz^oer m^oalla^oa
f^o ^oas-sa^oara^o [AO-88]

'How can the food get done with the pots hung up in the tree?'

6. haṭṭo ʔaddām ʔs-saʕdān w-šār
iʕallmo wəs-saʕdān yətfarraʕ
[AO-96]

Ex. 6 could also be construed as a coördination: '... started to teach him, and the monkey, to watch' (with anaphoric suppression [p.537] of *šār* before *yətfarraʕ*).

'He put him in front of the monkey and started teaching him, while the monkey looked on'

7. l-fallāḥīn biḥabbu yāklūhon
u-hanne xəḍʔr [PVA-18]

'The country people like to eat them while they're green'

8. kānet ʔl-bənt wara l-bāb
wəb-ʔidha sēf [AO-113]

'The girl was behind the door with a sword in her hand' (Or as a coördination: '...and a sword was in her hand')

9. w-rakdet u-maʕha ʔāse fīha
mayye

'And she ran, carrying a bowl with water in it' (lit. "...and with her a bowl, in it water")

10. bəš-šəbʔh w-ʔana rāyeḥ ʕala
šəḡli bəštāri ʕādatan ʕarīde
mn ʔʕ-ʕarāyed

'In the morning when I'm going to work I usually buy one of the newspapers'

11. dəʔʔ ʔl-ḥadīd u-huwwe ḥāmi

'Strike the iron while it's hot'

12. mnēn bəʔder ʔəbʕat ḥawāle
barīdiyye? - tālet šəbbāk
w-ʔante fāyet [DA-223]

'(From) where can I send a postal money order?' - Third window as you go in'

13. l-bāb ʔnfataḥ w-kaʔanno fī
səḥʔr

'The door opened as if by magic' (lit. "...and [it was] as if there were magic [in it]")

14. məmkən ʔdʕəb-li ʔahuti
w-fīha xēṭ konyākʔ

'Could you bring me my coffee with a dash of brandy in it?'

15. kīf ya ʕanni bəʔūl slēmān
nabiyy aḷḷāh w-ʔslēmān māt mən
məddet ʔalf w-ʔtmān mīt sənəʔ
[AO-116]

'How, O genie, can you say Solomon is God's prophet, when Solomon died eighteen hundred years ago?'

A subject pronoun is sometimes extraposed (put before the *w-*) at the beginning of a sentence, especially in a clause with *rāyeḥ* 'going' or the like. (Cf. p.530.):

16. ʔənt ʔw-rāyeḥ xədni [RN-I.228]

'Pick me up on your way'

17. w-nəḥna w-rāyḥīn marrēna
b-ʕəllālāt nyāgara [SAL-67]

'And on our way, we went by Niagara Falls'

Paratactic Supplemental Clauses. Sometimes the circumstantial *w-* (or some other supplemental conjunction) is omitted:

1. daxalt ʕalēha, b-ʔīdi sēf
[AO-118]

'I broke in on her, a sword in my hand'

2. huwwe ʕam-yəḥki byākol nəṣṣ
ʔl-kəlme

'When he talks he swallows half the word'

3. wēnak ʔb-hal-ʔiyyām mā ḥada
bišūfakʔ [DA-197]

'Where are you these days, that no one sees you?'

4. kəll šī xāleṣ, raḥ-ikallef
kaza dōlār [SAL-171]

'When everything is completed, it'll cost [so many] dollars'

CHAPTER 21: SUBSTITUTION

The main types of SUBSTITUTES in Arabic are personal pronouns [p.539], demonstratives [552], question words [566], and answer words [536].

These categories are not syntactical form classes [p.381], but are based on the way certain words or sets of words "replace" or "stand for" any expression of a particular grammatical class under certain conditions. Thus the personal pronouns substitute for nouns or noun phrases, and the demonstratives *hōn* 'here' and *hnīk* 'there' substitute for certain kinds of prepositional phrases, etc.

Anaphoric Substitution

The third-person pronouns (*huwwa*, *hiyye*, *hanne*; -o, -ha, -hon) occur mainly in ANAPHORIC SEQUENCE: as SEQUENT to an ANTECEDENT.¹ The antecedent is a noun or noun phrase which is subsequently replaced in the discourse by the sequent pronoun: *btāʿref haš-šabb ʿante?* 'Do you know that young man?' - *ʿē baʿʿrfo mnīh, šāḥbi huwwa* 'Yes, I know him well, he's my friend'.

In this type of anaphoric sequence the main differences between Arabic and English involve resumptive pronouns [p.430] and subject pronouns [548]. Arabic requires a sequent pronoun where English has none in sentences such as *mīn ʿl-bant ʿlli šaftak maʿha?* 'Who's the girl I saw you with?'; whereas English requires a subject pronoun, and Arabic does not, in sequences like *šū ʿaxbār maḥmūd?* - *waḥḥa ktīr maḥsūṭ* 'What's the news from Mahmoud? - Why, he's quite well'.

A sequent pronoun agrees in number/gender with its antecedent in the same way that a predicate agrees with its subject [p.420]. Thus, for example: *yalli lāḥeš tyābo yaši yšīlon* 'Whoever has strewn his clothes around shall come pick them up'; *fī ʿandak šī ketʿab ġēra?* 'Have you any other books?' (lit. "books other than them (f.sg.)"); *yōm bikūn fī farša l-madāres mā btəftaḥ* [DA-239] 'The schools don't open on a holiday' (lit. 'A day there is in it (m.) vacation...').

¹The term 'antecedent' in this book is used only in connection with anaphoric sequences; elsewhere, however, it is sometimes also used to designate the leading term in attribution: "the antecedent of a relative clause" = the term to which a clause is attributive [p.495].

The term 'sequent' has sometimes been used as a translation of the Arabic 'tābiʿ', which designates the 'following term' in attribution and certain other constructions (viz. those in which there is case agreement in Classical Arabic). This, of course, has nothing to do with anaphoric sequence.

When the antecedent is vague – or conceptual rather than strictly verbal – the feminine singular pronoun is often used as its sequent: *masmaḥ-li ʔalʕab tanes ma dām mā zīd fīha* 'I'm allowed to play tennis as long as I don't overdo it'. Neither the noun *tanes* nor the clause *ʔalʕab tanes* is exactly the antecedent of *-ha* 'it'(f.); in either case the sequent would then have to be masculine. See p.428.

The "answer words" *laʔ* 'no' and *ʔē*, *ʔēwa*, *naʕam*, *mbala* (all translated 'yes') are anaphoric predication-substitutes. They eliminate repetition, in an answer, of the predication in a question. The word *mbala* is used to assert the affirmative in answer to a negative question or in contradiction to a negative statement.

Besides their purely anaphoric use, these words are used as interjections, and in supplementation to a full or partial answering sentence. *ʔē*, *mbala*, and *laʔ*, especially, are commonly followed by something more; when used alone, they sometimes sound rather curt. Hence: *šəfʔt ʔahmadʔ* – *ʔē šəfto* 'Did you see Ahmed? – Yes, I did'; *mā šəfʔt ʔahmadʔ* – *mbala šəfto* 'Didn't you see Ahmed? – Yes, I did'; – *laʔ mā šəfto* 'No, I didn't' (in answer to either question).

The word *naʕam* is more polite or deferential than *ʔē*. It is used, furthermore, (with falling intonation) in response to a call or a command: *ya ʔahmad... – naʕam*. 'Oh Ahmed... – Yes?', and (with rising intonation) to ask for repetition or continuation of something said: *naʕamʔ* 'What?', 'I beg your pardon?' 'Yes?'. Note also the combination *ʔē naʕam*, which is more deferential, or more affable, than *naʕam* alone.

laʔ is used anaphorically in coördinations with *walla* 'or' [p.395]: *btəži walla laʔʔ* 'Are you coming, or not?'. The form *laʔ* is not much used in a purely exclamatory capacity; the usual negative interjection are *lā* and *lah*: *lā waḷḷa* 'No indeed!'; *lah, lah* 'No, no!' (reaction of dismay).

There is also a form *laʔa*, sometimes used (anaphorically) instead of *laʔ*.

The demonstratives *hāda* 'this, that', *hēk* 'so, thus, this, that', and *hnīk* 'there' are often used anaphorically (but *hnīk* not so much as English 'there' [p.561]). See p.554 ff.

The interrogative substitutes or "question words" [p.566] (*šū* 'what', *wēn* 'where', etc.) are used in a sort of reverse anaphoric sequence, with the substitute as antecedent, and the phrase it "stands for" – the answering phrase – as sequent.

First and second person pronouns and most demonstratives are seldom or never used anaphorically, but are DEICTIC or PRESENTATIONAL. Their reference depends entirely on the circumstances or the "scene" of the utterance: the time, the place, the persons taking part in the conversation. (Third person pronouns are also sometimes deictic rather than anaphoric.)

Anaphora and Suppression of Anaphora

Anaphoric substitution contrasts on the one hand with actual ANAPHORA, in which the sequent involves repetition of the antecedent, and on the other hand with ANAPHORIC SUPPRESSION, in which the sequent is partly or entirely left out, to be "understood" from context.

There are certain kinds of constructions in which anaphora is usual in Arabic, but generally avoided in English (by substitution, suppression, or different wording). In a nominal predication, for instance, the same word often occurs as the main term of both the subject and the predicate:

1. *l-masʔale mū masʔalt ʔs-səʕr* 'It isn't a question of the price' (lit. 'The question isn't...')
2. *xāyef-lak hal-maraḍ hāda maraḍ ʕaʔli* 'I'm afraid this illness is mental' (or 'I'm afraid this is a mental illness')

See also examples 20 and 21, p.404.

In Arabic a noun is commonly repeated with different pronoun suffixes, while in English the independent possessives (mine, yours, etc.) usually substitute in the sequent:

3. *maʕāšo ʔazwad mən maʕāšī* 'His salary is more than mine'
4. *ʔəsmi byəži baʕd ʔəsmā bəl-līsta* 'My name comes after hers in the list'

Another anaphoric construction characteristic of Arabic is the supplementation of a singular noun by a *mən* phrase with its plural or dual: *yōm mən ʔl-ʔiyyām* 'one day' (lit. 'a day of the days'), *bənt mən banāt ʔabu ʕali* 'One of Abu Ali's daughters':

5. *mā brūḥ b-ʔayy ḥāl mən ʔl-ʔaḥwāl* 'I won't go on any condition'
6. *wlā ʕawāb mən ʔḡ-ʕawābēn maḡbūt* 'Neither of the two answers is correct'

In answers to questions the English auxiliary verbs 'to do', 'to be', and 'to have' are commonly used as sequent with the main verb suppressed. In Arabic these sequences usually have anaphora: *šāyef hal-bēt ʔhnik?* - ('ʔē) *šāyef* 'Do you see that house over there?' - Yes, I do'; *btaži maʔna?* - *laʔ mā bāži* 'Are you coming with us? - No, I'm not'.

In rendering English expressions like 'so do I', 'more than I have', etc., the Arabic sequent is usually suppressed:

7. *ʔana rāyef hallaʔ* - *w-ʔana kamān* 'I'm going now. - So am I' (or 'I am too')
8. *ṭalab mašāri ʔazwad mən ʔaxū* 'He asked for more money than his brother did'

After *mən* 'than', *mətʔl* 'like, as', *ʔadd* 'as much as', and in certain similar cases, an Arabic leading term (noun, preposition, verb) is often suppressed, while in the English rendering there is usually an anaphoric substitute or anaphora:

9. *farʔ ʔl-falsafe tabaʔ šāmʔatna ʔaḥsan mən ʔš-šāmʔa l-ʔflāniyye* 'The philosophy department of our university is better than that of University X'
10. *ʔəmro taʔrīban ʔaddi* (or *ʔadd ʔəmri*) 'He's almost the same age as I am' (lit. 'His age is almost as much as me' or '...as much as my age')
11. *sʔāl ʔan ʔš-šār ʔabl ʔd-dār, w-ʔan ʔr-rafiʔ ʔabl ʔṭ-ṭarīʔ* (Saying) 'Ask about the neighbor before you ask about the house, and about the traveling companion, before you ask about the road'

Similarly: *mətl ʔl-mādi* 'as in the past' (cf. *bəl-mādi* 'in the past'), *mətl ʔl-ʔawwal* 'as in the beginning' (cf. *bəl-ʔawwal* 'in the beginning, at first'). Note also: *msāwāt ʔhʔūʔ ʔl-marʔa bər-raʔol* 'equality of women's right with men's (or ...with those of men)'.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS (*aḍ-ḍamīr*)

There are eight personal pronouns in Syrian Arabic, each of them representing a person category combined with a number/gender category [p.363].

Each pronoun has two main forms: The SUFFIXED form is used as object to a verb [p.438] or as the following term in a construct [457] or a prepositional phrase [477] or after certain conjunctions, etc. [543]. The INDEPENDENT form is used otherwise, e.g. as subject [548], or as an appositive [512] or extrapositive [432].

The independent forms are:

	Third Person	Second Person	First Person
<u>Masculine</u>	<i>huwwē</i> 'he, it'	<i>ʔante</i> 'you'	<i>ʔana</i> 'I' (m. and f.)
<u>Feminine</u>	<i>hiyye</i> 'she, it'	<i>ʔanti</i> 'you'	
<u>Plural</u>	<i>hanne</i> 'they'	<i>ʔantu</i> 'you'	<i>nəḥna</i> 'we'

Stylistic and dialectal variants include the apocopated forms *hū* 'he', *hī* 'she', *ʔant* 'you (m.)', and *nəḥʔn* 'we'. Also *hannen* 'they' (Damascus), *humme* or *humma* 'they' (Palestine), *ʔəḥna* 'we' (Palestine), *ləḥna* 'we' (Damascus).

The basic suffixed forms are:

	Third Person	Second Person	First Person
<u>Masc.</u>	-o 'him, it, his, its' - <i>ak</i> 'you, your'		- <i>ni</i> , - <i>i</i> 'me, my'
<u>Fem.</u>	- <i>ha</i> 'her, it, its' - <i>ek</i> 'you, your'		
<u>Pl.</u>	- <i>hon</i> 'them, their' - <i>kon</i> 'you, your'		- <i>na</i> 'us, our'

In Palestine one hears -*hom* (or -*hum*) 'them, their', and -*kom* (or -*kum*) 'you, your' (pl.). Cf. *humma*, above. In Lebanon: -*u* 'him, his', etc. (and -*hun* 'them, their', -*kun* 'you, your' pl.).

[Ch. 21]

Modifications of the Suffix Forms. The suffixes whose basic forms begin with a vowel (*-ak*, *-ek*, *-o*) occur in these forms only after a consonant; if the stem ends in a vowel, then *-ak* becomes *-k*, *-ek* becomes *-ki*; while *-o* disappears entirely – but leaving the stem in its suffixing form [p.27], with the final vowel long and accented:

After Consonant*dždkkar* 'he remembered':*dždkkar-ak* 'he remembered you (m.)'*dždkkar-ek* 'he remembered you (f.)'*dždkkar-o* 'he remembered him'*ʔaddām* 'ahead (of)':*ʔaddām-ak* 'ahead of you (m.)'*ʔaddām-ek* 'ahead of you (f.)'*ʔaddām-o* 'ahead of him'*bifāhhem* 'he'll explain':*bifāhhem-ak* 'he'll explain to you (m.)'*bifāhhem-ek* 'he'll explain to you (f.)'*bifāhhem-o* 'he'll explain to him'*ʔəxt* 'sister':*ʔəxt-ak* 'your (m.) sister'*ʔəxt-ek* 'your (f.) sister'*ʔəxt-o* 'his sister'*dars* 'lesson':*dars-ak* 'your (m.) lesson'*dars-ek* 'your (f.) lesson'*dars-o* 'his lesson'*lāken* 'but':*lākənn-ak* 'but you (m.)...'*lākənn-ek* 'but you (f.)...'*lākənn-o* 'but he...'**After Vowel***nəsi* 'he forgot':*nəsi-k* 'he forgot you (m.)'*nəsi-ki* 'he forgot you (f.)'*nəsi* 'he forgot him'*wāra* 'behind':*wāra-k* 'behind you (m.)'*wāra-ki* 'behind you (f.)'*wāra* 'behind him'*bifāhmu* 'they'll explain':*bifāhmu-k* 'they'll explain to you (m.)'*bifāhmu-ki* 'they'll explain to you (f.)'*bifāhmu* 'they'll explain to him'*ʔaxu* 'brother (of)' [p.169]:*ʔaxu-k* 'your (m.) brother'*ʔaxu-ki* 'your (f.) brother'*ʔaxu* 'his brother'*dāwa* 'medicine':*dawā-k* 'your (m.) medicine'*dawā-ki* 'your (f.) medicine'*dawā* 'his medicine'*lāwla* 'but for...'*lawlā-k* 'but for you (m.)'*lawlā-ki* 'but for you (f.)'*lawlā* 'but for him'

The suffixes *-ha* and *-hon* may lose their *h* after consonants, and sometimes (especially in Lebanon) after long vowels. These variants require the same stem form [20, 22] that the forms with *h* do:

džakkār-ha or *džakkār-a*
'he remembered her'*nəsī-ha* or *nəsīy-a* (i.e. *nəsīa*)¹
'he's forgotten her'*džakkār-hon* or *džakkār-on*
'he remembered them'*nəsī-hon* or *nəsīy-on*
'he's forgotten them'*ʔāmm-ha* or *ʔāmm-a*
'her mother'*ʔabū-ha* or *ʔabūw-a*
'her father'*ʔāmm-hon* or *ʔāmm-on*
'their mother'*ʔabū-hon* or *ʔabūw-on*
'their father'*ʔalēha* or *ʔalēa* 'on her, it'
ʔalēhon or *ʔalēon* 'on them'

The suffix *-i* becomes *-yi* when the stem ends in a vowel: *dawā-yi* 'my medicine', *mašārīy-yi* 'my money' (i.e. *mašārī-yi*), *fīy-yi* 'in me' (i.e. *fī-yi*).

The first person singular form *-ni* is complemental [p.437]; *-i* is used otherwise. See below.

USES OF THE SUFFIXED PRONOUNS

1.) As following term in an identificatory construct [p.458]

Suffixed to ordinary nouns, the pronouns are generally rendered in English by the possessives: my, your, his, etc. With quantifiers, etc. [p.466ff], by an *of*-phrase: *kəllon* 'all of them', *baʕdon* 'some of them', *tnənātna* 'the two of us'

1. *ʔaxad maḥramto mən ʕēbto w-ʔaṣab*
ʔidha [AO-115]

'He took his handkerchief from his pocket and bandaged her hand'

2. *ʔəxti l-ʔkbīre mʕawwaze w-ʕəhri*
ʔəsmo ḥasan [AO-43]

'My elder sister is married, and my brother-in-law, his name is Hassan'

3. *ʕəddak u-səttak ʕayyibin?*
[AO-43]

'Are your grandfather and grandmother living?'

¹It is a convention of our transcription to write *iy* before a vowel or before *y*, and *i* before a consonant or finally; the two spellings are equivalent, as also are *uw* and *ū*.

4. *bāddi msāḥattak b-ʔaḍiyye gǧīre*
[DA-295] 'I need your assistance in a small matter'
5. *z-zāyde mā bathamm. Ḥamalītha salīme* [DA-217] 'Appendicitis is not serious. The operation is safe', lit. "Its operation..."
6. *nəṣṣo l-fōʔāni mən laḥʔm w-damm w-nəṣṣo t-tahtāni mən ḥaṣar*
[AO-118] 'The top half of him (was) of flesh and blood and the bottom half of of him, of stone'
7. *tnēnātna msāfrīn la-ḥalab u-hayy tazākerna* [DA-250] 'The two of us are going to Aleppo and here are our tickets'
8. *Ḥümüi kallon mātu* [AO-43] 'All my paternal uncles are dead', lit. "My uncles, all of them have died"
9. *bən-natīṣe kello matʔl baḥḍo* 'It's all the same in the long run', lit. "In the outcome, all of it is like each other of it"
10. *w-ʔəza tʔaxxart..., mnāxod gērak*
[DA-29] 'And if you're late, we'll take someone else' (*gēr* is a noun meaning '(some)other'; in identificatory construct [p.468]: 'other than...')
11. *ʔāl b-nafso, ʔaḥsan mən bala...*
[AO-115] 'He said to himself, "It's better than nothing"

Some nouns are commonly used with suffixes in special supplemental capacities: *Ḥamʔrkon rəḥtu la-Ḥālēʔ* 'Have you (pl.) ever gone to Aley?', lit. "(In) your life..."; *sāḥta, waʔta* 'then, at that time' [p.521], etc.

2.) After a preposition [p.477]. Examples:

1. *ḥakēna maḥo mən šahʔr* 'We talked with him a month ago'
2. *šaḤlī-lī l-ḥammām* [DA-180] 'Light the bath (heater) for me'
3. *ṭlōb mənno ʔīd bənto* [AO-114] 'Ask him for his daughter's hand (in marriage)' (lit. "ask of him...")
4. *bəttākel Ḥalāk* [DA-290] 'I'm depending on you'
5. *bayyad-ʔlīna wəššna ʔəddāmo*
[DA-291] 'Put us in a favorable light with him', lit. "Whiten for us our face before him"
6. *š-šərke mā fīḥa barake* [DA-296] 'There's no advantage in partnership', lit. "Partnership, there's no blessing in it"

7. *Ḥando Ḥēleʔ* 'Does he have a family?', lit. "(Is there) with him (*chez lui*) a family?"
8. *ʔizan byaḤmlū-lo Ḥamaliyye*
[DA-203] 'They'll operate on him, then', lit. "Then they'll do for him an operation"
9. *mīn Ḥali bēnāthonʔ* [DA-233] 'Which of them is Ali?', lit. "Who is Ali among them?"
10. *matli matlak mā baḤref* [DA-243] 'I don't know either', lit. "Like me, like you, I don't know."
11. *mā mənruḥ balāhon* [DA-153] 'We wouldn't go without them'
12. *bīḥəṭtu kamān ṭīn w-fōʔo ḥaṣara tānye* [AO-75] 'They lay on more clay, and on top of it, another stone.'

3.) As **subject** of a clause after *ʔanno* 'that', *laʔanno* (or *laʔanno*) 'because', *kaʔanno* (or *kaʔanno*) '(It's) as if'. The final -o of these conjunctions is a neutral or "dummy" third-person masculine pronoun, which disappears when other suffixes are attached:

1. *šu mā baṣṣaddeʔ ʔanni kənt fīʔ*
[AO-116] 'Don't you believe that I was in it?'
2. *maḤʔze ʔannon bəʔyu Ḥāyšīn* 'It's a wonder that they stayed alive'
3. *ftakart ʔannak l-ʔmḤallem* [PVA-32] 'I thought that you were the teacher'
4. *šāf ʔannha warraʔet u-ʔazharet*
[AO-100] 'He saw that it had leafed out and bloomed'
5. *bḥəṭṭ-əllak ʔl-bāʔi b-kīs waraʔ laʔannhon xfāf* [DA-107] 'I'll put the rest in a paper bag for you, because they're light'
6. *ḥēʔtak maṣṣūṭ, w-kaʔannak mā sāwēt Ḥamaliyye* [DA-218] 'You look well, as if you hadn't had an operation at all'
7. *waḷḷāhi kaʔanna bər-rabīḤ* [DA-149] 'Why, it's just like spring', lit. "It's as if we were in springtime"

As subjects in general are commonly suppressed [p.418], the neutral forms of these conjunctions (ending in -o) are commonly used before verbs in the first or second person, as well as third person: *ḥalaft ʔanno bəʔtol...halli bixalləṣni* [AO-116] 'I swore that I would kill the one who released me': in contrast to the version with subject expressed: *ḥalaft ʔanni bəʔtol...*

If the following verb is third person masculine/singular, however, there is of course no contrast between expression and suppression of a pronominal subject, because of the dummy suffix -o: *ḥalaft ʔanno byəʔtol...*

Some speakers, especially in Lebanon and Palestine, do not always use the dummy suffix: *l-mara ʔala haʔʔ ʔann tənṭāxeb...* [SAL-154] 'Women have a right to vote'.

The conjunction *lāken* 'but' may also be used with the suffixes; the suffixing form is *lākənn-*:

8. *kənt ʔmḥassbak zalame mnīḥ lākənnak ʔləʔat ʔāṭel* "I thought you were a nice guy, but you turned out to be no good'.

4.) As a **complement** [p.437], to verbs and a few other kinds of words. In this function, the first-person singular suffix takes the form *-ni* (instead of *-i*); all the other suffix forms are the same as with nouns and prepositions.

4. a) As object to verbs and active participles:

1. *ʔaxad ʔt-təffāḥa w-ʔakalḥa* [AO-91] 'He took the apple and ate it'
2. *ʔaʔʔəddon b-maṭraḥ zarīf u-tardəkon* [AO-88] 'He seated them in a nice place and left them'
3. *baʔaṭṭni b-hal-xabar* [DA-243] 'I'm glad to hear that', lit. 'You've gladdened me with this news'
4. *hallaʔ sayyārt ʔš-šərke bətwəʔṣəlna* [DA-251] 'The company car will take us there right away'
5. *l-malek ʔaṭā ʔāyze* [AO-88] 'The king gave him a prize'
6. *w-ʔiza mā ʔaddaʔtni, ʔmēl dōret ʔl-ʔarḍ w-ʔīs* [AO-83] 'And if you don't believe me, go around the world and measure (it).'
7. *tarəktə w-sabəʔto la-bēto* [AO-115] 'She left him and went on ahead of him to his house'
8. *ʔāyīni maktūb* 'A letter has come for me' (*ʔāyze* is the active participle of *ʔəʔa* 'to come' [p.76], which is sometimes transitive: 'to come to or for (someone)').
9. *ʔəl-li ʔiza lāzmak ʔi mən bērut* [DA-245] 'Tell me if you need anything from Beirut'

The English object 'me' is not an object in the Arabic, but a prepositional complement - "tell to me";, while the Arabic object *-ak* corresponds to an English subject - 'if you need'. *lāzem* 'necessary' is the active participle of *byəlzam* 'to be necessary to (someone)' - a transitive verb.

An object pronoun is suffixed to the stem *yā-* if the verb itself already has a pronominalized first object [p.438] or an *-l-* suffix [479]:

10. *ʔaṭāni yāḥa kəllḥa* 'He gave it all to me'
11. *ʔana bʔəb-lak yā* 'I'll bring it to you'
12. *ʔaḷḷa yxallī-lna yāk* 'God keep you (for us)'

The pronouns are also suffixed to the stem *yā-* as objects of the quasi-verb *bəddo* 'to want', whose subject-affixes are in the form of pronoun suffixes [p.412]: *bəddi yāḥa* 'I want it (f.)', *bəddo yākon* 'He wants you (pl.)':

13. *ṭṭəʔel fiyyi lamma bəddak yāni* 'Get in touch with me when you want me'

With the stem *yā-* either *-ni* or *-i* may be used: ... *lamma bəddak yāyi*.

The *yā-* forms are also sometimes also used after *ʔand* 'with' + suffix, thus construing *ʔand(o)* as a quasi-verb 'to have' [p.413]:

14. *bəṭṭallaʔ bəl-mawʔūdāt ʔandi* 'I'll look through what I have in stock and see if I have it'

In the expression *ma dām* 'since, while, inasmuch as' *dām* is construed as a verb, hence *ma dāmni* 'since I...'. In the case of *ma ʔada* 'excepting, not counting, either *-ni* or *-i* may be used: *ma ʔadāni* or *ma ʔadāyi* 'excepting me'.

4. b) In exclamations with *ma-* and an elative [p.314]:

15. *ʔūf hal-maʔāneʔ ʔl-ḥadīse* 'See how fine those modern factories are!'
16. *ma-ʔaḥlāni ʔəʔəzmo hal-kalb!* 'Wouldn't that be something, for me to invite that (son-of-a) dog!' (lit. 'How nice of me to invite him, that dog')

4. c) With the exclamatory demonstratives [p.564] *lək-* and *ʔaʔ-*, 'there is...', 'here is, look there at...', (voici, voilà)', a suffix - usually third person - is usual (and obligatory after *ʔaʔ-*):

17. *ʔaʔo ʔāye* 'There he comes'
18. *ʔaʔḥa ḥalab bānet...* [DA-250] 'Look there, Aleppo has come into view'
19. *ʔaʔhon ʔr-rəkkāb nāzlīn...* [DA-249] 'Here come the passengers disembarking'
20. *ləkə ʔəʔa wāḥed* [DA-44] 'Here comes one'

Note the *-ni* forms in the first-person singular: *šaēni* *hōn* 'Here I am', *lēkni* *šāye* 'Here I come'.

4. d) With the words *lassa* and *baēd* 'still, yet':

21. *ʔē lassāk mā šəft šī* [DA-173] 'Yes but you haven't seen anything yet'
22. *Emūmi kallon mātu, lāken Emmāti lassāhon ʔayybīn* [AO-43] 'My (paternal) uncles are all dead, but my aunts are still living'
23. *lassāni mā ʔaradʔha bəl-wāšha* [AO-79] 'I haven't yet put them on view in the showcase'
24. *ʔəbno ʔ-ʔgīr baēdo talmīz* [adap. fr. DA-77] 'His youngest son is still a student'
25. *š-šəsʔr lassā taht ʔt-taēmīr* 'The bridge is still under construction'

lassa also has the suffixing forms *lassāt-*, *lassāē-*, and *lassaēt-*: *lassāto talmīz*, etc.

The suffixes are not obligatory in this construction.
Note: *ḥāḥā lassa mā ʔəša* [DA-299] 'Daddy still hasn't gotten here', *lassa ʔana mū matʔakked...* 'I'm still not sure...'.
The suffixes are not obligatory in this construction.

4. e) With the expressions *(ya)rēt* 'I wish, would that...' and *(ya)dōb* 'hardly'.

26. *bass ya rētak kənt maēi...* [DA-171] 'But I wish you'd been with me...'
27. *ya rēto kən hōn* 'If only he were here'
28. *rētni matʔt ʔabʔl-ma ʔabbart ʔalā raʔyi* 'I'd sooner die than express my opinion'
- With the imperfect subjunctive [p.350] *ya rēt* may be used without a suffix: *ya rēt ʔəʔder ʔašal la-hnīk* 'If I could only get there!'
29. *dōbo yaēmel mašāri kfāye txalli ʔahlo ʔāyšīn* 'He hardly makes money enough to keep his family alive'

With *ya dōb* the first-person singular form is *-i*, not *-ni*:

30. *yā dōbi ʔūm bi-mašarīfi* 'I can scarcely meet my expenses'

4. f) With the expressions *fī* 'to be able' and *b-* 'to be the matter with' [p.415]:

31. *fīk ʔtsāēadni?* - *mā fīni sāēdak* 'Can you help me?' - 'I can't help you.'
32. *šəbak?* (*šū bāk?*) - *mā bni šī* 'What's the matter (with you)?' - 'Nothing's the matter (with me).'

5.) With the question-words [p.566] *wēn* 'where', *kīf* and *šlōn* 'how', and *ʔaddēš* 'how much':

33. *wēn?*, *wēnni?* 'Where is he?', 'Where am I?'
34. *kīfak ʔl-yōm?* 'How are you today?'
35. *šlōnkon ya šabāya ya šabāb* 'How are you, girls and boys?'
36. *šlōnek b-šəgl ʔl-bēt?* [DA-99] 'How are you (f.) at housework?'
37. *law bətsūf ʔaddēšə kən mamnūn* 'You should have seen how grateful he was!'

The word *mīn* 'who' has a suffixing form *mən-*, which is combined with apocopated forms of the "independent" pronouns: *-u* 'he', *-i* 'she', *-(h)ən* 'they': *məni yalli ʔāēde b-šambak* 'Who (f.) is sitting beside you?'; *mənu raʔīsak?* 'Who is your boss?'; *mən(h)ən rəfaʔātak?* 'Who are your companions?' See p. 549.

USES OF THE INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

1.) As subject:

1. *hiyye bāl-bēt* 'She's in the house'
2. *ʔante wēn kant š-šamʕa l-mādyē?*
[DA-149] 'Where were you last week?'
3. *b-ʔanu farʔē bāš-šēš ʔante?* 'In which branch of the army are you?'
4. *ṭābxīn naḥna šāš ʕal-ʕaša* 'We're having chicken for dinner'

For Identification of the Referent. If the predicate is a prepositional phrase (as in examples 1 and 3), an independent pronoun may be needed to show the person and number/gender of the subject-referent. If the predicate is adjectival (as in example 4), a pronoun may be used to show the person of the subject-referent (though the adjective in any case shows its number/gender). A subject pronoun may also be used to resolve ambiguities in the inflectional form of a verbal predicate: *btaʕʔrfo ʔante?* 'Do you know him?' (vs. *btaʕʔrfo hiyye?* 'Does she know him?').

Otherwise in verbal predicates the subject-affixes [p.175] give complete person and number/gender information about the subject-referent: *byaʕʔrfu* 'They know'; in such cases an independent pronoun (as in *byaʕʔrfu hanne*) is redundant, and its inclusion in the clause must serve some function other than identification. (See below.)

For Contrastive Emphasis. If the predicate (or the context, or the circumstances) identifies the subject-referent by person and number/gender, then a subject pronoun may still be used to emphasize the contrast between its referent and other referents:

5. *hanne byaʕfaʕu l-ʔhrāse bass ʔantu btatkaʕfalu b-mašrūf ʔl-mayy wəl-kahraba* [DA-292] 'They'll pay the taxes, but you (pl.) will take care of the water and electricity expenses'
6. *ʔana mā baʕref bass bʕann-əllak šāneʕti btaʕref* [DA-98] 'I don't know, but I think my maid knows'
7. *waḷḷa mā btadfaʕ ʔante* [DA-198] 'But you're not to pay!'
8. *ʔana ya bēk baḡsel w-bəkwi w-bəmsaḥ w-ʔbsāwi t-txūt* [DA-99] 'Sir, I wash and iron and scrub and make the beds' (The contrast being with her mother, who cooks. Another function of *ʔana* here, however, is to introduce and help unify the coordinated predicates.)

For Emphasis on the Predication as Such. Subject pronouns in Arabic are often used, neither to identify nor to emphasize their referent, but rather to identify or emphasize the predicate (or, more exactly, the predication as such): *btaʕham ʕaliyyi ʔante* 'You do understand me!'¹

Since suppression of the subject [p.418] makes a predication more dependent on its context, and also makes it sound more casual, it follows that the inclusion of a suppressible subject pronoun may serve to make a predication "stand out" from its context, or to sound more insistent. The subject sets off the predicate as a frame does a picture.

9. *šukran ʕala kəll ḥāl ʔana mā bdaʕxen* 'Thanks anyway, but I don't smoke'
10. *ʔante btaʕref ʔaddēš xaššaltna hadāḥ ʔl-yōm* 'You know how much you put us to shame that day'²
11. *waḷḷa ʔana maštaʔt-əlhon w-bəddi šūfon* 'I (f.) certainly do miss them and I'd like to see them'
12. *šlōna hiyye?* 'How is she?'
13. *ma huwwe fəl-mustašfa* [EA-150] 'But he is in the hospital'
14. *maḥʔrze hiyye wəlla laʔ?* 'Is it worth while, or not?'
15. *šū huwwe mašrūʕak?* [DA-296] 'What is your plan?'

In ex. 15, the effect of *huwwe* is simply to emphasize the question-word predicate *šū*. Cf. the less emphatic *šū mašrūʕak* 'What's your plan?' The contexts from which examples 12 and 13 were taken make it clear that no contrastive emphasis is intended. The latter comes in response to a question *lēš mā birūḥ ʕal-mustašfa* 'Why doesn't he go to the hospital?' If the question had been e.g. *wēno huwwe?* 'Where is he?' the answer would probably have been simply *fəl-mustašfa*, with no subject expressed.

Similarly, the apocopated subject pronouns that are fused to the question word *mən* 'who' [p.547] are used to make the question more emphatic than it would be with the simple form *mīn*: *mānu haš-salame?* 'Who is that man?' vs. *mīn haš-salame?* 'Who's that man?'

Note also example 2, above, and examples 21 and 22, below.

¹A better English translation (for the context from which this was taken) would be 'You know what I mean...' in a sort of cajoling intonation (high pitch on 'you', middle or low pitch on the rest, with a slight rise at the end). The important thing about this translation is that the high pitch on 'you' has nothing to do with identification or contrastive emphasis, just as *ʔante* in the Arabic has nothing to do with them either.

²Or 'You know how much you put us to shame that day...', with the intonation discussed in the preceding footnote.

2.) Independent pronouns are used in **apposition** [p.512] to the corresponding suffix pronoun, for emphasis:

16. *xallī huwwe yqarrer* 'Let him decide'
 17. *rafaʔa man ʕīlon hanne* 'companions of their own age group'
 18. *ʔalak ʔante mablaḡ baṣīṭ lāken* 'To you it's a small sum, but to
ʔalo huwwe maṣāri ktir him it's a lot of money'

In apposition, with modifiers:

19. *ʕab-li ʔana t-tāni laḥme w-baṭāṭa* 'Bring me meat and potatoes, too'
 [DA-47]
 20. *ʕarfet ʔanni ʔana halli ʕaraḥt* 'She realized that it was I who had
ʔl-ʕabd [AO-118] wounded the slave'

In example 19 *ʔana* has an adjectival attribute *t-tāni*; in 20 it has an attributive clause *halli ʕaraḥt*... A suffix pronoun itself cannot have modifiers, except as mediated by its corresponding independent form.

3.) In **extraposition** [p.431], antecedent to a suffix pronoun:

21. *huwwe ʕar-lo ʕaʕr ʔsnīn bi-ʔamērka* 'He's been in America for ten
 [DA-75] years'
 22. *ʔana ləssāni mā baʕref ʔš-ʕām* 'I still don't know Damascus well'
ʔmnīḥ [DA-77]
 23. *w-ʔante ya bēk šū bʕab-lak?* 'And you, sir, what shall I bring
 [DA-46] you?'

An extrapositive pronoun - like an ordinary subject pronoun - may be used for contrastive emphasis on the referent, as in example 23, or to emphasize the predication as such, as in examples 21 and 22.

4.) As subject of a **circumstantial clause** with *w-* [p.531]:

24. *ʕar-lak samān ʕandi w-ʔana mā* 'You've been staying with me for
baʕref ʔəsmak ʔl-karīm [AO-108] quite a while now and I don't even know your name'
 25. *byaṭḥaddasu w-hanne ʔāʕdīn ḥawl* 'They converse while seated around
hal-bərke [PAT-187] this pool'
 26. *mən ʕaʕr ʔsnīn w-ʔana bʔəʕš* 'For ten years I've been shaving
daʔni la-ḥāli yom ʔē yōm laʔ (my beard for) myself every other
 [DA-197] day'

5.) In **coordinations** [p.391]:

27. *raḃyḥīn ʔante w-ʕali sawaʔ* 'Are you and Ali going together?'
 28. *mā ʕəfi ḡər ʔana w-ʔanti.* 'Nobody's left but you (f.) and me'
 29. *lā ʔante w-lā huwwe, ʔana* 'Neither you nor he, but I will
bāxēda. get it'
 30. *mīn bəddak, ʔana walla huwwe?* 'Whom do you want, him or me?'
 31. *yā ʔana yā huwwe bitamm hōn.* 'Either he or I will stay here'

Note that in coördinations, pronouns precede nouns, first-person pronouns precede others, and second-person generally precedes third.

6.) With an **appositive** [p.506]:

32. *ʔantu l-ʔamērkan bəḥabbu laḥm* 'You Americans like beef better'
ʔl-baʕar ʔaktar [DA-109]
 33. *nəḥna l-ʕarab ḥiyādiyyīn* 'We Arabs are neutralists'
 34. *hanne ʕ-ʕamāʕa mā byəʔzu ḥada* 'That bunch wouldn't harm anyone'
 35. *tfaḍḍalu ʔantu t-tnēn* 'Come in, you two'

7.) Pronouns are seldom used as **predicate**, except in equational sentences [p.406], and then mainly when the predicate is a mere repetition of the subject:

36. *kīfak? - waḷḷa ʔana ʔana* 'How are you?'-'So-so'(lit. "I am I")
 37. *ləssāta ḥiyye ḥiyye* 'She's still the same' (lit. "She is still she")
 38. *w-ʔš-ʕəḡəl huwwe huwwe ʔiza kām* 'And the work is the same, whether
la-wāḥed u-ʔiza kām la-tnēn it's for one or for two' (lit.
 [DA-198] "And the work, it is it...")

Note also the following sentence:

39. *ʔaddēš ʕar-lo ləbnān mətʔl ma* 'How long has Lebanon been as it is
huwwe l-yōm? [SAL-150] today?'

Cf. ...*mətʔl ma kām ʔmbāreḥ* '...as it was yesterday'. The conjunction *ma* is usually followed by a verb, but a predication of actuality [p.402] corresponding to the verb *kām* 'to be' is of course non-verbal. Since *l-yōm* is merely supplemental ("adverbial") [521], it cannot stand alone as a predicate; without *huwwe* to fill the breach, the subordinate clause could not exist as such (though it could be collapsed into a prepositional phrase *mətʔl ʔl-yōm* [538]).

DEMONSTRATIVES

Pronouns (ism l-ʔiṣāra)

The main forms of the PROXIMAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine	<i>hāda</i>	'this, this one, that, that one'
Feminine	<i>hādi, hayy</i>	'this, this one, that, that one'
Plural	<i>hadōl</i>	'these, those'

The main forms of the DISTAL demonstrative pronouns are:

Masculine	<i>hadāk</i>	'that, that one, that other'
Feminine	<i>hadīk</i>	'that, that one, that other'
Plural	<i>hadōlīk, hadōk, hadənk</i>	'those, those others'

The distal demonstratives, which are much less used than the proximal, refer only to something (or someone) relatively far away from both the speaker and the person spoken to: *mānu hadāk?* 'Who's that over there?'

The proximal demonstrative correspond not only to English 'this, these', but also to 'that, those', whenever the reference is to something near (or associated with) the person spoken to: *šū hāda (yalli maʿak)?* 'What's that one (you have there)?'

The demonstrative pronouns are of course not limited to the presentation of objects in a spatial dimension, but may also indicate "distance" in time: *hadīk kānet ʔawwal sawra* 'That (other) was the first revolution'; or conceptual "distance" independent of space and time: *hādi kānet ʔawwal sawra* 'That was the first revolution', i.e. the revolution we're discussing now – and which is in that sense "present" to us now.

Stylistic variants include the apocopated form *hād* (for *hāda*); the pronouns whose main forms end in a consonant also have forms with a final -e: *hayye, hadōle, hadīke, hadəнке*, etc.

In Lebanon the forms *hayda* (for *hāda*), *haydi* (for *hādi*), *hawdi* (for *hadōl*), *hawdīk* or *hudīk* (for *hadōlīk*) are commonly used. (*hawdi* also has an apocopated form *haw*.) In Palestine masc./pl. *hadōlāk* is sometimes distinguished from fem./pl. *hadōlīk*. The forms *hadənk(e)*, also *həndənk(e)*, are usual in Damascus, but are not heard in most other areas. Damascus also has a variant *hadōn*, for *hadōl*.

Examples of Usage:

1. *hāda nadʔar mən satti d-dēife*
[AO-114] 'This is a votive offering from my sick grandmother'
2. *hādi fatra bi-hayāt kəll šaxš,*
ʔādatan 'That's a stage in the life of every person, usually'
3. *hayy ʔl-bənt yalli ʔəlt-əl-lak*
ʔanha [DA-99] 'This is the girl I was telling you about'
4. *hadōl ʔl-kəṭʔb ʔl-maḡbūṭīn?* 'Are these the right books?'
5. *hayye masāʔel mā bətxəṣṣni* 'Those are matters that don't concern me'

As subject to a nominal predicate (ex. 1-5), the demonstrative generally agrees with the predicate in number/gender. See, however, p.421. In ex. 5, note the feminine demonstrative agreeing with the plural predicate noun [p.423].

6. *šū hād?* 'What's that?'
7. *fī ʔandkon dāyman ʔaʔš malʔūn*
məṭʔl hād? 'Do you always have weather as awful as this?'
8. *l-yōm mā fī šī mən hād*
l-ḡamdəlla 'Today there's none of that, thank goodness'

The apocopated form *hād* occurs mainly at the end of a phrase. It is especially common in anaphoric use after *məṭʔl, mən* (ex. 7, 8). Note also: *lā hād w-lā hād* 'neither one nor the other, neither this nor that'.

9. *hayy ʔala ḡarīr ʔašli, hayy ʔala*
šal, w-hayy ʔmawwaṣe [AO-79] 'This one (f.) is [of] pure silk, this one is [of] wool, and this one is a moiré' (antecedent: *krāve* 'necktie')
10. *mā btaʔref maḡramtak? mū hādi*
hiyye? [AO-115] 'Don't you recognize your hankerchief? Isn't this it?'
11. *waḷḷa mū ktār hadōle* 'Why, those are not so many!'
12. *šū bisammu hāda?* 'What do they call this?'
13. *bəṣi bəkra, hāda ʔiza mā šattet* 'I'll come tomorrow, that is, if it doesn't rain'

Since masculine(/singular) is the neutral or bass number/gender [p.421], the masculine demonstrative is generally used in reference to an object whose name the speaker does not know (ex. 12, 6), and commonly also as sequent to a clausal antecedent (ex. 13) or a vague or conceptual ante-

cedent [p.536], as in ex. 8. The feminine, however, is also commonly used in the latter case [cf. p.428]: *šū hayye?* 'What's this?' (i.e. 'What's up?, what's happening?'), *hayy hiyye* 'That's it!' (i.e. 'You've hit the nail on the head'):

14. *kəll šī ʔalla hayy waḷḷa* 'Anything but that!'
 15. *lēš bəddak hāda? xōd hadāk* 'Why do you want this one? Take that other one'
 16. *ʔaṭīni kamm wāhed mən hadōl w-kamm wāhed mən hadənk* 'Give me a few of these and a few of those others'

In anaphoric use, the demonstratives are sometimes to be rendered in English by personal pronouns, or in more pedantic style, by 'the former' (distal) and 'the latter' (proximal):

17. *baʔdēn hadāk iʔəl-lo rūḥ ʔaḷḷa yəblīk* 'Then he (the former) would tell him, "Go on, may God afflict you!"'
 18. *hāda bisāwi fiyyi hēk* [AO-111] 'He might do that to me'
 19. *wēnha faṭma w-marwān? - waḷḷa marwān šāye, šaʔo taḥʔt ʔam-yaʔfel ʔs-sayyāra w-hadīk maʔo* 'Where is Fatima, and Marwan? - Well, Marwan is coming; he's down there locking the car, and she (the former) is with him'

Examples of demonstratives as topic [p.429]:

20. *hāda huwwe w-farīd kānu b-fard šaff* 'He (the latter) and Fareed were in the same class' [cf. p.361, ex. 23]
 21. *yəmken...təʔbaḍ-lak šī šwayyet mašāri zyāde, nšāḷḷa? - hayy šāṭer fīha, mā btənsāha ʔabadan!* 'Maybe you'll get a little more money, I hope? - You're really sharp when it comes to that! You never forget it'
 22. *ya ʔaxi l-ʔazīz, hayy ʔante ḡalṭān tāni marra* 'My dear friend, there you're wrong again' [cf. ex. 7, p.430]
 23. *hāda mḥammad ʔaxūk, hāda bəddi ykūn ʔb-ʔašʔbtak* 'This is your brother Mohammed, I want him to be in your group'
 24. *hāda ʔante halli kāteb ʔl-waraʔa?* [DA-188] 'Are you the one who wrote the paper?'

Note (ex. 24) that first and second person singular subject pronouns, as well as third person, may be extraposed as a demonstrative, for emphasis: *hāda ʔante...*, *hayy ʔanti...*, *hāda ʔana...* (cf. *hāda huwwe...*, ex. 20).

In some contexts it is necessary to make a distinction in Arabic like that in English between 'this', 'that' (in reference to something vague or conceptual, i.e. 'this matter'), and on the other hand 'this one, that one' (in reference to a particular thing or person). Generally speaking, the demonstrative pronouns are to be taken in the definite, material sense, except with *hāda* and *hayy* in certain kinds of context and in certain constructions and set phrases, e.g. *maʔ hāda* 'nevertheless, despite that', *fōʔ hāda* 'more-over' (lit. "above that"), *hāda ʔiza...* 'that is, if...' [ex. 13], *hayy hiyye* 'That's it!'. Further examples in which the context makes it clear that the reference is not to some material thing:

25. *šū hāda? blāʔi t-ṭaʔš bada yatḡayyar* [DA-153] 'What's this!? It looks as if the weather has begun to change'
 26. *marti mā btāḥki ʔarabi ʔabadan. - hāda mā biḥəmm ya bēk, ʔana baʔref šwayyet ʔaṅlīzi* [DA-99] 'My wife speaks no Arabic at all. - That doesn't matter, sir. I know a little English'

See also examples 8, 14, and 22, above.

In other types of context English 'this' or 'that' used with reference to something vague or conceptual must be rendered in Arabic as *haš-šī* or *haš-šaḡle*, lit. 'this thing', because *hāda* or *hayy* might be taken as referring to some particular person or object:

27. *haš-šī byāxod waʔt ʔktīr* 'This takes (or will take) a long time' (cf. *hāda byāxod waʔt ʔktīr* 'This one will take a long time')
 28. *šū raʔyak ʔb-haš-šī?* 'What do you think of that?' (cf. *šū raʔyak ʔb-hāda?* 'What do you think of this one?')
 29. *mā bəʔder ʔašḡel bāli b-haš-šaḡle* 'I can't concern myself with that' (cf. *...b-hāda* '...with that one' or '...with him')
 30. *haš-šī šar-lo ʔam-idāyaʔni mādde* 'This has been bothering me for some time' (cf. *hāda...* 'This one...' or 'He...')

See also *hēk* [p.561].

Demonstrative Pronouns in Attribution Phrases

The demonstrative pronouns are used not only independently, but also in phrases with definite nouns. In some cases the pronoun comes first, and in other cases, it follows the noun: *hadāk* ^{al}-*bēt* (or *l-bēt hadāk*) 'that (other) house'.¹

The Demonstrative Prefix. The proximal demonstratives (*hāda*, *hayy*, *hadōl*) are not often used before a noun with the article prefix, but are usually reduced to *hal-*, which in combination with the article forms a prefix (or proclitic) *hal-*: *hal-bēt* 'this (that) house', *hal-^{akn}tse* 'this (that) church', *hal-^{alwān}* 'these (those) colors'.

The *l* is assimilated to a following dental or palatal consonant, as in the case of the article alone [p.493]: *har-rāḷ* 'these (those) men', *han-naswān* 'these (those) women', *haš-šabbāk* 'this (that) window'.

Examples in context:

1. *wēn fī maṭṭam ^{amnti} hōn?* — 'Where is there a good restaurant around here? — Do you see that red building? Behind it.'
šāyef hal-bināye l-ḥamra
...*warāha*. [DA-46]
2. *w-kān har-rāḷi yaṭlaḥ kēll yōm*
ḥal-barriyye maḥ ^{al}-ḡanam
w-yarḥāhon [AO-103] 'And this shepherd would go out in the country every day with the sheep and let them graze'
3. *mā bəršāḥ...ḥatta ^{aḥref} ^{aš^{al}}*
hal-baḥra w-hal-barriyye
w-haš-šabal [adap. fr. AO-117] 'I won't go back until I find out the origin of that lake and that plain and that mountain'

The use of the demonstrative prefix in example 1 is deictic [p.537], while in examples 2 and 3 it is anaphoric, with antecedents earlier in the respective narratives.

On the use of *hal-* in annexion phrases, see p.459.

Note the use of *hal-* before *kamm* 'several': *b-hal-kamm* *yōm* 'one of these days, any day now'.

¹Noun phrases with demonstrative pronouns are transforms of equational predications [p.406]: *hadāk*, ^{al}-*bēt* 'That is the house' → *hadāk ^{al}-bēt* (or *l-bēt hadāk*) 'that house'. Just as in an equational predication there is no significant distinction between subject and predicate, so also in noun-pronoun (or pronoun-noun) phrases there is no point in calling one the attribute and the other the main term — except, somewhat arbitrarily, on the basis of word order. These constructions, then, are a kind of apposition [p.506]; there is no justification for distinguishing between 'demonstrative pronouns' and 'demonstrative adjectives' in Arabic.

Occasionally, the full forms *hāda*, *hayy*, or *hadōl* are used in phrases before a noun with the article. Being longer and grammatically more explicit than the *hal-* phrases, their effect is to give extra emphasis or clarity¹:

4. *mīn hadōl ^{n-nās} halli kēnt*
ḥam-taḥki maḥon? 'Who are those people you were talking with?' (cf. *han-nās*)
5. *l-qaṣīde fīha ^{aš^{am}}, w-hāda*
l-^{aš^{am}} mā baddi ^{aš^{akro}} 'The poem has a name in it, and that name I don't want to mention' (cf. *hal-^{aš^{am}}*)

The distal demonstrative (*hadāk*, *hadīk*, *hadank*, etc.) normally occur in their full form before a noun with the article:

6. *w-mā bta^{der} taṣṣab maḥon*
^{aḥ^{al}} hadāk ^{al}-wa^t [DA-293] 'And you can't withdraw it before that time' (*maḥon*, lit. 'of them', antecedent: *maṣūri* 'money', plural.)
7. *māni hadīk ^{al}-mara?* 'Who is that woman?'
8. *hadank ^{aḥ^t}-taffāḥāt ^{am}bayyen*
ḥalḥon tāza ^{aḥ^t}aktar mān hadōl 'Those other apples seem to be fresher than these'

The form *hadōk(e)* is generally not used in noun phrases, but only independently.

Note the feminine form with a masculine noun in *hadīk ^{al}-yōm* 'That day' = *hadāk ^{al}-yōm*.

In Lebanon the distal demonstratives also have a reduced form *hāk* (*hēk* [p.14]) used before the noun: *hāk ^{al}-bēt* (*hēk ^{al}-bayt*) 'that house' = *hadāk ^{al}-bēt*.

Both distal and proximal demonstratives may also follow the noun. This is the normal order in the case of proper names, nouns with pronoun suffixes, and generally with annexion phrases (but see p.459):

9. *nizār ^{aḥ^{bāni}} hāda maṣammi*
šāḥer ^{al}-mar^a l-^{aḥ^{wal}} 'This Nizar Abbani we call "the first poet of Woman"'
10. *šawābo hāda ḥa^ti^{atan} mā kan-lo*
mūšeb 'That reply of his was really uncalled for'
11. *ḥammi hayye halli ḥam-baḥki-lak*
ḥanha dšamwazet lamma kān ḥamra
^{aḥ^{baṭaḥ}}šar sene 'This aunt of mine I was telling you about was married when she was fourteen years old'

¹Technically speaking, the difference is probably best analyzed as a difference in construction: the full forms represent the main term in an attribution phrase, with the following noun as its appositive (cf. p.506), while the prefix *hal-* (since it is a mere affix) is subordinate to its noun.

12. *bənt šāḥbak hadīke təlʕet*
ḥəlwe šəddan 'That daughter of your friend has
turned out to be very pretty'
13. *mnēn šāye ʕāmūd ʕd-dəxxān hāda?* 'Where is that column of smoke com-
ing from?'
14. *b-ʕəʕlet ʕr-rabīʕ hayy rəḥʔt*
la-flōrida 'This spring vacation I went to
Florida'

Less commonly, the demonstrative follows a single noun with the article prefix: *l-bēt hāda* 'this house', *l-ʔūda hādi* 'this room'.

Nouns with pronoun suffixes, and proper names, sometimes follow a demonstrative; this inverted order is like that of nouns with the article in ex. 4 and 5, above: *wēno hāda marwān?* 'Where is this (fellow) Marwan?' *hāda xayyi mā hāšar* [Nakh. I-80] 'This brother of mine didn't emigrate'.

The most common way of emphasizing the demonstrative element in a noun phrase (with the article, not with suffix pronoun or a proper name) is to prefix *hal-* to the noun and follow it also with the full form of a demonstrative:

15. *məmkən tafsīra b-ḥaš-šūra hayye*
kamān 'It can also be interpreted in this
way'
16. *mīn hal-bənt hadīk?* 'Who's that girl over there?'
17. *haš-šahʕr hāda šahʕr šate*
[AO-71] 'This month is a winter month'
18. *laḥa-šūfo b-hal-ʔiyyām hayy* 'I'll see him any day, now' (lit.
"...in these days")
19. *kəll hal-ḥēwānāt hadōl bišaḡḡlu*
ʔaḥmad ʕktīr, lāken biʕīš mən
warāhon [AO-63] 'All these animals keep Ahmed quite
busy, but he lives off them'

Note that in ex. 19 the "emphasis" gained by using *hadōl* after *hal-ḥēwānāt* is not contrastive, i.e. it is not to distinguish these animals from certain others, but simply to strengthen the anaphoric link between this phrase and its antecedents; the sentence is a sort of conclusion or summary for a discourse on the various animals Ahmed keeps and what he does with them.

Locative Demonstratives

The words *hōn* 'here' and *hnīk* 'there' are substitutes for prepositional phrases (or occasionally, noun phrases) denoting places.

The forms *hōne* and *hnīke* are also sometimes used (cf. p. 552). In Lebanon the forms *hunīk* or *hawīk* are generally used instead of *hnīk* (and *hawn* for *hōn* [p. 14]), and in Palestine *hanāk* or *hunāk*.

Examples, predicative:

1. *nšālʕa ʔaxūk bəl-bēt?* - *naʕam,*
ʔaxī hōn [DA-76] 'Is your brother in, please? - Yes,
my brother's here. Come in'
2. *byəḡhar xalīl mū hōn* [DA-46] 'It looks as if Khalil isn't here'
3. *wēn samīr u-ʔabu samīr, ʔənšālʕa*
hōne? 'Where are Samir and Abu Samir, are
they here?'
4. *ʕali rāḥ la-kalifōrnya, mū hēk?*
- *ʔē halla? ʔhnīk* 'Ali went to California, didn't he?
- Yes, he's there now'
5. *hōn ʔaḥmad bēk?* - *naʕam hōn*
[DA-217] 'Is Ahmed Bey here? - Yes, he is'

Examples 5 has predicate-subject inversion [p. 419] in the question, and suppression of the subject [418] in the answer. The English translation, contrariwise, has an anaphoric substitute as subject in the answer, but suppresses 'here' in the predicate.

Examples, attributive:

6. *šū hāda halli hnīk?* [DA-18] 'What's that over there?'
7. *hal-manāḡer hōn btəšḡer ʕl-ʔənsān*
[DA-173] 'This scenery here is enchanting'

The form *hōne* (Leb. *hawni*) is in some areas used also preceding an indefinite noun, e.g. in narratives, in the sense 'a, a certain, this': *hawni xawāšša* 'a (certain) gentlemen...', *hawni marra* 'once, a certain time' [PVA-22].

Examples, predicative complemental [p. 446]:

8. *ʕālbīn mənno ʔanno yəbʔa*
ʕala ʕūl hōn bəš-šərke 'They've asked him to stay perma-
nently here in the company'
9. *šar-lo hnīk taʔrīḡban idaʕšar*
šahʕr 'He's been there almost eleven
months'

10. *yəmken ikūnu baʕʔd šī sāʕa hōne*

'They may be here in about an hour'

Examples, adverbial:

11. *btaʕʔrfo mn ʔš-šām, walla tʕarraft ʕalē hōn?*

'Do you know him from Damascus, or did you meet him here?'

12. *bass hōne hal-masāfe mæʕʕže*

'But here, that distance is disturbing' (i.e. the thought of being far from home)

13. *baʕʔd ma xalleš ʔhnīk baddi ʔarʕaʕ ʕaš-šām*

'After I finish there, I'll go back to Damascus'

Examples, with prepositional supplement:

14. *šū ʕam-tədroš halla? hōn b-wašʔnʔon?*

'What are you studying now here in Washington?'

15. *bass ʔhnīk ʔb-bērūt ʔaʕadt nəmt ʕandon ʔb-bēton*

'But there in Beirut I stayed and slept in their house'

16. *laḥa-šəb-lak ʔahwe. šū batʔul? - hōn šuwwa! l-ʔūda šōb ʔktīr [DA-172]*

'I'll bring you some coffee, how about that? - Here inside? It's so hot in this room'

hōn and *hnīk* are not used alone in complementation (or supplementation) to translocative verbs [p. 274], but are preceded by *la-* 'to' or *mən* 'from', 'through' [cf. p. 486]: *la-hōn* 'hither', *la-hnīk* 'thither', *mən hōn* 'from here, this way, hence', *mən hnīk* 'from there, that way, thence':

17. *ʔana ḥabbēt ʔaši la-hōn mū bass məšān ʔš-šahāde, liʔanni bəʔder ʔaxadha mn ʔhnīk...*

'I wanted to come here not just for the degree, because I could get that over there' (lit. "...from there")

18. *rūḥ ʕaš-šarīʕa w-šīb mən ʔhnīk ṣayye [AO-99]*

'Go to the Jordan and fetch water from there'

19. *mən hōn byəbʕatu t-ṭrūd? [DA-225]*

'Is this where you mail packages?' (lit. "From here do they send...")

20. *birūḥu la-hnīk laʔanno ʔarxaš*

'They go there because it's cheaper'

21. *w-halla? mnēn merrūḥ? mən hōn yamma mn ʔhnīk? [DA-77]*

'And now which way shall we go? This way or that way?'

22. *šlōnek fāyze xānom, taʕi la-hōn la-šambi*

'How are you, Miss Faiza? Come here beside me'

Note also the predicative use of *mən* + demonstrative:

23. *ʔana mən kalifōrnya - w-ʔana mn ʔhnīk kamān [DA-76]*

'I'm from California - 'And I'm from there too'

Although *hnīk* is often used anaphorically, like English 'there' (as in example 23), there are many cases in which it is not so used. As an anaphoric substitute for the name of a city, town, etc., or a building, room, etc., a third-person pronoun is normally used in Arabic after a preposition or noun in construct, while 'there' is used in English:

24. *btaʕʔref sān fransīsko? - bēti fīha [DA-76]*

'Do you know San Francisco? - My home is there!' (lit. "...in it")

25. *bəl-ʔawwal ṭləʕt ʕala blūdān, w-manha ʕala ḡhūr ʔš-šwēr [DA-171]*

'First I went up to Bloudâne, and from there, to Dhour Choueir'

26. *reḥt ʕala bērūt. - šlōn šəft šəfha? [DA-171]*

'I went to Beirut. - How did you like the summer there?' (lit. "...its summer")

27. *mā fī ḡēr maʕʕam hōn? - fī, hayy wāḥed tāni; ʔiza mnīḥ, mnākol fī [DA-46]*

'Isn't there any other restaurant here? - Yes, there is; see, there's another one; if it's good, we'll eat there'

Similarly, in attributive clauses, a resumptive pronoun in Arabic may correspond to 'where' in English:

28. *ʕanna biʔamērka fī maḥallāt bəʕštəri manha koll šī lāzmak [DA-129]*

'In America we have stores where you can buy everything you need' (lit. "...stores you buy from them...")

The Indefinite Demonstrative *hēk*

The word *hēk* (or *hēke*) 'so, such, thus, that' differs from the pronominal and locative demonstratives in that it substitutes only for indefinite terms [p. 494], including non-verbal predicates, complemental clauses, and supplemental phrases.

Examples, predicative:

1. *šū mbayyen mašḡulīn ʔktīr - waḷla dāyman hēk [DA-294]*

'It looks as if you're (pl.) quite busy. - Well, it's always this way'

2. *hāda ktīr, mū hēk?*

'That's too much, isn't it?'

mū hēk (*māš hēk*) is an important anaphoric substitution phrase, literally "not so?" (cf. Fr. *n'est-ce pas*, Ger. *nicht wahr*), whose English translation varies, depending on the antecedent clause: *ʕali bəl-bēt, mū hēk?* 'Ali's at

home, isn't he?', *btašši maēna, mū hēk?* 'you're coming with us, aren't you?', *rāh ēal-bēt, mū hēk?* 'He went home, didn't he?', *byaʔdru yaēmlū, mū hēk?* 'They can do it, can't they?' See also ex. 27, below.

3. *hēk ʔd-danye* 'That's the way things are' (lit. "Such is the world")
 4. *hēk tašarrfo l-ēādi* 'That's his usual behavior'

Examples 3 and 4 show predicate-subject inversion [p.419], but unlike most inverted predicates, *hēk* does not usually take the main sentence accent.

Examples, complemental:

5. *lamma šāf hēk, fāt ēal-balad* [AO-83] 'When he saw that, he entered the town'
 6. *bətʔammal hēk* 'I hope so'
 7. *law šaftha bər-rabīē kant*
bətʔul gēr hēk [DA-250] 'If you saw it in springtime, you wouldn't say that' (lit. "you'd say otherwise")
 8. *w-ḡallu hēk ḡatta nāmu* [AO-107] 'And they stayed that way until they went to sleep'
 9. *w-ʔttafaʔu hēk w-rāḡet ʔl-ēašūs*
b-sāētha la-bēt ʔl-bənt [AO-113] 'And they agreed on that, and then the old woman went to the girl's house'
 10. *haš-šabbāt ʔrxīš w-ʔmbayyen*
ēalē hēk 'These shoes are cheap, and they look it!' (lit. "...and it appears of them so")

Examples, after prepositions:

11. *ʔaqwāl matʔl hēk šaēʔb ʔəsbāta* 'Statements like that are hard to prove'
 12. *ya ēēb ʔš-šūm šayyatkon ʔaēazz*
mən hēk b-ʔktīr 'Oh really, your visit means much more to us than that'
 13. *mā fī tarkībe ʔaktar mən hēk* 'He's more fun than anything!' ('There's no card more than so')
 14. *w-ʔzyāde ēan hēk mā bsaddʔo* 'And what's more, I don't believe him' ('And[in] addition to that...')
 15. *mənšān hēk mā brūḡ ʔabadan*
ēas-sīnama 'That's why I don't ever go to the movies' (lit. "because of such...")

16. *w-la-hēk ʔəlt la-ḡālī mā ḡəlwe* 'And so I said to myself, it wouldn't be nice' (lit. "And for such...")

The classicism *li-zālek* 'therefore' is often used as a stylistic variant of *la-hēk*.

Examples, adverbial:

17. *fīk taēmāla hēk ʔaw hēk* 'You can do it this way or that way'
 18. *lēš mā byāxadhon mafo lamma*
byəršāē? - bənn-əllak hēk
bəddo yaēmel [DA-75] 'Why doesn't he take them with him when he goes back? - I think that's what he intends to do' (or 'I think he intends to do so')
 19. *w-hēk byəbnu, šwayy wara šwayy,*
kəll ʔl-ḡītān mən taḡt la-fōʔ
 [AO-75] 'And in this way they build, little by little, all the walls from the bottom up'
 20. *mlīḡ hayk?* [SAL-41] 'Is that all right?' (lit. "Good so?") (*hayk* [Leb. for *hēk*, p.14] supplements the one-word clause *mlīḡ*.)

In supplementation to adjectives (participles):

21. *b-ḡayāti mā šafʔt wāḡed*
ʔmwaldan hēk 'I've never in my life seen anyone so childish'
 22. *ʔāləṭ-lo lēš hēk zaēlān?*
 [AO-114] 'She said to him, "Why are you so annoyed?"

Examples, supplemental to nouns (*hēk* precedes the noun):

23. *hēk nās byaʔʔtlu zalame bidūn*
ma traḡf-əllon ēēn 'People like that could kill a person without batting an eye'
 24. *mā fī ʔaṡyab mən hēk ṡabʔx*
 [DA-199] 'I've never tasted such good food' (lit. "There is no tastier than such food")
 25. *mā fīnī ʔaṡsawwar ʔanno hiyye*
btaēmel hēk šī 'I can't imagine her doing such a thing'
 26. *b-hēk səēʔr kant ʔštarēt*
sayyāra ʔaḡsan 'At that price I'd have bought a better car'
 27. *mālak mənṡəḡəni saddeʔ hēk*
xuzaēbalāt, mū hēk? 'You don't expect me to believe such balderdash, do you?'

Note, in ex. 27, that *mū hēk* may be used in sequence to a negative statement as well as to an affirmative one.

Preceding a noun or adjective *hēk(e)* is sometimes used to indicate vagueness or inexactness: 'sort of', 'something like':

28. *š-šō? byāši hēke mōšāt* 'The yearning comes in waves, sort of'
 29. *dzakkar-lak šī hādse hēke šgīre* 'Think up some anecdote, you know, a short one, like'

The classicism *kaza*, or *kaza w-kaza*, is used in the sense 'such-and-such' or 'so much', etc.: *l-bāxra kaza w-kaza* 'such-and-such a ship', *kaza dōlār* 'so many dollars' (i.e. such-and-such an amount). *hākaza* is used in somewhat formal style similarly to English 'thus'.

The Presentational Particles¹

The forms *hayy*, *lēk*, and *šaē-* are widely used in Greater Syria as "exclamatory" or "imperative" demonstratives, which serve to direct someone's attention to what the following noun or pronoun refers to: *hayy ʔktābak* 'Here's your book' or 'There's your book', *lēk mašārīk* 'Here's your money', *šaē ʔaša* 'Here he comes' or 'There he comes' (or 'Here he is', 'There he is', lit. 'There he is, he has come'.)

hayy as a presentational particle is not always clearly distinct from the feminine demonstrative pronoun: *hayy wāhde tānye* 'Here's another one (f.)' or 'This is another one (f.)'. As a presentational particle, however, its form remains *hayy* regardless of the number/gender of what follows: *hayy ʔaḥmad* 'There's Ahmed', *hayy ʔwladī šāyīn* 'Here come my children'.

šaē- is always – and *lēk* usually – followed by a pronoun suffix, regardless whether a noun follows or not: *šaēon mašārīk* 'There's your money', *lēkon mašārīk* 'Here's your money'. *hayy* is usually not used with a suffix, except in Palestine: *hayyo hunāk* 'There it is over there'.

Unlike *hayy* and *lēk*, *šaē-* is not generally used while handing something to someone, but is more of a "distal" demonstrative; it usually directs attention to something away from the speaker (though not necessarily away from the person spoken to). *šaē-* is presumably a shortened form of *ʔšāē* 'look, see' (imperative of the verb *ʔašeē*, *byaʔšaē* 'to see, look at'), while *lēk* is associated with the preposition-pronoun phrase *lēk* 'to you, toward you' [p.480].

¹Though the presentational particles are deictic or demonstrative elements par excellence, they are not actually "substitutes" in any straightforward sense – there is no other kind of word or phrase which, in their place, would result in the same construction. This construction produces a special kind of sentence, which is neither statement, command, call, or exclamation [p.378].

Examples:

1. *hayy tayyāra šāye man ʔamērka. šaēhon ʔr-rakkāb nāzlīn manha* [DA-249] 'There's (or That's) a plane that's come from America. Here come the passengers disembarking'
2. *fī xaṭṭ trāmwāy ʔal-marže kamān. lēko ʔaša wāhed* [DA-44] 'There's a streetcar line on the Marjé too. Here comes one now'
3. *š-šābun wāl-līfe šaēhon bāl-ʔxzāne* [DA-181] 'The soap and sponge are there in the cabinet' (lit. 'The soap and the sponge, there they are in the cabinet') (Extrapolation [p.435])
4. *l-maḡsale šaēha hnīk* [DA-199] 'There's the washstand over there'
5. *hayy ʔl-ʔotēl ʔaddāmak* [DA-16] 'There's the hotel in front of you'
6. *hayy ʔawwal harf* 'Here's the first letter'
7. *hā, lēkak hōn* 'Oh here you are!'
8. *šaēni šāye* 'Here I come!'
9. *lēkhon hayy banātak rāššēin mn ʔl-madrāse* [DA-238] 'Here are your daughters coming back from school' (lit. 'Here they are, here are your daughters...')

Certain other presentational forms are heard in various parts of Greater Syria. Note the Damascene forms *šaēōk* and *šaḥḥāke*: *wēn bārnēṭṭi? – šaḥḥāke* 'Where's my hat? – Here it is'. *šaē-* is also sometimes pronounced with *-ḥḥ-* rather than *-ēh-* (or even rather than *-ē-*): *šaḥḥa* 'There it (f.) is', *šaḥḥon* 'There they are', *šaḥḥo*, *šaḥḥōk* 'There it(m.) is'.

INTERROGATIVE SUBSTITUTES

The main forms of the interrogative substitutes, or question words, are:

<i>mīn</i>	'who'
<i>šū</i> and <i>ʔēš</i>	'what'
<i>ʔaddēš</i>	'how much'
<i>kamm</i>	'how many'
<i>ʔanu</i> and <i>ʔayy</i>	'what, which, which one'
<i>wēn</i> and <i>fēn</i>	'where'
<i>kīf</i> and <i>šlōn</i>	'how'
<i>ʔēmta</i>	'when'
<i>lēš</i>	'why'

In a simple substitution-question [p.379] the question word usually comes first in Syrian Arabic (as in English), regardless which part of the clause in represents: *šū ʔmalt?* (object) 'What did you do?', *wēn ʔabūk?* (predicate) 'Where is your father?', *kīf sāwētha?* (supplement) 'How did you do it?'. Some of the question words commonly follow prepositions or nouns in construct, however, though the phrase itself ordinarily comes first: *ʔala ʔanu wāḥde ḥa-təḥkī-lna?* 'Which one are you going to talk to us about?' (lit. "About which one...").

The question word generally carries the main accent of the sentence, and the highest pitch: *wēnak hal-ʔiyyām mā ḥada bišūfak?* 'Where have you been these days, that no one sees you?' See p.379.

With a question-word complement, the subject of a verbal predication usually follows the verb: *ʔaddēš byāxod ʔš-šofōr?* 'How much does the driver get?'.
 Extraposition of the subject [p.434] is common, however, with complemental and supplemental question words. (No resumptive pronoun is used [cf. p.530].): *š-šofōr ʔaddēš byāxod?* 'The driver - how much does he get?', *ʔaxūk lēš mā ʔəša?* 'Why hasn't your brother come?' (or *lēš mā ʔəša ʔaxūk?* or *lēš ʔaxūk mā ʔəša?*).

Besides their use in simple or direct substitution questions and in extraposition, the interrogative substitutes are used in complemental clauses: *ʔāl-lo šū sāwa* 'He told him what he had done', *mā baʔref lēš ʔaxi mā ʔəša* 'I don't know why my brother hasn't come'.

Some of the question words are used in supplemental clauses formed with *ma* '-ever': *šū ma* 'whatever...', *ʔēmta ma* 'whenever...', etc. See p.338.

Unlike English 'who', 'which', and 'where', the Arabic words *mīn*, *šū*, *ʔēš*, *wēn* are not used to introduce attributive clauses [pp.498,561], nor does *ʔēmta* introduce supplemental clauses like English 'when' (cf. *lamma*, p.529). (In parts of Palestine, however, *lēš* is used in the sense 'because' as well as 'why'.)

šū (often unaccented, written *šu*), *kīf*, and *ʔaddēš* have special exclamatory uses (pp.570,572,576). *kamm* has a non-interrogative sense 'some, several' [p.470], and *ʔayy*, *ʔanu* have the sense 'any' [p.574].

A.) Examples, *mīn* 'who':

1. *ya nabīha mīn ʔəša?* [DA-217] 'Who's that, Nabīha?' (lit. "O Nabīha, who has come?")
 2. *mīn yalli xarbaṭ-li wrāʔi?* 'Who (is it that) messed up my papers?'
 3. *mīn mənkon katab waṣīft ʔl-fīzya?* 'Which of you has done the physics assignment?'
 4. *mīn haš-šabāb?* 'Who are these young men?'
- The form *mən-* is used as an extraposed subject with the apocopated subject pronouns *-u*, *-i*, *-han*: *mənu bəl-farī?* 'Who's on the team?' See p.547.
5. *mīn bəddak?* 'Whom do you want?'

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. *mən ʔand mīn bəddāb ʔgrāḍak?* [DA-128] 'Whom do you get your things from?' (lit. "From with whom..." [p.486])
7. *sāʔet mīn hayy?* (or *la-mīn has-sāʔa*, or *tabaʔ mīn has-sāʔa?*) 'Whose watch is this?' (or 'Whose is this watch?')
8. *dōr mīn?* 'Whose turn [is it]?'
9. *la-mīn ʔaʔazz mənkon bəddi ʔaʔti bənti?* [AO-55] 'To whom dearer than you would I give my daughter?'

In complemental clauses:

10. *kənt ʔana ʔandak w-mədri mīn ʔəša la-ʔandak...* 'I was with you, and I don't know who [it was that] came to see you ...'

11. ...*fa-ḥam-ṭaṣfon hiyye ya tara mīn fī ʿandak halla?* 'and she's thinking, "I wonder who is with you now?"'

12. *fīk ʔtfīdni mīn lāzem ʔābel b-hal-ʔxšūš?* [SAL-93] 'Could you tell me whom I should see about this?'

mīn is also sometimes used in a non-interrogative sense 'someone', as object with an (objective) complemental clause:

13. *yaʿni baddak mīn iʔal-lak* 'You mean you need someone to tell you'

B.) Examples, *šū* 'what':

1. *šū ṭaleʿ maʿi ya doktōr?* [DA-204] 'What have I got, Doctor?' ('What's come up with me?')
2. *šū ʔasmo halli bisāwi š-šabābīk wəl-ʔbwāb?* [DA-243] 'What's the name of the one that makes windows and doors?' (Comment-topic Inversion, p.434.)
3. *šū l-fawāki yalli bətrīdha?* [DA-107] 'What fruit do you want?' (lit. 'What's the fruit that you want?')
4. *šū ʿalē, šū byaṭlaʿ maʿak, ḥkī* 'What of it? What's come over you? Speak up!'
5. *šū kənt ʿam-ʔtsāwi?* 'What were you doing?'
6. *ṭayyeb šū bətlāʔi mnāseb ləṭ-ṭarafēn?* [DA-291] 'All right, what do you think would be suitable for both parties?'

With extraposed subject or object:

7. *tnēn w-ʔtnēn šū byaʿʔmlu?* [DA-5] 'What do two and two make?'
8. *sabānex šū biʔūlūwa bəl-ʔanglīzi?* 'What do they call 'sabānex' in English?'
9. *r-rəššāl halli bəddna nšūro šū byaštāḡel?* [DA-75] 'The man we're going to see - what work does he do?'

In ex. 9 *šū* is a predicative complement [p.444]; cf. *byaštāḡel mikanīki* 'He works as a mechanic'.

Sometimes *šū* as a predicative complement has to be translated 'how' rather than 'what'. In ex. 8, for instance, if *biʔūlūwa* is given its more standard English rendering 'they say (it)', then *šū biʔūlūwa* is 'How do they say it?' Note also:

10. *šū bətfasser haš-šī?* 'How do you explain this?' (or 'What do you make of this?')

11. *šū byaʔrabkon?* [SAL-64] 'How is he related to you(pl.)?' (or 'What kin is he to you?')

šū is often followed by a quasi-verbal predicator [p.412] plus a complement of specification [510]; the English translation of this construction is often 'what' plus a noun:

12. *šū bəddkon fawāki?* [DA-47] 'What fruit do you want?' (cf. ex. 3, above) or 'What do you want in the way of fruit?'
13. *šū maʿo šhādāt?* 'What diplomas has he?'
14. *šū fī ʔakʔl, ʔana šōʿān* 'What is there to eat? I'm hungry'

šū is sometimes used after a preposition or noun in construct, but *ʔēš* is more common in these constructions (see below):

15. *ʿala šū ʿtamadt?* 'What did you decide upon?'

In complemental clauses:

16. *waḷḷa mā baʿref šū bəddi ʔal-lak* 'I really don't know what to tell you'
17. *taʿāl nəsʔalo šū šār maʿo bəṭ-talavəzyōn* 'Come on, let's ask him what happened to him on television'
18. *ʔaxīran laḥ-li šū kān ʿam-yaʿni* 'It finally dawned on me what he meant'
19. *ya samīr šūf haš-šāy šū šār fī* 'Samir, see what's happened to the tea'

The complemental clause *haš-šāy šū šār fī* is an extraposition of *šū šār b-haš-šāy*. The extrapositional word order makes it possible also to interpret *haš-šāy* as object of *šūf*: 'Look at the tea, what's happened to it'.

A subject *šū* + prepositional predicate *bo*, *bāk*, 'with him, with you, etc.' [p.415] is usually shortened to *šu* or (most often) *šə*, and pronounced as a single unit: *šū-bak* or *šə-bak* (= *šū bāk*) 'What's [wrong] with you?':

20. *šə-bo hal-ʔadd xāyre ʿazāymo?* 'Why is he so down in the mouth?'
21. *ya banāt tsallu, šə-bakon bi-hal-bəzrāt yaḷlī ʔəddāmkon?* 'Enjoy yourselves, girls! What's the matter with (you, with) those seeds [hors d'oeuvres] in front of you?'

Exclamatory *šū*:

22. *šū haṭ-ṭaʔs yalli biʔammet*
ʔl-ʔalb! 'What miserable weather!' (lit. "What is this weather, that oppresses the heart!")
23. *ʔamma šū zalame nahfe mn*
ʔn-nahfāt! 'But what a card that fellow is!'

šū is also used, unaccented (written *šu*), as a sentence supplement [p. 526] and introducer; this expression is generally too mild to be translated as an interjection 'What?!', but may be roughly rendered as 'well', 'oh', 'so', or left untranslated:

24. *šu byaḡhar hālt ʔl-balad*
ʔmnīḡa [DA-77] '(Well), it looks as if conditions in town are good'
25. *ʔafwan, šu btāḡki ʔarabi?*
[DA-16] '(So) you speak Arabic?'
26. *šu mā šāfak ʔl-ḡakīm?* '(Oh,) hasn't the doctor seen you?'

C.) *ʔēš* 'what' is commonly used instead of *šū* after a preposition or a noun in construct:

1. *la-ʔēš byalzamo l-ʔarabi?*
[DA-173] 'What does he need Arabic for?'
2. *bi-ʔēš māsāfer?* [DA-248] 'How will we go?' ("In what..." or "By what...")
3. *bḡabb ʔaʔref ʔala ʔēš*
ʔāyšīn 'I'd like to know what they live on'
4. *laḡ-sāfer la-Michigan*
māšān ʔadros handase. -
handast ʔēš? - handase
madaniyye 'I'm going to Michigan to study engineering. - What kind of engineering? (lit. "Engineering of what?") - Civil engineering'
5. *dzakkar-lak šī matal mən*
ʔš-šām. - matʔl ʔēš yaʔni? 'Think of some proverb from Damascus. - Like what, how do you mean?'

In various parts of Greater Syria *ʔēš* (often shortened to *ʔaš* or *ʔaš*) may be used in more or less the same ways as *šū*: *ʔēš bəddak?* 'What do you want?', *ʔaš hāda?* 'What's that?', etc.

D.) *ʔaddēš* 'How much':

1. *ʔaddēš ʔažʔrto bəs-səne?*
[DA-225] 'How much is the rental of it for a year?'
2. *ʔaddēš ṭalabu šḡābo?*
[DA-291] 'How much did its owners ask?'
3. *ʔaddēš bəddak ikūn*
ʔamʔrha? [DA-80] 'How old do you want her to be?' (lit. "How much do you want her age to be?")

In reference to time and distance, *ʔaddēš* is commonly translated into English as 'how long' and 'how far':

4. *ʔaddēš ʔbtəbʔed ʔaʔrab*
madīne? 'How far is it to the nearest city?'
5. *ʔaddēš šar-lak hōne*
b-ʔamērka? 'How long have you been here in the States?' (*ʔaddēš* + *š* → *ʔaddēš-š*)

After prepositions and nouns in construct:

6. *w-la-ʔaddēš bəddak ʔtkūn*
məddet ʔl-qarḡ? [DA-297] 'And for how long do you want the loan to run?'
7. *b-ʔaddēš ʔs-sīnama hōn?*
[DA-18] '[For] how much is (the price of) the cinema here?'
8. *daxlak hal-lūbye b-ʔaddēš?*
[DA-129] '[At] how much are these beans, please?'
9. *kəll ʔaddēš biwazzʔu*
l-barīd hōn? '[Every] how often do they deliver the mail here?'

ʔaddēš is often followed by a verb plus a complement of specification (cf. *šū*, p. 569); the English translation is usually 'how much' + noun:

10. *ʔaddēš byāxod maʔāš*
bāš-šahʔr? 'How much salary does he get a month?'
11. *ʔaddēš ʔstaxražu faḡʔm?* 'How much coal did they mine?'
12. *ʔaddēš btədfaʔu fāyde?*
[DA-293] 'How much interest do you pay?'

In complemental clauses:

13. *bəddi ʔaʔref ʔaddēš ʔs-sāʔa*
[AO-71] 'I want to know what time it is' (lit. "...how much the hour is")

14. *šəft ʔaddēš hōn ʔl-hawa ʔabradʔ* [DA-172] 'Do you see how much cooler the air is here?'
15. *šāyef hal-ʔarāḍi ʔaddēš xaḍra* [DA-235] 'See how green this country is?'

Note the extraposition of *hal-ʔarāḍi* in ex. 15. Cf. ex. 19, p.569.

Exclamatory use of *ʔaddēš*:

16. *ʔaddēš ʔtʕallamtu!* 'How much you've learned!'
17. *ʔaddēš ʔl-balad ḥalwe!* 'How pretty the town is!'
18. *ʔaddēšak laṭīf!* 'How nice you are!'

The exclamatory *ʔaddēš* may take pronoun suffixes as in ex. 18. See p.547. Note that with adjectival complements, *ʔaddēš* is generally translated 'how' (without 'much').

E.) *kamm* 'how many' is usually followed by a noun in the singular. Examples:

1. *kamm nāšme fī bəs-samaʔ* [AO-83] 'How many stars are there in the sky?'
2. *kamm sone šar-lak hōneʔ* 'How many years have you been here?'
3. *kamm dars kān ʕandak...* 'How many classes did you have...'
4. *kamm nāyeb bimasslu hal-muḥāfaẓātʔ* [SAL-152] 'How many delegates represent these mohafazats?'

Note, in ex. 4, that the *kamm* phrase with an animate noun [p.420] takes a plural verb despite its singular form. In ex. 3, on the other hand, the linking verb *kān* remains singular. The agreement is partly optional, depending on how much one wishes to emphasize plurality.

In complemental clauses:

5. *zən-li hal-baṭṭīxa la-šūfha kamm kīlo bṭaṭlaʕ* [DA-128] 'Weigh this watermelon for me, so I can see how many kilos it comes to'

With *fī* and other quasi-verbal predicators, *kamm* may stand alone, with its noun as specificative complement following the predicator (cf. *šū*, p.569):

6. *kamm fī matr ʔmrabbaʕ fi had-dāʔireʔ* (or *kamm matr ʔmrabbaʕ fī b-had-dāʔireʔ*) 'How many square meters are there in this circle?'

F.) *ʔanu* 'which, what, which one' may be used either independently or in a noun phrase. Examples (independent):

1. *ʔanu ʔaḥsan maxxan bəl-baladʔ* 'Which is the best store in town?'
2. *ʔanu l-ʔašya l-mafʔūdeʔ* 'Which are the things [that are] missing?'
3. *ʔanu baṭšūf bikūn ʔaḥsanʔ* [DA-109] 'Which do you think would be better?'

Examples, in noun phrases:

4. *ʔanu sālʕa baṭṭīr ʔt-ṭayyāraʔ* [DA-249] 'What time does the plane take off?'
5. *ʔanu wāḥed baddakʔ* 'Which one do you want?'
6. *ʔanu ʔāle baddaʔʔ ʕalēha ʔaḥsan šīʔ* 'What instrument do you play best?'

After prepositions:

7. *la-ʔanu mašyaf raḥʔtʔ* [DA-171] 'Which summer resort did you go to?'
8. *ḥaḍṛtak mən ʔanu wilāye bi-ʔamērkaʔ* [DA-76] 'Which state in the United States are you from?'

With feminine (or inanimate plural) nouns, the form *ʔani* is often used rather than *ʔanu*:

9. *ʔani šanta naʔʔētʔ* 'Which bag did you choose?'
10. *ʔēmta baddon yašū, ʔani sālʕaʔ* 'When are they supposed to come – at what time?'

In the independent use, the form *ʔanon* may be used for the plural:

11. *ʔanon ʔwlādaʔ* 'Which ones are her children?'

The form *ʔayy* is used in noun phrases in the same way as *ʔanu*:

12. *ʔayy sālʕa baddon yašūʔ* 'What time will they come?'

The forms *ʔayyi* and *ʔayya* are also used in some parts of Greater Syria.

ʔanu, *ʔani*, and *ʔayy* may be used with nouns in the non-interrogative sense 'any':

13. *fī ʔandak ʔayy suʔāl tāniʔ* 'Have you any other question(s)?'
 14. *ʔani šaḡle ʔaḥsan mən bala* 'Any job is better than none'

G.) *wēn*, *fēn* 'where', examples:

1. *wēn ʔaʔrab ʔotēlʔ* 'Where is the nearest hotel?'
 2. *fēn bāba ḥatta ʔāyed ʔalē w-ʔāxod ʔīdīti* [DA-298] 'Where is Daddy? [I want to know] so I can give him holiday greetings and get my holiday gift'
 3. *wēn ḥaṭṭ haš-šarāyed ʔl-ʔataʔʔ* 'Where shall I put those old newspapers?'
 4. *w-ʔana fēn baddi rūḥ ʔl-ʔōmʔ* [DA-300] 'And where might I go today?'
 5. *hallaʔ wēn ʔwšəlna bəl-ʔakʔl, ya xānomʔ* 'Now, where have we gotten with the [preparation of the] food, madam?'

With translocative verbs [p.486] the form *la-wēn* 'where to, whither' is more usual than simply *wēn* or *fēn* as in ex. 4 and 5:

6. *la-wēn rāyeḥ hallaʔʔ* [AO-47] 'Where are you going now?'
 7. *hal-xaṭṭ la-wēn biwaddiʔ* 'Where does this line lead to?' (Extrapolation of *la-wēn biwaddi hal-xaṭṭʔ*)

With *mən* 'from', *wēn* takes the form *-ēn*: *mnēn* 'from where?':

8. *w-hal-ḡēm mnēn ʔəša kəllo ʔala ḡafle* [DA-153] 'And where have these clouds come from all of a sudden?' (Extrapolation)

In many cases *mnēn* is translated simply 'where', and in some cases, 'how':

9. *mnēn štarēt hal-bərnētaʔ* 'Where did you buy that hat?'
 10. *mnēn ʔmnāxod ʔl-baššʔ* 'Where do we get the bus?'

11. *mnēn mərrūḥʔ*

'How do we go?' or 'Which way do we go?' (Cf. *mən hōn* 'this way', *mn ʔhntk* 'that way')

12. *mnēn ʔʔraftʔ*

'How do you know?' or 'Where did you find out?'

In complemental clauses:

13. *fa-šu ʔana fakkart ʔam-təʔalni mnēn ʔante* 'And I thought she was asking me, "Where are you from?"'
 14. *fī wāḥed xalaš w-wāḥed ʔam-yədroš mā baʔref wēn* 'There's one who's finished, and one studying I don't know where'

Predicative *wēn* takes pronoun suffixes as subject [p.547]:

15. *ʔəmmi wēnkonʔ šu mā fī ḥada bəl-bētʔ* 'Mother, where are you all? Isn't there anybody home?'
 16. *wat-tnēn wēnhonʔ* [DA-75] 'And where are the two of them?'
 17. *wēno ʔəbʔn ʔəmmiʔ* 'Where is my cousin?' (Comment-topic inversion [p.434])

H.) *kīf* 'how':

1. *kīf kān ʔt-ʔaʔš ʔandkon bəš-šbālʔ* 'How was the weather where you were in the mountains?'
 2. *kīf ʔš-šaḥḥa samīr bāšaʔ* 'How is your (lit. "the") health, Samir Pasha?'
 3. *kīf baddi sāwīhaʔ* 'How should I do it?'
 4. *kīf laʔēt ʔalʔet ʔbʔalbakʔ* [SAL-117] 'How did you like (lit. "find") the castle of Baalbek?'
 5. *kīf ʔʔreft waḷḷa ʔənnak ḥazzīr tamām* 'How did you know? You're certainly a good guesser!'

In complemental clauses:

6. *lāsem ʔaʔtlak ʔawām, ʔal-li kīf bəddak ʔtmūt* [AO-116] 'I must kill you immediately; tell me how you want to die'
 7. *btaʔref kīf ʔn-naḥḥāt ḥēke bišawwer ʔl-marʔa mn ʔz-zawāya l-ḡamīʔa yaʔni* 'You know how the sculptor sort of depicts the woman from the hidden recesses, so to speak'

Note also the common expressions *šāyef kīf?* 'See how it is?', (also *lāḥaṣṭ kīf*), *ʿraḥt kīf?* 'Know what I mean?', and the like.

kīf (like *šū* [p. 570]) has two kinds of exclamatory use:

8. *šū mā fī ʿandak samak?* 'Don't you have any fish? – Of course
– *kīf mā fī!* [DA-17] I do! ('How [could it be that] there is none!')

The milder exclamatory *kīf* introduces questions, in much the same way as *šū*:

9. *kīf, ʿaṣṣṭak wašṣṭon?* 'Well, did you like Washington?'

The predicative *kīf* (ex. 1, 2) takes pronoun suffixes [p. 547], especially in asking 'How are you?': *kīfak?*, *kīfkon?*.

I.) *šlōn* 'how' is not generally used in the coastal regions; in Damascus it is used in some of the same ways as *kīf*. Examples:

1. *daxlak šlōn ʿl-ḥāle halla?* 'Say, how are things now in San
bi-sān fraṣṣīsko? [DA-77] Francisco?'
2. *šlōn baddak ʿr-raʿbe?* 'How do you want the neck?' (barber
[DA-179] speaking)
3. *šlōn ʿt-tannūra ṣ-ṣdīde,* 'How about the new skirt? Has it
nšālḷa ḥāzet ʿaṣṣāb
ʿṣ-ṣamāhīr? won the admiration of the multitudes?'
4. *šlōn xallētī yaṭlaʿ* 'How could you let him go out in
b-hal-bard? [DA-198] this cold?'
5. *šlōn šaḥto hal-mastašfa?* 'What do you think of this hospital?'
('How do you see...', lit. 'How have you seen...') Comment-topic inversion [p. 434]

šlōn also takes pronoun suffixes in the role of subject:
šlōnak? 'How are you?'

6. *šlōnhon ʿanšālḷa mabṣūṭīn?* 'How are they? Well, I trust?'
7. *w-ʿšlōnek b-šāḡl ʿl-bēt?* 'And how are you(f.) at housework?'
[DA-99]

J.) ʿēmta 'when':

1. *ʿēmta ṣāyīn?* – *yaʿni ʿēmta* 'When are they coming? – Well when
baddon yaṣṣu, sāʿa waḥde
bāl-lēl? *lā ykal-lak fakre* would they come? One o'clock in the morning? Not likely!'
2. *ʿabi ʿēmta ʿandak waʿt* 'Father, when will you have time [so
ʿmnanzel ʿas-sū?? that] we can go down to the market?'
3. *ʿēmta l-mūsem byabda?* 'When does the season begin?'
4. *mān ʿēmta kān ḥāda?* 'How long ago was that?' (lit. "Since when...")

In complemental clauses:

5. *biʿūl ʿēmta byaṣṣi?* [PVA-2] 'Does he say when he's coming?'
6. *šūf ʿaḥmad ʿēmta baddo* 'See when Ahmed intends to come' (With
yaṣṣi extraposition of subject in comple-
mental clause [cf. ex. 19, p. 569])

K.) *lēš* 'why':

1. *lēš ṭlaʿt?* *kant lāzem* 'Why did you go out? You should have
ṭabʿa martāḥ bāl-bēt
[DA-218] stayed and rested at home'
2. *šū ʿaṣṣṭak w-ʿḥkāytak w-lēš* 'What's your story, and why were you
kant bāl-ʿamʿom? [AO-116] in the bottle?'
3. *ʿē lakān lēš xāyef ʿiza* 'All right then, why are you afraid
mā baʿrāfa? if I don't know he?'
4. *lēš hal-labake, lēš* 'Why this bother? Why did you(pl.)
labbaktu ḥāḷkon ḥal-ʿadd? go to so much trouble?'
5. *lēš ʿt-trēn kəll ḥal-ʿadd* 'Why is the train so crowded today?'
maṣṣū? ʿl-yōm?
6. *lēš ya tara ḥas-shūl* 'I wonder why these plains are bare?'
ṣarda? [DA-250]

In complemental clauses:

7. *ḥaʿīʿatan mā baʿref lēš* 'I really don't know why I've had
mafruḍ fiyyi... to...'

The form *lē* (or *lēh*) is also heard in various parts of Greater Syria. *lēš* is a reduced form of *la-ʿēš* 'what for' (cf. *ʿaddēš* – *ʿadd* + *ʿēš* 'amount of what'). *ʿēš* is in its turn a syncopated form of *ʿayy šī* 'what thing'.

INDEX

Arabic words, affixes, and grammatical terms are alphabetized in the order shown on page 1.

- a (base-formative suffix) 165, 374
(See also -e/-a)
- ā(t) (base-formative suffix) 164,
210, 212, 374
- Absolute object 442
- Abstract nouns 284, 368
- Abstractive verbs 252
- Accentuation
 - word ~ 17
 - phrase ~ 21
 - ~ in inversion 419
 - ~ in negation 383
 - ~ in substitution questions 566
- Active participles 262, 265
formation of ~ 258
- Actuality 320
- Adjectival use of imperfect 328, 409
- Adjectives
 - adjective constructs 466
 - attributive ~ 501
 - base patterns 125
 - derivation 257
 - inflectional forms 201
 - predicate ~ 403
 - uninflected 428, 501
- Adverbs 515
derived ~ 517
- Adverbial
 - ~ adjectives 520
 - ~ clauses 528
 - ~ noun complements 441
 - ~ noun supplements 521
- Agent (*al-fāʿil*) 401 fn (See
also Subject)
- Agentive adjectives 278
- Agreement
 - number/gender ~ 420, 501
 - person ~ 364
 - ~ in definition 493, 500
 - ~ of linking verb with comple-
mental verb 413, 452
 - ~ of sequent with antecedent 535
 - ~ of *wāḥed*, *tnēn* 509, 510
- ak 539, 540
- Alternative questions 395
- an (adverb formative) 517
- Anaphora 537
- Anaphoric coordination 394
- Anaphoric sequence 535
~ substitutes 535
~ suppression 537
- Anaptyxis 29
- Animate 420
- Annex (= following term in nominal
and prepositional annexion 455)
- Annexion 455
 - adjective ~ 466
 - elative and ordinal ~ 473
 - ~ forms (See Construct forms 162)
 - numeral ~ 471
 - partitive ~ 466
 - periphrasis of ~ 460
 - prepositional ~ 476
 - relationships expressed by ~ 461
 - substantive ~ 456
- Annunciatory 325
- Antecedent 535
- Antecedent state 274
- Anticipation 322
- Anticipatory pronoun (see 434)
- Answer words 536
- Applicative verbs 256
- Apposition, appositives 506
- Article prefix (or proclitic) 493
~ before *mū*, *lā*, *gēr* 504
~ in adjective constructs 466
~ in numeral constructs 471
~ in substantive constructs 456
- Ascriptive verbs 243
- Aspects, Aspectual verb types 269,
271 (See also 319 fn)
- Assimilation
 - ~ of *n* 27
 - ~ of *b*- 180, 477
 - devoicing 26
 - velarization 26
 - voicing and spirantization of *t*-
86, 179
 - voicing of *-t*- 100
- Asyndetic coordination 398
- āt (base-formative suffix) 164, 210,
212, 374
- āt (plural suffix) 214, 201
- Attributes 493
 - adjective ~ 501
 - nominal ~ 506
 - prepositional ~ 500
- Attributive
 - ~ clauses 495, 497
 - ~ words and phrases 500
 - ~ numerals 509
- Augmentative verbs 253

Augmented word bases 46
 b- indicative prefix 180
 uses of ~ 324, 341
 b- preposition 476, 477, 479
badal 506
bakkīr 516
barra 485
 Bases 35
 base formatives 46
 ~ forms or patterns 36
bass 357, 397, 526
baEd 487, 546
 baEd ma 358, 359, 490, 528
baEdēn 519
baEd 467, 470
ba?a 355, 453, 527
bēn 488
baddo 347, 412
bakra, bukra 521
bāl-kād 352
ba?i 72, 355, 453
 Biliteral roots 39
 Biradical nouns 162
btāE 490
 Calls 378
 Causative 240
 Characteristic adjectives 279
 Circumstantial
 ~ clauses (supplemental) 531
 ~ complements (paratactic) 355
 Citation forms (of bases) 35-36
 (See also Root & pattern symbols 38)
 Classificatory constructs 458
 Classificatory predications 404
 Clauses 377, 379
 clause definitizer 494
 subject ~ 451
 subordinate ~ (See Subordinate)
 topical ~ 429
 Cognate (See Paronym 38)
 Cognate object 442
 Collectives 297
 ethnic ~ 301
 Color adjectives 130
 Commands 359, 379
 Comment 429
 Comment-topic inversion 434
 Comparative (See Elative 310)
 Complements 437
 ~ of specification 510
 pronoun ~ 544
 Complemental clauses 449
 Complementation 437 (see also 510)
 "Compound tenses" 341

Conative verbs 245
 Concretization of abstract nouns 284
 Concurrent state 269
 Conditional clauses 331, 528
 Conjunctions
 coordinating ~ 391
 subordinating ~ 449, 490, 528, 529, 531
 Conjunctive -l- forms 480
 Connective *t* 163
 Consequent state 262
 Consonant clusters 24, 25
 Constructs 455 (See also Annexion)
 construct forms 162
 agreement with ~ 427
 derivative ~ 464
 with personal pronouns 541
 Contrastive emphasis with pronouns 548
 Coordination 391
 Copula (See Linking verbs 452, Non-verbal predications 402, Negative copula 387)
 Count nouns 366
 Count plurals 369
daxlak 527
daEwa 169
 Declarative 378, 379
 "Defect" adjectives 130
 Defective (= final-weak) 43
 simple ~ verbs 186
 ~ nouns 374
 Definite 494
 ~ attributive clauses 495
 ~ constructs 456
 Definitional predications 404
 Deictic substitutes 537
 Demonstratives 552
 exclamatory ~ 564
 indefinite ~ 561
 locative ~ 559
 demonstrative prefix or proclitic 556
 ~ pronouns 552
 ~ in attribution 556
 Denominative verbs 256
 abstract ~ 100
 Derivation 46
 adjective ~ 257
 adverb ~ 517
 noun ~ 283
 verb ~ 233
 Derived forms of the verb (See Verb Patterns, augmented 77 ff.)
 Descriptive verbs 251

Desiderative conditions 336
 Devoicing 26
dakkān 169, 210
 Diminutives 310
 Disjunctive *ʔal-* forms 479
 Disjunctive pronoun stem *yā-* 545
 Dispositional:
 ~ adjectives 277
 ~ use of imperfect 327
 ~ participles 275
 Distributive use of singular 366
 Distributive reference of adjectives 399, 502
dōb 352, 546
 Dual
 forms 209
 use 367
 Durative 269
dall 189, 453
damīr 539
 -e/-a suffix 138, 202, 297, 304, 374
 Educative verbs 244
 -ek 539, 540
 Elatives 310
 elative constructs 473
 Emphasis
 contrastive ~ with pronouns 548
 ~ on predication as such 549
 ~ with demonstrative pronouns 558
 (at-tafxīm) (see Velarization 6)
 "Emphatic apposition" 511
 "Emphatic" consonants (See Velarization 6)
 -ēn dual suffix 209
 Epenthesis (See Anaptyxis 29)
 Epexegetic pronouns (See 511)
 Equational predications 405
 Estimative verbs 244
 -et construct form of -e/-a 163
 -et subject affix 175, 180
 "Ethical dative" 483, 527
 Ethnic collectives 301
 Exclamations 378
 Extrapolation 429
 ~ in attributive clauses 493
 ~ in adverbial clauses 530
 ~ in circumstantial clauses 532 (bottom)
 ~ of partitive annexion 511
 Extrapositive
 ~ annex 432, 433
 ~ object 431
 ~ subject 434
 (ʔ)lli, ʔalli 494
 fa- 397

fard (= Singular 366)
fāEil 401
 Feminal derivatives 304
 Feminine nouns 372
 ~ active participles (person inflection) 268
 ~ agreement with plurals 423
 impersonal ~ 428, 536 top, 554 top
 "Feminine suffix" (See -e/-a)
fēn 574
 fēn ma 338
fī 415, 479
 Final weak (See Defective 43)
fiEl (See Verbs)
 Fluctuating roots 41
 Form 35 fn (See also Patterns 36)
 ~ classes 381
 Formatives (base ~) 46
fō? 485
 Fractions 317, 471
 Frequentative verbs 253
 Future 322, 324
 Geminate 42
 geminating roots 41
 Gender
 ~ of nouns 372
 number/gender inflection 175, 195, 201
 number/gender agreement 420
 Generalizing with imperfect 326
 ~ with the singular 366
 Gerunds 284
 active and passive use 296
 formation 289
 transitive ~ 440
 Gerundial complements 442
 ~ constructs 464
gā?ib 363
gēr 468, 504
gamE 367, See also Plural
 ism *l-gamE* 297
 gamE l-kadra wa-gamE l-qilla 369
 gamE s-sālim 202, 211
 gamE l-mukassar 205, 218
gawāb (= apodasis, main clause of conditional 331)
gīdr 37
gūmla 377
 ~ *fiEliyya* 401 fn
 ~ *hāliyya* 531
 ~ *?ismiyya* 401 fn
 -ha 539, 541
hāda, hādi, hadōl, hadāk, etc. 552
hal- demonstrative prefix 556
halla? 516

- halli* 494, 449
hāt 200
hayy 552, 564
hēk 561
 Helping vowel 19, 29
hnīk(e) 559
 Hollow (= middle weak) 44
 simple ~ verbs 188
 ~ *hon* 539, 541
 hōn(e) 559
 Hypocoristic (See 310)
 Hypostasis of abstract nouns 284
 Hypostatic nouns 309
 Hypotactic, Hypotaxis 449
 Hypothetical conditions 332, 335
ha- 322
ḥaḍra 364, 469
ḥāl (See Circumstantial)
 ḡumla ḥāliyya 531
ḥāl- '-self' 468, 470
ḥamāye 169
ḥatta 353, 358, 526
 ~ *i* adjective formative 280
 ~ *i* feminine subject affix 175, 180
 ~ *i* pronoun suffix 539, 541
 Identificatory
 ~ constructs 458
 ~ plurals 370
 Imperative 198, 359
 Imperfect tense
 affixes 175, 177
 stems 185
 uses 320
 Impersonal
 ~ feminine 428
 ~ passive 237, 263-264
 ~ predications 365
 ~ *in* plural suffix 202, 212
 Inanimate 421
 Inceptive 271
 Inchoative verbs 250
 Indefinite 494
 ~ attributive clauses 497, 356
 ~ demonstrative *hēk* 561
 Independent pronoun forms 539
 Independent subjunctive 344, 355
 Indicative mode 343
 ~ prefix 180
 Indirect object (= first object 438)
 Indirect discourse 450 bottom
 Ingressive (See Inceptive 271)
 Initial weak 45
 simple ~ verbs 187
 Instance nouns 297, 302
 ~ as paronymous complement 443

- Instrumental nouns 306
 Intensive verbs 253
 Interrogative 378, 379
 ~ particle 378
 ~ substitutes 566
 Intonation, in questions 378-9, 395
 Invariable (See Adjectives, uninflected)
 Inversion
 predicate-subject 419
 comment-topic 434
 complement-verb 439, 452, 453
ism 382
 ~ *l-fā'il* 262
 ~ *l-ḡamē* 297
 ~ *l-maf'ūl* 262
 ~ *l-makān* 308
 ~ *l-marra* 297
 ~ *s-ṣifa* (See Adjectives)
 ~ *t-taf'dīl* 310
 ~ *l-waḥda* 297
 ~ *l-ʔāla* 306
 ~ *l-ʔiṣāra* 552
iṣtiqāq 46
 Iterative (See Frequentative 253)
 ~ *k* 540
 ka- 488
 kaʔanno, *kaʔanno* 491, 543
 kamān 515
 kamm interrogative 572
 partitive 467, 504
 singular after ~ 366
 kān 452, 341
 with *ʔiza* 333
 in apodasis with *law* 336
 kəll 468, 511
 kəll ma 338, 491
 ~ *ki* 540
 kīf 575
 kīf ma 338
 kfāye 507, 522
 ktīr adverbial 520
 l- article prefix 493
 ~ *l-* suffixes 480
 la- conjunction 352, 353, 358, 411,
 440 bottom, 449
 optative particle 345
 preposition 479, 486, 560, 574
 lā 389, 504, 536
 lah(a)- 322
 lakān 527
 lāken 397, 540, 544
 lamma 359, 529
 law 335
 law-la 337, 540

- lāzem* 348, 387, 544
laʔ, *laʔa* 'no' 536
laʔa verb 246
laʔanno, *laʔanno* 530 top, 543
 length 15
 neutralization of ~ 27
 lēk 564
 lē(š) 577
 ləssa 546
 Linking verbs 452
lli 494, 449
 Locative demonstratives 559
 ~ nouns 308
 ~ prepositions 485-6
 Long sounds 15
ltaʔa 192
luḡa 169, 210
ma subordinating conjunction 338,
 349, 357, 490, 528
 ma dām 545
 ma ʔada 545
ma- with relatives in exclamations
 314
 ~ *ma* adverbial enclitic 519
 mā negative particle 383
 madām 169
 madd 15
 māḍī 319
 maf'ūl (bihi) 438
 l-maf'ūl l-muḥlaq 442
 ism l-maf'ūl 262
 maḡhūl 236
 mālo, *māno* negative copula 387
 manno 388
 man'ūt 493
 mara 162, 168
 Masculine nouns 372
 Mass nouns 297, 368, 510
 maṣdar 284
 ~ *l-mīmī* 309
 Materialization of abstract
 nouns 284
 mazīd fīhi 46
 maē 477, 413
 maēna 169
 mbala 536
 mbāreḥ, *mbārḥa* 521
 'Measures' of the verb 53
 Mediopassive 238
 mamma 490
 mən 477, 478, 486, 314, 236, 538, 560
 mənšān 491
 məš 383
 mət'al 538
 mət'al ma 529, 551

- Middle weak 44
mīn 567
 mīn ma 338
mnēn 574
 Mode 343
 Momentaneous 269
 Morphophonemic alternations
 phonologically motivated 26
 pronoun-suffixing forms 165,
 477, 482
 root and pattern 40; Ch. 3, 4, 5
 stem and inflectional affix
 Ch. 6, 7, 8
 syntactic:
 nouns 162
 prepositions 476
 pronouns 539, 540
mū (*muš*, *məš*) 386, 504
mubtadaʔ 429
muḍāf, *muḍāf ʔilayhi* 455
muḍāriʔ 319
muḍrad (See Singular 366)
muḡarrad 46
muštaqq 47
mutakallim 363
muxāṭab 363
muʔtall 43
muʔannaθ (See Feminine)
muḡanna (See Dual 367)
muḡakkār (see Masculine)
n- 'if' 335
n- verbal subject affix 175, 177, 179
 ~ *na* pronoun suffix 539
 ~ *na* verbal subject affix 175, 176, 180
nafs 375, 468, 471, 511
 Names
 definiteness 494
 gender 373
nāqīš 43
nās 375, 424, 426
naēam 536
naēt 493
 ~ *s-sababi* 505
 Negation 383
 Negative
 ~ commands 389
 ~ copula 387
 ~ particles 383
 Neutralization
 ~ of length 27
 ~ of vowel quality 28
 ~ *ni* 539, 541, 544
nisba 280
 Nominal predication 403
 Nominalization 284, 464

Noun

- adverbial ~ complement 441
- adverbial ~ supplement 521
- attributive ~ 506
- ~ base patterns 137
- ~ constructs 455
- ~ derivation 283
- ~ inflectional forms 209
- instance ~ 297, 302
- predicate ~ 403
- unit ~ 297
- verbal ~ 284
- Noun-type words 382
- nšālla*, *ʔanšālla* 350, 526
- ntala* 192, 235
- Number inflection 366
- Numbers (See Numerals)
- Number/gender
 - ~ agreement 420
 - ~ inflection of adjectives 201
 - ~ inflection in verbs 175, 195
 - ~ of predicate with subject suppressed 427
- Numerals
 - absolute and construct forms 170
 - attributive 509
 - agreement 509, 316
 - constructs 471
 - fractions 317
 - ordinals 316
 - numerals with appositives 510
- o 539, 540
- Objects 438
 - ~ of active participles and gerunds 440
 - first and second ("indirect and direct") 438
 - ~ of prepositions 477
 - absolute ~ 442
 - pronoun ~ 544
- Objective complement 447
- Occupational nouns 305
- Optative 344
- Ordinal numerals 316
 - ~ constructs 474
- Paratactic, Parataxis 449, 450, 451, 533
- Paronyms 38
- Paronymous complement 442
- Parts of speech 381
- Parts of the sentence 380
- Participative verbs 246
- Participles 258
- Particles 381

- ~ of actuality and anticipation 320
- negative ~ 383
- Particularization of abstract nouns 484
- Passive participles 262, 263
 - formation of ~ 258
- Passive verbs 234
- Past time reference 329
- Patterns 36; Ch. 3, 4, 5
 - pattern alterations 40
- Perfect tense
 - forms 173
 - uses 329
- Periphrasis of annexion 460, 511
- Person 363
 - ~ affixes 175
 - ~ in feminine active participles 268
- Personal pronouns 539
- Phrasing 21
- Phrases
 - grammatical ~ 381
 - phonological ~ 22
- Plural
 - affixes: adjectives 202, nouns 211
 - agreement 425
 - broken (or internal): adj. 205, nouns 218
 - count ~ 367, 369
 - ~ in verb forms 176
 - ~ of abundance and of paucity 369
 - ~ of abstract and mass nouns 368
 - ~ of identification and indefinite quantification 370
 - sound ~ 202, 211
- Polysyndetic coordination 396
- Predicate 380 (See also Comment 429)
 - adjectival 403
 - nominal 403
 - participial 417
 - prepositional 402
 - quasi-verbal 412
 - verbal 407
- Predicate-subject inversion 419
- Predication 379, 401
- Predicative complement 446
- Predicators 381
- Prefix-supporting vowel 177
- Prepositions 476
 - free ~ 485
- Prepositional
 - ~ attributes 500

Prepositional, cont'd.

- ~ clauses 357
- ~ combinations 486
- ~ complements 444
- ~ phrases 476
- ~ supplements 523
- ~ objective complements 448
- Present time reference (See Actuality 320, Non-verbal predications 402, Concurrent state 269; 272, 274).
- Presentational 537
 - ~ particles 564
- Primary (See also Simple 46)
 - ~ derivation 47, 51
- Proclitics 18
- "Progressive" (See Actuality 320)
- Pronominalization (See Substitution 535)
 - ~ of object 438
 - ~ of annex 458
- Pronouns
 - demonstrative 552
 - "indefinite" (See 385-6, 356)
 - interrogative 566
 - personal 539
 - "reflexive" (See 467-8, 470-1)
 - "relative" (See 495)
 - resumptive 430
- Pronoun suffixes 539, 541
- Pronoun-suffixing stems 165, 477, 482
- Pseudo-dual 367 middle
- Pseudo-quadriradical verbs 107
- "Psychological state" 272
- Punctual 269
- Quadriliteral roots 39
- Quadriradical 40
 - ~ adjectives 136
 - ~ nouns 159
 - ~ verbs 117
- Quasi-conditionals 337
- Quasi-inflectional categories 49
- Quasi-verbs 412, 387
- Questions
 - alternative ~ 395
 - yes/no ~ 378
 - substitution ~ 379
- Question-words 566
- Quinquiradical nouns 162
- Quotation, direct and indirect 450
 - bottom
- Radicals 37
- Radical fluctuation 41
 - ~ semivowels 41
- raḥ(a)*- 322
- Reciprocal verbs 248
- Reduplicative pattern 110
- "Reflexive" (See Mediopassive 238, Reciprocal 248, *ḥāl* 468, *baḥā* 470)
- Relative adjectives 280
- Relative clauses (See Attributive clauses 495)
- Relative pronouns (See 495, 338)
- Resumptive pronoun 430
- rēt* 338, 350, 546
- rašāl* 367
- Roots 37
 - root types 40
- rubāḥī* 39
- sālim* 42
- sawa* 516
- Semivowels 9
 - radical ~ 41
- Sentences 377
 - sentence types 378
 - sentence supplements 526
- Sequence of tenses 340
- Sequent 535
- sakkīn* 169
- sane* 162, 168, 213
- Significant sequence in coordinations 393, 397, 399
- Simple bases 46
- Simple imperfect 324 (see also 343)
- Simulative verbs 249
- Singulative 297
- snāwal* 192
- Sound 42 (see also Stable 41)
- Specification 510, 569, 571
- Stable roots 41
- stāhal* 106
- staḥa* 192
- stanna* 108
- Stems (See also Bases 35)
 - pronoun-suffixing ~ 165, 477, 482
 - vowel ~ (see neutralization of length 27)
 - verb inflectional ~ 185
- Stress 17
- Subject 380, 401 (See also Topic 429)
 - ~ affixes 175
 - ~ clauses 417, 451
 - post-verbal ~ 407, 421
 - ~ pronouns 543, 548
 - suppression of ~ 418
- Subjective complement 446
- Subjunctive 343
 - independent ~ 344, 355
 - ~ in subordinate clauses 345

Subordinate clauses

- adverbial ~ 528
- annexion ~ 490
- attributive ~ 495
- circumstantial ~ 531
- complemental ~ 449
- conditional ~ 331
- prepositional ~ 490
- relative ~ (See Attributive ~ 495)
- subjunctive in ~ 345
- supplemental ~ 528
- word order in ~ 411

Subordination (See Complementation 437, Annexion 455, Attribution 493, Supplementation 515)
tense subordination 340

Subsequent state 269

Substantives 382

substantive annexion 456

Substantivization of adjectives
276, 281, 304, 465

Substitutes 535

Substitution questions 379, 566

Suffixed pronouns 539, 541

Suffix-supporting vowel 167-8

"Sun letters" (*al-ḥurūf š-šamsiyya*)
493

Superlative (See Elative 310)

Supplements 515

sentence ~ 526

Supplemental clauses 528

Supporting vowel 167-8, 177

Syncope

- loss of *e* and *o* 28
- stems with *-l-* suffixes 482

Synonymic coordination 394

-š negative enclitic 383

šarṭ (= protasis, conditional clause
331)

šaē- 564

šī 142

- partitive 467, 470
- with negative 386, 387
- interrogative particle 378
- haš-šī 555

šīt 490

šlōn 576

šmāl 507

šū 568

šū ma 338

šwayye partitive 467, 470

supplemental 522

šār 452, 448 bottom, 354 ff

šifa 497

ism ~ (See Adjective)

šīga 36

šila 495

- t- person prefix 175, 178, 179
- t- base formative 85
- t second-person suffix 175, 178
- t construct form of *-e/-a* 163
- t- base-formative infix 95
- voicing of ~ 100

ta- conjunction 353, 358

tabaē 489

tafxīm 6

taḥt 485

tamām 520

tamm 68, 189, 452

tamyīz 510

tašdīd 15

tawkid 511

taēa, taēāl 200

tā? marbūṭa 163

taḥniya 367

Tense 319

~ subordination 340

Topic 429

Translocative

~ prepositional phrases 486

~ verbs 274, 352, 399, 560

Triliteral roots 39

Triradical words 40

ttākal 235

ttāxad 90, 235

tabēan 527

Unit nouns 297

Unstable roots 41

Velarization 6, 26

Verbs

- base patterns 53
- derivation 233
- "derived forms" 77
- inflectional forms 173
- linking verbs 452

Verbal nouns 284

Verbal predications 307

Vocative particle 378

w- conjunction 391

waḥd- 468, 471

wāḥed 472, 509

wara 485

wasn 36

Weak 43 (See also Fluctuating 41)

wēn 574

wēn ma 338

walla 395, 536

Word

- ~ accent 17
- ~ bases 36
- ~ families 38

Word, cont'd.

~ order

in attribution 512

in complementation 445

in verbal predication 407

inversion (See Inversions)

w-*ṣalla* 338

xabar 429

y- verbal subject affix 175, 177

ya vocative particle 378

ya dōb 546

ya rēt 350, 546

ya tara 526

yā 'or' 395

yā- disjunctive pronoun stem 545

yalli, yalli 494, 449

yamīn 507

yaēni 177 fn, 526

yamken 348

yamma (yamma) 395

zāt 468, 511

zdall 192

ziyāda 46

zyāde 507

žiha 169, 210

žuwwa 485

ēadā 189

ēala 476, 478, 486

quasi-verbal ~ 415

ēam- 320

ēan 478

ēand, ēand 477, 486

quasi-verb 413

ēarūs 169, 210

ēaṭa 61, 177, 200

ēaṭf l-bayān 506

ēā?id 430

ēēn 367

ēamel 177

ēaref 70, 177, 272

ēilla (See Radical Fluctuation 41)

~ subject affix 175, 177, 179

ēabb, ēabu 169

ēabəl 487

ēabəl ma 358, 359, 528

ēadāt t-taērif 493

ēadd 538

ēadd ma 338, 528

hal-ēadd 521

ēaddēš 571

ēaḡwaf 44

ēakal 173, 177 fn, 198

ēalif maḡšūra 165

ēāman 85

ēamma, ēamma 396

ēamr 359

ēanu, ēani 573, 339

ēašl 37

ēaw 394

ēawām 516

ēawwal 316, 474

ēawzān l-fiēl 53

ēaxad 56

ēāxer 316, 474

ēaxx, ēaxu 169

ēayy 573, 339

ēāēad 200

ēē, ēēwa 536

ēēmta 577

ēēmta ma 338

ēēš 570

ēēddām 485

ēēdān 367

ēēl- alternate of *la-* 479

quasi-verb 413

ēēn 'if' 335

ēēnno 449, 543, 357

ēēšha(k) 200, 351

ēēša 76

ēēšar 367

ēēd 367

ēēdāfa 455

~ ḡayr l-ḡaḡīḡīya 466

ēimāla 14-15

ēism (See *ism*)

ēištiqāq 46

ēiza 331, 449

ēoēa 200

ēulāḡī 39